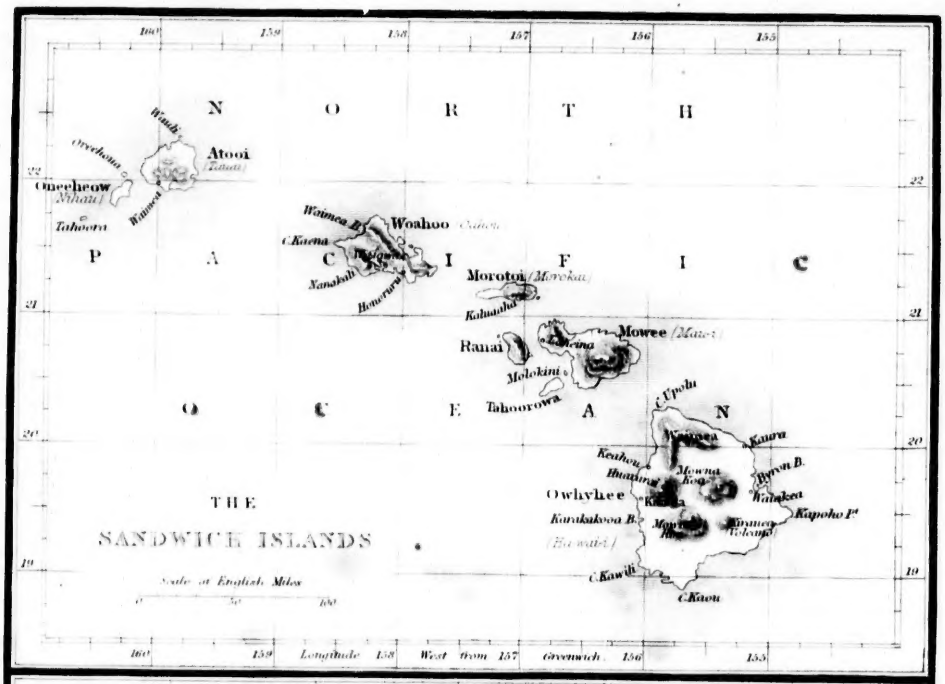
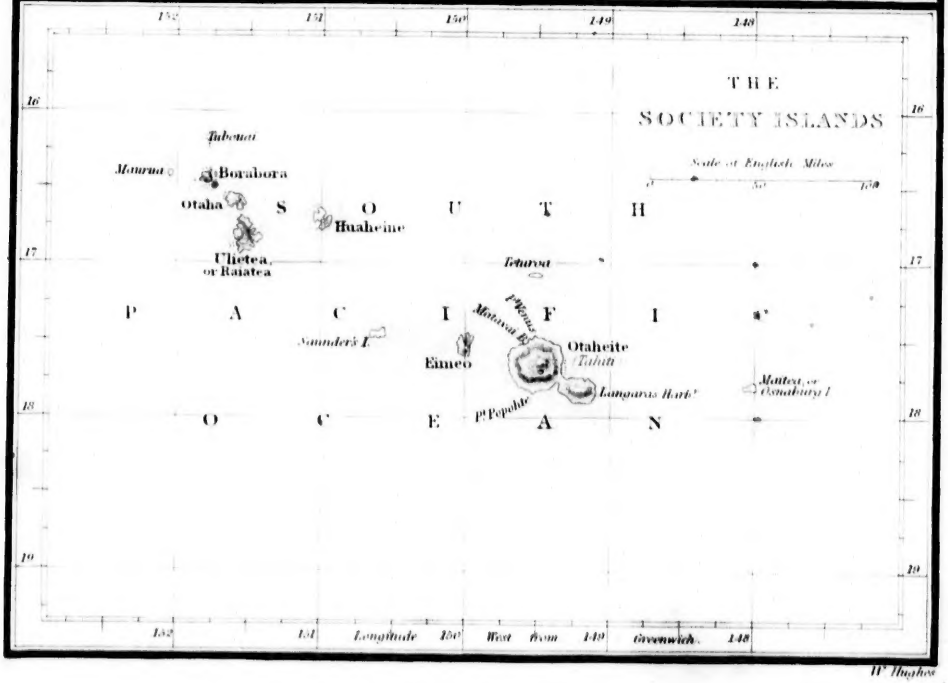
THE VOYAGES

OF

CAPTAIN JAMES COOK

ROUND THE WORLD.





W. Hughes

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THE VOYAGES

OF

CAPTAIN JAMES COOK.

ILLUSTRATED WITH

MAPS AND NUMEROUS ENGRAVINGS ON WOOD.

WITH

An Appendix,

GIVING AN ACCOUNT OF THE PRESENT CONDITION OF THE SOUTH SEA ISLANDS, &c.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

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AND
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English Miles
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Melville I.
Port Essington
Coburg Peninsula
Cambridge G.
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C. Leveque
Roebuck B.
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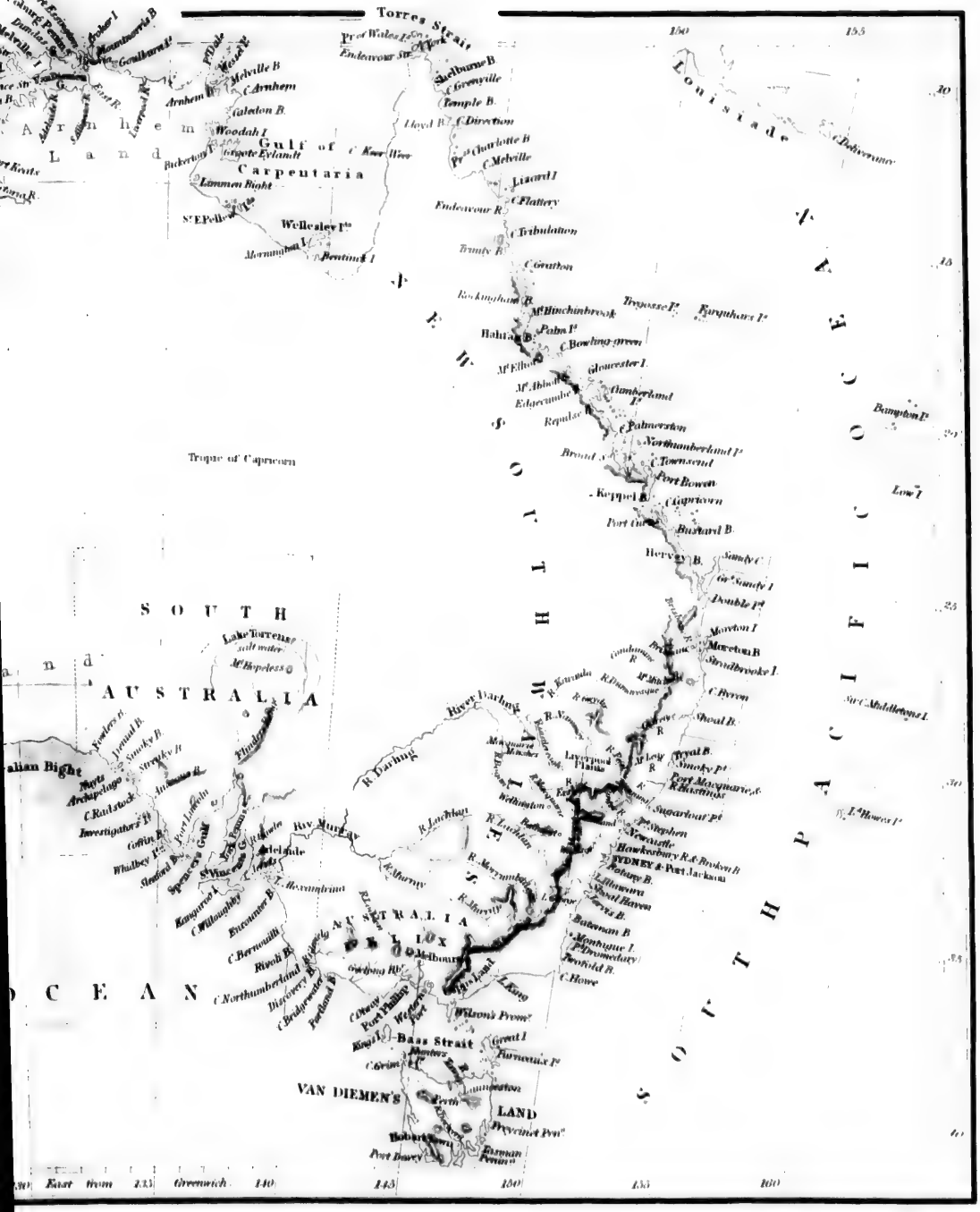
Exmouth G.
North West C.
C. Range
C. Cuvier
Geographe Chan.
Nuyts Chan.
Shark Bay
Dirk Hartog I.
Freemantle
Perth
Swan R.
Peel
Murray R.
Bunbury
C. Naturaliste
Hamelin
Flinders B.
Wilson Inlat
Tor Bay
Esperance B.
Great Australian Bight
Kangaroo Island
Spencers Gulf
Port Lincoln
Port Phillip
Port Jackson
Port Dalrymple
Port Frederick
Furneaux Is.
Macquarie Is.
C. Sorell
HOBART TOWN
Tasman Peninsula
Maria I.
VAN DIEMEN'S LAND
on an enlarged scale
Longitude East from Greenwich
Published by W. Smith 113 Fleet Street


Torres Strait
Prince of Wales I.
Endeavour Str.
Melville B.
C. Arnhem
Arnhem Land
Galedon B.
Woodah I.
Gulf of Carpentaria
Lammen Bight
St. Pellerin
Wellesley Is.
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Bentinck I.
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C. Grenville
Temple B.
Lloyd B.
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Tropoose I.
Hinchinbrook I.
Bahia B.
Palm I.
C. Bowling-green
Mc Ellhen
Gloucester I.
Mc Abbott
Cumberland I.
Edgecumbe
Repulse B.
C. Palmerston
Northumberland I.
Broad S.
C. Townsend
Port Bowen
Keppel B.
C. Capricorn
Port Curtis
Bustard B.
Hervey B.
Sandy C.
Sandy I.
Double I.
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Moreton B.
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Mc Hopeless
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Port Lincoln
Kangaroo I.
C. Willoughby
Encounter B.
C. Bernoulli
River B.
C. Northumberland
Discovery B.
C. Bridgewater
Portland B.
Adelaide
L. Hindmarsh
Port Phillip
Melbourne
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Wilson's Promt.
Bass Strait
Gt. I.
Furneaux I.
C. Grim
VAN DIEMEN'S LAND
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Hobart Town
Port Dover
Forman Promt.
Bay of Fundy
Port Nuts
Archipelago
C. Radstock
Investigator I.
Coffin B.
Whalley B.
Sleaford B.
Port Lincoln
Streaky B.
Smoky B.
Jeanid B.
Fowlers B.
River Darling
R. Darling
R. Murray
R. Lachlan
R. Murrumbidgee
R. Murray
R. Darling
R. Hunter
R. Macquarie
R. Bathurst
R. Lachlan
R. Macquarie
R. Hunter
R. Clarence
R. Richmond
R. Tweed
R. Brisbane
R. Condamine
R. Darling Downs
R. Macintyre
R. Gwydir
R. Namoi
R. Liverpool Plains
R. Macquarie
R. Lachlan
R. Murrumbidgee
R. Murray
R. Darling

TH

VOL

COOK'S THIRD VOYAGE.

A VOYAGE TO THE PACIFIC OCEAN,

TO DETERMINE

THE POSITION AND EXTENT OF THE WEST SIDE OF NORTH AMERICA; ITS DISTANCE FROM ASIA; AND THE PRACTICABILITY OF A NORTHERN PASSAGE TO EUROPE.

PERFORMED UNDER THE DIRECTION OF

CAPTAINS COOK, CLERKE, AND GORE,

IN HIS MAJESTY'S SHIPS THE RESOLUTION AND DISCOVERY, IN THE YEARS 1776, 1777, 1778, 1779, AND 1780.

PART I.

WRITTEN BY CAPTAIN COOK.

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A VOYAGE TO THE PACIFIC OCEAN.

PART I.

BOOK I.

TRANSACTIONS FROM THE BEGINNING OF THE VOYAGE TILL OUR DEPARTURE FROM NEW ZEALAND.

CHAPTER I.—VARIOUS PREPARATIONS FOR THE VOYAGE.—OMAI'S BEHAVIOUR ON EMBARKING.—OBSERVATIONS FOR DETERMINING THE LONGITUDE OF SHEERNESS AND THE NORTH FORELAND.—PASSAGE OF THE RESOLUTION FROM DEPTFORD TO PLYMOUTH.—EMPLOYMENTS THERE.—COMPLEMENTS OF THE CREWS OF BOTH SHIPS, AND NAMES OF THE OFFICERS.—OBSERVATIONS TO FIX THE LONGITUDE OF PLYMOUTH.—DEPARTURE OF THE RESOLUTION.

Having, on the 9th day of February, 1776, received a commission to command his Majesty's sloop the Resolution, I went on board the next day, hoisted the pendant, and began to enter men. At the same time, the Discovery, of three hundred tons' burthen, was purchased into the service, and the command of her given to Captain Clerke, who had been my second Lieutenant on board the Resolution, in my second voyage round the world, from which we had lately returned. These two ships were, at this time, in the dock at Deptford, under the hands of the shipwrights, being ordered to be equipped to make farther discoveries in the Pacific Ocean, under my direction.

On the 9th of March the Resolution was hauled out of dock into the river, where we completed our rigging, and took on board the stores and provisions requisite for a voyage of such duration. Both ships, indeed, were supplied with as much of every necessary article as we could conveniently stow, and with the best of every kind that could be procured. And, besides this, everything that had been found, by the experience acquired during our former extensive voyages, to be of any utility in preserving the health of seamen, was supplied in abundance.

It was our intention to have sailed to Long Reach on the 6th of May, when a pilot came on board to carry us thither; but it was the 29th before the wind would permit us to move; and the 30th before we arrived at that station, where our artillery, powder, shot, and other ordnance stores were received. While we lay in Long Reach, thus employed, the Earl of Sandwich, Sir Hugh Palliser, and others of the Board of Admiralty, as the least mark of the very great attention they had all along shown to this equipment, paid us a visit on the 8th of June, to examine whether everything had been completed conformably to their intentions and orders, and to the satisfaction of all who were to embark in the voyage. They, and several other noblemen and gentlemen, their friends, honoured me with their company at dinner on that day; and, on their coming on board, and also on their going ashore, we saluted them with seventeen guns, and three cheers.

With the benevolent view of conveying some permanent benefit to the inhabitants of Otaheite, and of the other islands in the Pacific Ocean, whom we might happen to visit, his Majesty having commanded some useful animals to be carried out, we took on board, on the 10th, a bull, two cows, with their calves, and some sheep, with hay and corn for their

subsistence; intending to add to these other useful animals, when I should arrive at the Cape of Good Hope. I was also, from the same laudable motives, furnished with a sufficient quantity of such of our European garden-seeds as could not fail to be a valuable present to our newly-discovered islands, by adding fresh supplies of food to their own vegetable productions. Many other articles, calculated to improve the condition of our friends in the other hemisphere in various ways, were, at the same time, delivered to us by order of the Board of Admiralty. And both ships were provided with a proper assortment of iron tools and trinkets, as the means of enabling us to traffic and to cultivate a friendly intercourse with the inhabitants of such new countries as we might be fortunate enough to meet with.

The same humane attention was extended to our own wants. Some additional clothing, adapted to a cold climate, was ordered for our crews; and nothing was denied to us that could be supposed in the least conducive to health or even to convenience. Nor did the extraordinary care of those at the head of the naval department stop here. They were equally solicitous to afford us every assistance towards rendering our voyage of public utility. Accordingly, we received on board, next day, several astronomical and nautical instruments, which the Board of Longitude intrusted to me and to Mr. King, my second lieutenant; we having engaged to that board to make all the necessary observations during the voyage, for the improvement of astronomy and navigation; and, by our joint labours, to supply the place of a professed observator. Such a person had been originally intended to be sent out in my ship.

The Board likewise put into our possession the same watch, or time-keeper, which I had carried out in my last voyage, and had performed its part so well. It was a copy of Mr. Harrison's, constructed by Mr. Kendall. This day, at noon, it was found to be too slow for mean time at Greenwich, by 3′ 31″ .890; and by its rate of going, it lost on mean time, 1″ .209 per day. Another time-keeper, and the same number and sort of instruments for making observations, were put on board the Discovery, under the care of Mr. William Baily, who, having already given satisfactory proofs of his skill and diligence as an observator, while employed in Captain Furneaux' ship, during the late voyage, was engaged a second time in that capacity, to embark with Captain Clerke.

Mr. Anderson, my surgeon, who, to skill in his immediate profession, added great proficiency in natural history, was as willing as he was qualified to describe everything in that branch of science which should occur worthy of notice. As he had already visited the South Sea Islands in the same ship, and been of singular service, by enabling me to enrich my relation of that voyage with various useful remarks on men and things, I reasonably expected to derive considerable assistance from him in recording our new proceedings. I had several young men amongst my sea-officers who, under my direction, could be usefully employed in constructing charts, in taking views of the coasts and headlands near which we should pass, and in drawing plans of the bays and harbours in which we should anchor. A constant attention to this I knew to be highly requisite, if we would render our discoveries profitable to future navigators. And that we might go out with every help that could serve to make the result of our voyage entertaining to the generality of readers, as well as instructive to the sailor and scholar, Mr. Webber was pitched upon, and engaged to embark with me, for the express purpose of supplying the unavoidable imperfections of written accounts, by enabling us to preserve and to bring home such drawings of the most memorable scenes of our transactions as could only be executed by a professed and skilful artist.

Every preparation being now completed, I received an order to proceed to Plymouth, and to take the Discovery under my command. I accordingly gave Captain Clerke two orders; one to put himself under my command, and the other to carry his ship round to Plymouth. On the 15th, the Resolution sailed from Long Reach, with the Discovery in company, and the same evening they anchored at the Nore. Next day the Discovery proceeded, in obedience to my order; but the Resolution was ordered to remain at the Nore till I should join her, being at this time in London.

As we were to touch at Otaheite and the Society Islands, in our way to the intended scene of our fresh operations, it had been determined not to omit this opportunity (the only

one ever likely to happen) of carrying Omai back to his native country *. Accordingly, everything being ready for our departure, he and I set out together from London on the 24th, at six o'clock in the morning. We reached Chatham between ten and eleven o'clock; and after dining with Commissioner Proby, he very obligingly ordered his yacht to carry us to Sheerness, where my boat was waiting to take us on board. Omai left London with a mixture of regret and satisfaction. When we talked about England and about those who, during his stay, had honoured him with their protection or friendship, I could observe that his spirits were sensibly affected, and that it was with difficulty he could refrain from tears. But the instant the conversation turned to his own islands, his eyes began to sparkle with joy. He was deeply impressed with a sense of the good treatment he had met with in England, and entertained the highest ideas of the country and of the people. But the pleasing prospect he now had before him of returning home, loaded with what he well knew would be esteemed invaluable treasures there; and the flattering hope which the possession of these gave him, of attaining to a distinguished superiority amongst his countrymen, were considerations which operated by degrees to suppress every uneasy sensation; and he seemed

* Omai, or, more properly, Mai (the *o* being only a particle prefixed in the native language to nouns in the nominative case), was a native of Raiatea, who having taken shelter in Huahine, after a defeat which his countrymen had sustained from the people of Borabora, persuaded Captain Furneaux, when he was at Huahine in Sept. 1775, to convey him to Britain, somewhat against the wishes of Captain Cook, who did not consider that his qualifications were such as to promise any great advantages to himself or his countrymen from such an expedition. Captain Cook's objections were well-founded; for Omai, although not destitute of intelligence, and, like the generality of the South Sea Islanders, possessing much quickness of apprehension and readiness to conform to the manners and customs of those by whom they are surrounded, was a man of very inferior capabilities to Tupia, the Otaheitan chief and priest, whom Captain Cook took with him, on his return from his first voyage, but who unfortunately died at Batavia. Omai possessed no rank in his own country beyond that, as he himself stated, of a *hoa*, or attendant upon the king, and therefore was not a person who could be expected, even had every advantage been afforded him in England, to exercise much moral influence on his return. But the treatment he experienced here was as injudicious as the project of bringing him over at all. Being the first native of the South Sea Islands brought to England, he was sought after as a wonder, and became the "lion" of a season; he was introduced to fashionable parties, conducted to the splendid entertainments of the highest classes, and presented at court. In all these positions, the pliancy natural to the Tahitans and their congeners, enabled him to preserve a perfect propriety of demeanour, and his natural lively disposition, rendered him, with his imperfect English (a language varying so much from the idiom of his native tongue, as to render its perfect acquirement very difficult), an exceedingly entertaining guest. As such he was welcomed everywhere, and carried about from one public exhibition to another, without time being allowed him to comprehend any; but no effort was made to instruct him in any useful art, or to enable him to comprehend the wonders he beheld, or the condition of the society by which he was surrounded. Of all those who took an interest in him, Mr. Granville Sharp alone exerted himself to turn his attention to rational pursuits, by teaching him to write, and instructing him in some degree in the principles of Christianity.

When he departed from England, he was loaded with presents, but few of which were calculated to be of real service. He carried with him a coat of mail, a suit of armour, a musket, pistols, cartouch-box, cutlasses, powder and ball; a portable organ and an electrical machine; but no implements of agriculture or useful tools are included in the catalogue of his treasures. The account of his final settlement in Huahine will be found in the subsequent pages. Captain Cook procured for him a grant of land, on which a house in the European style was erected for him; and he was furnished with seeds, plants, horses, goats, and other useful animals. His warlike stores rendered him a man of consequence to the king, who gave him his daughter in marriage, and honoured him with the name of *Paari* (wise, or instructed), by which name, Mr. Ellis informs us, he is now always spoken of by the natives, several of whom still remember him. So far, however, from becoming the instructor or improver of the natives, he seems to have sunk into the mere compliant tool of the king, who, Mr. Ellis states, "not only availed himself of the effects of his fire-arms in periods of war, but frequently ordered him to shoot at a man at a certain distance, in order to see how far the musket would do execution, or to despatch with his pistol, in the presence of the king, the ill-fated objects of his deadly anger."

Mr. Ellis further informs us (Polynesian Researches, vol. ii. p. 370, second edition, 12mo, 1831), that "the spot where Mai's house stood is still called Beretani, or Britain, by the inhabitants of Huahine. A shaddock-tree, which the natives say was planted by Captain Cook himself, while the vessels lay at anchor, is still growing on what was once part of his garden. The animals, with the exception of the goats and pigs, have all died; and in this instance, the benevolent intentions of the British government, in sending out horses, cattle, &c., proved abortive. The helmet, and some other parts of his armour, with several cutlasses, are still preserved, and, when we arrived in Huahine, were displayed on the sides of the house standing on the spot where Mai's dwelling was erected by Captain Cook. A few of the trinkets, such as a jack-in-the-box, a kind of serpent that darts out of a cylindrical case when the lid is removed, were preserved with care by one of the principal chiefs, who, when we first saw them, considered them great curiosities, and exhibited them as a mark of his condescension, to particular favourites. What became of the organ and the electrical machine, I never knew. Among the curiosities preserved by the young chief of Tahaa, there was an article that I was very glad to see; it was a large quarto English Bible, with numerous coloured engravings, which were the only objects of attraction with the natives. I was told it belonged to Paari, or Mai, and hope it was given him among the presents from England, although no mention whatever is made of a Bible, or any other book, among the various articles enumerated by those who conveyed him to his native shores."—ED.

to be quite happy when he got on board the ship. He was furnished by his Majesty with an ample provision of every article which, during our intercourse with his country, we had observed to be in any estimation there, either as useful or as ornamental. He had, besides, received many presents of the same nature from Lord Sandwich, Mr. Banks, and several other gentlemen and ladies of his acquaintance. In short, every method had been employed, both during his abode in England and at his departure, to make him the instrument of conveying to the inhabitants of the islands of the Pacific Ocean the most exalted opinion of the greatness and generosity of the British nation.

While the Resolution lay at the Nore, Mr. King made several observations for finding the longitude by the watch. The mean of them all gave 0° 44′ 0″, for the longitude of the ship. This, reduced to Sheerness, by the bearing and estimated distance, will make that place to be 0° 37′ 0″ east of Greenwich; which is more by seven miles than Mr. Lyons made it, by the watch which Lord Mulgrave had with him, on his voyage towards the North Pole. Whoever knows anything of the distance between Sheerness and Greenwich, will be a judge which of these two observations is nearest the truth. The variation of the needle here, by a mean of different sets, taken with different compasses, was 20° 37′ west.

On the 25th, about noon, we weighed anchor, and made sail for the Downs, through the Queen's Channel, with a gentle breeze at north-west by west. At nine in the evening we anchored, with the North Foreland bearing south by east, and Margate Point south-west by south. Next morning, at two o'clock, we weighed and stood round the Foreland; and when it bore north, allowing for the variation of the compass, the watch gave 1° 24′ east longitude, which, reduced to the Foreland, will be 1° 21′ east. Lunar observations, made the preceding evening, fixed it at 1° 20′ east. At eight o'clock the same morning, we anchored in the Downs. Two boats had been built for us at Deal, and I immediately sent on shore for them. I was told that many people had assembled there to see Omai; but to their great disappointment he did not land.

Having received the boats on board, and a light breeze at south-south-east springing up, we got under sail the next day at two o'clock in the afternoon. But the breeze soon died away, and we were obliged to anchor again till ten o'clock at night. We then weighed, with the wind at east, and proceeded down the channel. On the 30th, at three o'clock in the afternoon, we anchored in Plymouth Sound, where the Discovery had arrived only three days before. I saluted Admiral Amherst, whose flag was flying on board the Ocean, with thirteen guns, and he returned the compliment with eleven.

It was the first object of our care, on arriving at Plymouth, to replace the water and provisions that we had expended, and to receive on board a supply of Port wine. This was the employment which occupied us on the 1st and 2d of July. During our stay here, the crews were served with fresh beef every day: and I should not do justice to Mr. Ommanney, the agent-victualler, if I did not take this opportunity to mention, that he showed a very obliging readiness to furnish me with the best of everything that lay within his department. I had been under the like obligations to him on my setting out upon my last voyage. Commissioner Ourry, with equal zeal for the service, gave us every assistance that we wanted from the naval yard.

It could not but occur to us as a singular and affecting circumstance, that at the very instant of our departure upon a voyage, the object of which was to benefit Europe by making fresh discoveries in North America, there should be the unhappy necessity of employing others of his Majesty's ships, and of conveying numerous bodies of land forces, to secure the obedience of those parts of that continent which had been discovered and settled by our countrymen in the last century. On the 6th, his Majesty's ships Diamond, Ambuscade, and Unicorn, with a fleet of transports, consisting of sixty-two sail, bound to America, with the last division of the Hessian troops, and some horse, were forced into the Sound by a strong north-west wind. On the 8th, I received, by express, my instructions for the voyage, and an order to proceed to the Cape of Good Hope with the Resolution. I was also directed to leave an order for Captain Clerke to follow us, as soon as he should join his ship; he being, at this time, detained in London.

Our first discoverers of the New World, and navigators of the Indian and Pacific Oceans,

were justly thought to have exerted such uncommon abilities, and to have accomplished such perilous enterprises, that their names have been handed down to posterity as so many Argonauts. Nay, even the hulks of the ships that carried them, though not converted into constellations in the heavens, used to be honoured and visited as sacred relics upon earth. We, in the present age of improved navigation, who have been instructed by their labours, and have followed them as our guides, have no such claim to fame. Some merit, however, being still, in the public opinion, considered as due to those who sail to unexplored quarters of the globe, in conformity to this favourable judgment, I prefixed to the account of my last voyage the names of the officers of both my ships, and a table of the number of their respective crews. The like information will be expected from me at present.

The Resolution was fitted out with the same complement of officers and men she had before; and the Discovery's establishment varied from that of the Adventure, in the single instance of her having no marine officer on board. This arrangement was to be finally completed at Plymouth; and, on the 9th, we received the party of marines allotted for our voyage. Colonel Bell, who commanded the division at this port, gave me such men for the detachment as I had reason to be satisfied with. And the supernumerary seamen, occasioned by this reinforcement, being turned over into the Ocean man-of-war, our several complements remained fixed, as represented in the following table:—

RESOLUTION.			DISCOVERY.	
Officers and Men.	No.	*Officers' Names.*	No.	*Officers' Names.*
Captain	1	James Cook . .	1	Charles Clerke
Lieutenants . . .	3	John Gore . . .	2	James Burney
		James King . .		John Rickman
		John Williamson .		
Master	1	William Bligh . .	1	Thomas Edgar
Boatswain . . .	1	William Ewin . .	1	Encas Atkins
Carpenter . . .	1	James Clevely . .	1	Peter Reynolds
Gunner	1	Robert Anderson .	1	William Peckover
Surgeon	1	William Anderson	1	John Law
Master's Mates . .	3	. . .	2	
Midshipmen . .	6	. . .	4	
Surgeon's Mates .	2	. . .	2	
Captain's Clerk .	1	. . .	1	
Master at Arms .	1	. . .	1	
Corporal	1			
Armourer . . .	1	. . .	1	
Ditto Mate . . .	1	. . .	1	
Sail Maker . . .	1	. . .	1	
Ditto Mate . . .	1	. . .	1	
Boatswain's Mates	3	. . .	2	
Carpenter's Ditto .	3	. . .	2	
Gunner's Ditto .	2	. . .	1	
Carpenter's Crew .	4	. . .	4	
Cook	1	. . .	1	
Ditto Mate . . .	1			
Quarter Masters .	6	. . .	4	
Able Seamen . .	45	. . .	33	
		Marines.		
Lieutenant . . .	1	Molesworth Phillips		
Serjeant	1	. . .	1	
Corporals . . .	2	. . .	1	
Drummer . . .	1	. . .	1	
Privates	15	. . .	8	
Total	112		80	

On the 10th, the commissioner and pay-clerks came on board, and paid the officers and crew up to the 30th of last month. The petty officers and seamen had, besides, two months'

wages in advance. Such indulgence to the latter is no more than what is customary in the navy. But the payment of what was due to the superior officers was humanely ordered by the Admiralty, in consideration of our peculiar situation, that we might be better able to defray the very great expense of furnishing ourselves with a stock of necessaries for a voyage which, probably, would be of unusual duration, and to regions where no supply could be expected.

Nothing now obstructing my departure but a contrary wind, which blew strong at south-west, in the morning of the 11th I delivered into the hands of Mr. Burney, first lieutenant of the Discovery, Captain Clerke's sailing orders; a copy of which I also left with the officer * commanding his Majesty's ships at Plymouth, to be delivered to the Captain immediately on his arrival. In the afternoon, the wind moderating, we weighed with the ebb, and got farther out, beyond all the shipping in the Sound; where, after making an unsuccessful attempt to get to sea, we were detained most of the following day, which was employed in receiving on board a supply of water; and, by the same vessel that brought it, all the empty casks were returned.

As I did not imagine my stay at Plymouth would have been so long as it proved, we did not get our instruments on shore to make the necessary observations for ascertaining the longitude by the watch. For the same reason, Mr. Baily did not set about this, till he found that the Discovery would probably be detained some days after us. He then placed his quadrant upon Drake's Island; and had time, before the Resolution sailed, to make observations sufficient for the purpose we had in view. Our watch made the island to lie 4° 14′, and his 4° 13½′ west of Greenwich. Its latitude, as found by Messrs. Wales and Baily, on the last voyage, is 50° 21′ 30″ north.

We weighed again at eight in the evening, and stood out of the Sound, with a gentle breeze at north-west by west.

CHAPTER II.—PASSAGE OF THE RESOLUTION TO TENERIFFE.—RECEPTION THERE.—DESCRIPTION OF SANTA CRUZ ROAD.—REFRESHMENTS TO BE MET WITH.—OBSERVATIONS FOR FIXING THE LONGITUDE OF TENERIFFE.—SOME ACCOUNT OF THE ISLAND.—BOTANICAL OBSERVATIONS.—CITIES OF SANTA CRUZ AND LAGUNA.—AGRICULTURE.—AIR AND CLIMATE.—COMMERCE.—INHABITANTS.

WE had not been long out of Plymouth Sound, before the wind came more westerly, and blew fresh, so that we were obliged to ply down the Channel; and it was not till the 14th, at eight in the evening, that we were off the Lizard. On the 16th, at noon, St. Agnes's light-house, on the Isles of Scilly, bore north-west by west, distant seven or eight miles. Our latitude was now 49° 53′ 30″ north, and our longitude, by the watch, 6° 11′ west. Hence, I reckon that St. Agnes's light-house is in 49° 57′ 30″ north latitude, and in 6° 20′ of west longitude. On the 17th† and 18th we were off Ushant, and found the longitude of the island to be, by the watch, 5° 18′ 37″ west. The variation was 23° 0′ 50″, in the same direction.

With a strong gale at south, on the 19th, we stood to the westward, till eight o'clock in the morning; when the wind shifting to the west and north-west, we tacked and stretched to the southward. At this time, we saw nine sail of large ships, which we judged to be French men-of-war. They took no particular notice of us, nor we of them. At ten o'clock in the morning of the 22d, we saw Cape Ortegal; which at noon bore south-east, half south, about four leagues distant. At this time we were in the latitude of 44° 6′ north; and our longitude by the watch, was 8° 23′ west. After two days of calm weather we passed Cape Finisterre, on the afternoon of the 24th, with a fine gale at north-north-east. The longitude

* Captain Le Crass, Admiral Amherst having struck his flag some days before.

† It appears from Captain Cook's log-book, that he began his judicious operations for preserving the health of his crew, very early in the voyage. On the 17th, the ship was smoked between decks with gunpowder. The spare sails also were then well aired.

of this Cape, by the watch, is 9° 29′ west; and, by the mean of forty-one lunar observations, made before and after we passed it, and reduced to it by the watch, the result was 9° 19′ 12″.

On the 30th at six minutes and thirty-eight seconds past ten o'clock at night, apparent time, I observed with a night-telescope, the moon totally eclipsed. By the *ephemeris*, the same happened at Greenwich at nine minutes past eleven o'clock: the difference being one hour, two minutes, and twenty-two seconds, or 15° 35′ 30″ of longitude. The watch, for the same time, gave 15° 26′ 45″ longitude west; and latitude 31° 10′ north. No other observation could be made on this eclipse, as the moon was hid behind the clouds the greater part of the time; and, in particular, when the beginning and end of total darkness, and the end of the eclipse, happened.

Finding that we had not hay and corn sufficient for the subsistence of the stock of animals on board, till our arrival at the Cape of Good Hope, I determined to touch at Teneriffe, to get a supply of these, and of the usual refreshments for ourselves; thinking that island, for such purposes, better adapted than Madeira. At four in the afternoon of the 31st, we saw Teneriffe, and steered for the eastern part. At nine, being near it, we hauled up, and stood off and on during the night. At daylight on the morning of the 1st of August, we sailed round the east Point of the island; and, about eight o'clock, anchored on the south-east side of it, in the road of Santa Cruz, in twenty-three fathoms water; the bottom, sand and owze. Punta de Nago, the east point of the road, bore north 64° east; St. Francis's church, remarkable for its high steeple, west-south-west; the Pic, south 65° west; and the south-west point of the road, on which stands a fort or castle, south 39° west. In this situation, we moored north-east and south-west, with a cable each way, being near half a mile from the shore. We found, riding in this road, La Boussole, a French frigate, commanded by the *Chevalier de Borda;* two brigantines of the same nation; an English brigantine from London, bound to Senegal; and fourteen sail of Spanish vessels.

No sooner had we anchored, than we were visited by the master of the port, who satisfied himself with asking the ship's name. Upon his leaving us, I sent an officer ashore to present my respects to the Governor; and to ask his leave to take in water, and to purchase such articles as we were in want of. All this he granted with the greatest politeness; and, soon after, sent an officer on board, to compliment me on my arrival. In the afternoon, I waited upon him in person, accompanied by some of my officers; and, before I returned to my ship, bespoke some corn and straw for the live stock; ordered a quantity of wine from Mr. M'Carrick, the contractor, and made an agreement with the master of a Spanish boat to supply us with water, as I found that we could not do it ourselves.

The road of Santa Cruz is situated before the town of the same name, on the south-east side of the island. It is, as I am told, the principal road of Teneriffe, for shelter, capacity, and the goodness of its bottom. It lies entirely open to the south-east and south winds. But these winds are never of long continuance; and, they say, there is not an instance * of a ship driving from her anchors on shore. This may, in part, be owing to the great care they take in mooring them; for I observed, that all the ships we met with there had four anchors out; two to the north-east, and two to the south-west: and their cables buoyed up with casks. Ours suffered a little by not observing this last precaution.

At the south-west part of the road, a stone pier runs out into the sea from the town, for the convenience of loading and landing of goods. To this pier, the water that supplies the shipping is conveyed. This, as also what the inhabitants of Santa Cruz use, is derived from a rivulet that runs from the hills, the greatest part of which comes into the town in wooden spouts or troughs, that are supported by slender posts, and the remainder doth not reach the sea; though it is evident, from the size of the channel, that sometimes large torrents rush down. At this time these troughs were repairing, so that fresh water, which is very good here, was scarce.

Were we to judge from the appearance of the country in the neighbourhood of Santa

* Though no such instance was known to those from whom Captain Cook had this information, we learn from Glas that, some years before he was at Teneriffe, almost all the shipping in the road were driven on shore.—See Glas's Hist. of the Canary Islands, p. 235. We may well suppose the precautions now used have prevented any more such accidents happening. This will sufficiently justify Captain Cook's account.

Cruz, it might be concluded that Teneriffe is a barren spot, insufficient to maintain even its own inhabitants. The ample supplies, however, which we received, convinced us that they had enough to spare for visitors. Besides wine, which is the chief produce of the island, beef may be had at a moderate price. The oxen are small and bony, and weigh about ninety pounds a quarter. The meat is but lean, and was, at present, sold for half a bit (threepence sterling) a pound. I, unadvisedly, bought the bullocks alive, and paid considerably more. Hogs, sheep, goats, and poultry, are likewise to be bought at the same moderate rate; and fruits are in great plenty. At this time we had grapes, figs, pears, mulberries, plantains, and musk-melons. There is a variety of other fruits produced here, though not in season at this time. Their pumpkins, onions, and potatoes, are exceedingly good of their kind, and keep better at sea than any I ever before met with.

The Indian corn, which is also their produce, cost me about three shillings and sixpence a bushel; and the fruits and roots were, in general, very cheap. They have not any plentiful supply of fish from the adjoining sea; but a very considerable fishery is carried on by their vessels upon the coast of Barbary; and the produce of it sells at a reasonable price. Upon the whole, I found Teneriffe to be a more eligible place than Madeira for ships bound on long voyages to touch at; though the wine of the latter, according to my taste, is as much superior to that of the former, as strong beer is to small. To compensate for this, the difference of prices is considerable; for the best Teneriffe wine was now sold for twelve pounds a pipe; whereas a pipe of the best Madeira would have cost considerably more than double that sum *.

The Chevalier de Borda, commander of the French frigate now lying in Santa Cruz road, was employed, in conjunction with Mr. Varila, a Spanish gentleman, in making astronomical observations for ascertaining the going of two time-keepers which they had on board their ship. For this purpose, they had a tent pitched on the pier head, where they made their observations, and compared their watches every day at noon with the clock on shore by signals. These signals the Chevalier very obligingly communicated to us; so that we could compare our watch at the same time. But our stay was too short to profit much by his kindness.

The three days' comparisons which we made, assured us that the watch had not materially, if at all, altered her rate of going; and gave us the same longitude, within a very few seconds, that was obtained by finding the time from observations of the sun's altitude from the horizon of the sea. The watch, from a mean of these observations, on the 1st, 2nd, and 3rd of August, made the longitude 16° 31′ west; and, in like manner, the latitude was found to be 28° 30′ 11″ north. Mr. Varila informed us, that the true longitude was 18° 35′ 30″ from Paris, which is only 16° 16′ 30″ from Greenwich; less than what our watch gave by 14′ 30″. But, far from looking upon this as an error in the watch, I rather think it a confirmation of its having gone well; and that the longitude by it may be nearer the truth than any other. It is farther confirmed by the lunar observations that we made in the road, which gave 16° 37′ 10″. Those made before we arrived, and reduced to the road by the watch, gave 16° 33′ 30″. And those made after we left it, and reduced back in the same manner, gave 16° 28′. The mean of the three is 16° 30′ 40″.

To reduce these several longitudes, and the latitude to the Pic of Teneriffe, one of the most noted points of land with geographers (to obtain the true situation of which, I have entered into this particular discussion), I had recourse to the bearing, and a few hours of the ship's run after leaving Santa Cruz road; and found it to be 12′ 11″ south of the road, and 29′ 30″ of longitude west of it. As the base, which helped to determine this, was partly estimated, it is liable to some error; but I think I cannot be much mistaken. Dr. Maskelyne, in his *British Mariner's Guide*, places the Pic in the latitude of 28° 12′ 54″.

* Formerly, there was made at Teneriffe a great quantity of Canary sack, which the French call Vin de [illegible]sie; and we, corruptly after them, name Malmsey (from Malvesia, a town in the Morea, famous for such luscious wine). In the last century, and still later, much of this was imported into England; but little wine is now made there, but of the sort described by Captain Cook. Not more than fifty pipes of the rich Canary was annually made in Glas's time; and he says, they now gather the grapes when green, and make a dry hard wine of them, fit for hot climates, p. 262.

This, with the bearing from the road, will give the difference of longitude 43′, which considerably exceeds the distance they reckon the Pic to be from Santa Cruz. I made the latitude of the Pic to be 28° 18′ north. Upon that supposition, its longitude will be as follows:—

By	the time-keeper	17° 0′ 30″	west.
	lunar observations	16° 30′ 20″	
	Mr. Varila	16° 46′ 0″	

But if the latitude of it is 28° 12′ 54″, as in the *British Mariner's Guide*, its longitude will be 13′ 30″ more westerly.

The variation, when we were at anchor in the road, by the mean of all our compasses, was found to be 14° 41′ 20″ west. The dip of the north end of the needle was 61° 52′ 30″.

Some of Mr. Anderson's remarks on the natural appearances of Teneriffe and its productions; and what he observed himself, or learnt by information, about the general state of the island, will be of use, particularly in marking what changes may have happened there since Mr. Glas visited it. They here follow in his own words:—

"While we were standing in for the land, the weather being perfectly clear, we had an opportunity of seeing the celebrated Pic of Teneriffe. But I own I was much disappointed in my expectation with respect to its appearance. It is, certainly, far from equalling the noble figure of Pico, one of the western isles which I have seen; though its perpendicular height may be greater. This circumstance, perhaps, arises from its being surrounded by other very high hills; whereas Pico stands without a rival. Behind the city of Santa Cruz, the country rises gradually, and is of a moderate height. Beyond this, to the south-westward, it becomes higher, and continues to rise towards the Pic, which, from the road, appears but little higher than the surrounding hills. From thence it seems to decrease, though not suddenly, as far as the eye can reach. From a supposition that we should not stay above one day, I was obliged to contract my excursions into the country; otherwise, I had proposed to visit the top of this famous mountain *. To the eastward of Santa Cruz, the island appears perfectly barren. Ridges of hills run towards the sea; between which ridges are deep valleys, terminating at mountains or hills that run across, and are higher than the former. Those that run towards the sea are marked by impressions on their sides, which make them appear as a succession of conic hills, with their tops very rugged. The higher ones that run across, are more uniform in their appearance.

"In the forenoon of the 1st of August, after we had anchored in the road, I went on shore to one of these valleys, with an intention to reach the top of the remoter hills, which seemed covered with wood; but time would not allow me to get further than their foot. After walking about three miles, I found no alteration in the appearance of the lower hills; which produce great quantities of the *Euphorbia canariensis*. It is surprising that this large succulent plant should thrive on so burnt-up a soil. When broken, which is easily done, the quantity of juice is very great; and it might be supposed that, when dried, it would shrivel to nothing; yet it is a pretty tough, though soft and light wood. The people here believe its juice to be so caustic as to erode the skin †: but I convinced them, though with much difficulty, to the contrary, by thrusting my finger into the plant full of it, without afterwards wiping it off. They break down the bushes of *euphorbia* and, suffering them to dry, carry them home for fuel. I met with nothing else growing there, but two or three small shrubs, and a few fig-trees near the bottom of the valley. The basis of the hills is a heavy, compact, bluish stone, mixed with some shining particles; and, on

* See an account of a journey to the top of the Pic of Teneriffe, in Sprat's History of the Royal Society, p. 200, &c. Glas also went to the top of it. History of the Canary Islands, p. 252 to 259. In the Philosophical Transactions, vol. xlvii. p. 353—356, we have Observations made, in going up the Pic of Teneriffe, by Dr. T. Heberden. The Doctor makes its height, above the level of the sea, to be 2566 fathoms, or 15,396 English feet; and says, that this was confirmed by two subsequent observations by himself, and another made by Mr. Crosse, the consul. And yet, I find, that the Chevalier de Borda, who measured the height of this mountain in August 1776, makes it to be only 1931 French toises, or 12,340 English feet. See Dr. Forster's Observations during a Voyage round the World, p. 32.

† Glas, p. 231, speaking of this plant, says, that he "cannot imagine why the natives of the Canaries do not extract the juice, and use it instead of pitch, for the bottoms of their boats." We now learn from Mr. Anderson their reason for not using it.

the surface, large masses of red friable earth, or stone, are scattered about. I also often found the same substance disposed in thick *strata;* and the little earth, strewed here and there, was a blackish mould. There were likewise some pieces of slag; one of which, from its weight and smooth surface, seemed almost wholly metalline.

"The mouldering state of these hills is, doubtless, owing to the perpetual action of the sun, which calcines their surface. This mouldering part being afterwards washed away by the heavy rains, perhaps is the cause of their sides being so uneven. For, as the different substances of which they are composed are more or less easily affected by the sun's heat, they will be carried away in the like proportions. Hence, perhaps, the tops of the hills, being of the hardest rock, have stood, while the other parts on a declivity have been destroyed. As I have usually observed that the tops of most mountains that are covered with trees have a more uniform appearance, I am inclined to believe that this is owing to their being shaded.

"The city of Santa Cruz, though not large, is tolerably well built. The churches are not magnificent without; but within are decent, and indifferently ornamented. They are inferior to some of the churches at Madeira; but, I imagine, this rather arises from the different disposition of the people, than from their inability to support them better. For the private houses, and dress of the Spanish inhabitants of Santa Cruz, are far preferable to those of the Portuguese at Madeira; who, perhaps, are willing to strip themselves, that they may adorn their churches. Almost facing the stone pier at the landing-place is a handsome marble column, lately put up, ornamented with some human figures, that do no discredit to the artist; with an inscription in Spanish, to commemorate the occasion of the erection, and the date.

"In the afternoon of the 2nd, four of us hired mules to ride to the city of Laguna *, so called from an adjoining lake, about four miles from Santa Cruz. We arrived there between five and six in the evening; but found a sight of it very unable to compensate for our trouble, as the road was very bad, and the mules but indifferent. The place is, indeed, pretty extensive, but scarcely deserves to be dignified with the name of city. The disposition of its streets is very irregular; yet some of them are of a tolerable breadth, and have some good houses. In general, however, Laguna is inferior in appearance to Santa Cruz, though the latter is but small, if compared with the former. We were informed, likewise, that Laguna is declining fast; there being, at present, some vineyards where houses formerly stood; whereas Santa Cruz is increasing daily. The road leading from Santa Cruz to Laguna runs up a steep hill, which is very barren; but, lower down, we saw some fig-trees, and several corn-fields. These are but small, and not thrown into ridges, as is practised in England. Nor does it appear that they can raise any corn here without great labour, as the ground is so encumbered with stones, that they are obliged to collect and lay them in broad rows, or walls, at small distances. The large hills that run to the south-west, appeared to be pretty well furnished with trees. Nothing else worth noticing presented itself during this excursion, except a few aloe plants in flower, near the side of the road, and the cheerfulness of our guides, who amused us with songs by the way.

"Most of the laborious work in this island is performed by mules; horses being to appearance scarce, and chiefly reserved for the use of the officers. They are of a small size, but well-shaped and spirited. Oxen are also employed to drag their casks along upon a large clumsy piece of wood; and they are yoked by the head; though it doth not seem that this has any peculiar advantage over our method of fixing the harness on the shoulders. In my walks and excursions, I saw some hawks, parrots, which are natives of the island, the sea-swallow or tern, sea-gulls, partridges, wagtails, swallows, martins, blackbirds, and canary birds in large flocks. There are also lizards of the common, and another sort; some insects, as locusts; and three or four sorts of dragon-flies.

"I had an opportunity of conversing with a sensible and well-informed gentleman residing here, and whose veracity I have not the least reason to doubt. From him I learnt some

* Its extended name is St. Christobal de la Laguna; and it used to be reckoned the capital of the island, the gentry and lawyers living there; though the Governor-General of the Canary Islands resides at Santa Cruz, as being the centre of their trade, both with Europe and America. See Glas's Hist. p. 248.

particulars, which, during the short stay of three days, did not fall within my own observation. He informed me, that a shrub is common here, agreeing exactly with the description given by Tournefort and Linnæus, of the tea shrub, as growing in China and Japan. It is reckoned a weed, and he roots out thousands of them every year, from his vineyards. The Spaniards, however, of the island, sometimes use it as tea, and ascribe to it all the qualities of that imported from China. They also give it the name of tea; but what is remarkable, they say it was found here when the islands were first discovered. Another botanical curiosity, mentioned by him, is what they call the *impregnated lemon* *. It is a perfect and distinct lemon, inclosed within another, differing from the outer one only in being a little more globular. The leaves of the tree that produces this sort, are much longer than those of the common one; and it was represented to me as being crooked, and not equal in beauty.

"From him I learnt also, that a certain sort of grape growing here is reckoned an excellent remedy in phthisical complaints. And the air and climate, in general, are remarkably healthful, and particularly adapted to give relief in such diseases. This he endeavoured to account for, by its being always in one's power to procure a different temperature of the air, by residing at different heights in the island; and he expressed his surprise that the English physicians should never have thought of sending their consumptive patients to Teneriffe, instead of Nice or Lisbon. How much the temperature of the air varies here, I myself could sensibly perceive, only in riding from Santa Cruz up to Laguna; and you may ascend till the cold becomes intolerable. I was assured that no person can live comfortably within a mile of the perpendicular height of the Pic, after the month of August †. Although some smoke constantly issues from near the top of the Pic, they have had no earthquake or eruption of a volcano since 1704, when the port of Garrachica, where much of their trade was formerly carried on, was destroyed ‡.

"Their trade, indeed, must be considered as very considerable; for they reckon that forty thousand pipes of wine are annually made; the greatest part of which is either consumed in the island, or made into brandy, and sent to the Spanish West Indies §. About six thousand pipes were exported every year to North America, while the trade with it was uninterrupted; at present, they think not above half the quantity. The corn they raise is, in general, insufficient to maintain the inhabitants; but the deficiency used to be supplied by importation from the North Americans, who took their wines in return. They make a little silk; but unless we reckon the filtering-stones, brought in great numbers from Grand Canary, the wine is the only considerable article of the foreign commerce of Teneriffe.

"None of the race of inhabitants found here when the Spaniards discovered the Canaries now remain a distinct people ||, having intermarried with the Spanish settlers; but their descendants are known, from their being remarkably tall, large-boned, and strong. The men are, in general, of a tawny colour, and the women have a pale complexion, entirely destitute of that bloom which distinguishes our northern beauties. The Spanish custom of wearing black clothes continues amongst *them;* but the men seem more indifferent about this, and, in some measure, dress like the French. In other respects, we found the inhabit-

* The writer of the Relation of Teneriffe in Sprat's Sprat's History, p. 207, takes notice of this lemon as produced here, and calls it *Pregnada*. Probably, *emprennada*, the Spanish word for *impregnated*, is the name it goes by.

† This agrees with Dr. T. Heberden's account, who says that the sugar-loaf part of the mountain, or *la pericosa* (as it is called), "which is an eighth part of a league (or 1980 feet) to the top, is covered with snow the greatest part of the year." See Philosophical Transactions, as quoted above.

‡ This port was then filled up by the rivers of burning lava that flowed into it from a volcano; insomuch that houses are now built where ships formerly lay at anchor. See Glas's Hist. p. 244.

§ Glas, p. 342, says, that they annually export no less than fifteen thousand pipes of wine and brandy. In another place, p. 252, he tells us, that the number of the inhabitants of Teneriffe, when the last account was taken, was no less than 96,000. We may reasonably suppose that there has been a considerable increase of population since Glas visited the island, which is above thirty years ago. The quantity of wine annually consumed, as the common beverage of at least one hundred thousand persons, must amount to several thousand pipes. There must be a vast expenditure of it, by conversion into brandy; to produce one pipe of which, five or six pipes of wine must be distilled. An attention to these particulars will enable every one to judge, that the account given to Mr. Anderson, of an annual produce of 40,000 pipes of wine, has a foundation in truth.

|| It was otherwise in Glas's time, when a few families of the *Guanches* (as they are called) remained still in Teneriffe, not blended with the Spaniards. Glas, p. 240.

ants of Teneriffe to be a decent and very civil people, retaining that grave cast which distinguishes those of their country from other European nations. Although we do not think that there is a great similarity between our manners and those of the Spaniards, it is worth observing, that Omai did not think there was much difference. He only said, that they seemed not so friendly as the English; and that, in their persons, they approached those of his countrymen."

CHAPTER III.—DEPARTURE FROM TENERIFFE.—DANGER OF THE SHIP NEAR BONAVISTA.—ISLE OF MAYO.—PORT PRAYA.—PRECAUTIONS AGAINST THE RAIN AND SULTRY WEATHER IN THE NEIGHBOURHOOD OF THE EQUATOR.—POSITION OF THE COAST OF BRAZIL.—ARRIVAL AT THE CAPE OF GOOD HOPE.—TRANSACTIONS THERE.—JUNCTION OF THE DISCOVERY.—MR. ANDERSON'S JOURNEY UP THE COUNTRY.—ASTRONOMICAL OBSERVATIONS.—NAUTICAL REMARKS ON THE PASSAGE FROM ENGLAND TO THE CAPE, WITH REGARD TO THE CURRENTS AND THE VARIATION.

Having completed our water, and got on board every other thing we wanted at Teneriffe, we weighed anchor on the 4th of August, and proceeded on our voyage, with a fine gale at north-east. At nine o'clock in the evening on the 10th*, we saw the island of Bonavista bearing S., distant little more than a league; though, at this time, we thought ourselves much farther off; but this proved a mistake. For, after hauling to the eastward till twelve o'clock, to clear the sunken rocks that lie about a league from the S.E. point of the island, we found ourselves, at that time, close upon them, and did but just weather the breakers. Our situation, for a few minutes, was very alarming. I did not choose to sound, as that might have heightened the danger without any possibility of lessening it. I make the N. end of the island of Bonavista to lie in the latitude of 16° 17′ N., and in the longitude of 22° 59′ W. As soon as we were clear of the rocks, we steered S.S.W., till daybreak next morning, and then hauled to the westward, to go between Bonavista and the Isle of Mayo, intending to look into Port Praya for the Discovery, as I had told Captain Clerke that I should touch there, and did not know how soon he might sail after me. At one in the afternoon, we saw the rocks that lie on the S.W. side of Bonavista, bearing S.E., distant three or four leagues.

Next morning, at six o'clock, the isle of Mayo bore S.S.E., distant about five leagues. In this situation we sounded, and found ground at sixty fathoms. At the same time the variation, by the mean of several azimuths taken with three different compasses, was 9° 32½′ W. At eleven o'clock, one extreme of Mayo bore E. by N., and the other S.E. by S. In this position, two roundish hills appeared near its N.E. part; farther on, a large and higher hill; and, at about two-thirds of its length, a single one that is peaked. At the distance we now saw this island, which was three or four miles, there was not the least appearance of vegetation, nor any relief to the eye from that lifeless brown which prevails in countries under the torrid zone that are unwooded.

Here I cannot help remarking that Mr. Nichelson, in his Preface to "Sundry Remarks and Observations made in a Voyage to the East Indies†," tells us, that "with eight degrees W. variation, or anything above that, you may venture to sail by the Cape de Verde Islands night or day, being well assured, with that variation, that you are to the eastward of them." Such an assertion might prove of dangerous consequence, were there any that would implicitly trust to it. We also tried the current, and found one setting S.W. by W., something more than half a mile an hour. We had reason to expect this, from the differences between the longitude given by the watch and dead reckoning, which, since our leaving Teneriffe, amounted to one degree. While we were amongst these islands we had

* As a proof of Captain Cook's attention, both to the discipline and to the health of his ship's company, it may be worth while to observe here, that it appears from his log-book, he "exercised them at great guns and small arms, and cleared and smoked the ship below decks," twice in the interval between the 4th and the 10th of August.

† On board his Majesty's ship Elizabeth, from 1758 to 1764: by William Nichelson, master of the said ship. London, 1773.

light breezes of wind, varying from the S.E. to E., and some calms. This shows that the Cape de Verde Islands are either extensive enough to break the current of the trade-wind, or that they are situated just beyond its verge, in that space where the variable winds, found on getting near the line, begin. The first supposition, however, is the most probable, as Dampier * found the wind westerly here in the month of February; at which time the trade-wind is supposed to extend farthest towards the equinoctial. The weather was hot and sultry, with some rain; and, for the most part, a dull whiteness prevailed in the sky, that seems a medium between fog and clouds. In general, the tropical regions seldom enjoy that clear atmosphere observable where variable winds blow; nor does the sun shine with such brightness. This circumstance, however, seems an advantage; for otherwise, perhaps, the rays of the sun, being uninterrupted, would render the heat quite unsupportable. The nights are, nevertheless, often clear and serene.

At nine o'clock in the morning of the 13th, we arrived before Port Praya, in the island of St. Jago, where we saw two Dutch East India ships, and a small brigantine at anchor. As the Discovery was not there, and we had expended but little water in our passage from Teneriffe, I did not think proper to go in, but stood to the southward. Some altitudes of the sun were now taken, to ascertain the true time. The longitude by the watch, deduced therefrom, was 23° 48′ W.; the little island in the bay bore W.N.W., distant near three miles, which will make its longitude 23° 51′. The same watch, on my late voyage, made the longitude to be 23° 30′ W., and we observed the latitude to be 14° 53′ 30″ N.

The day after we left the Cape de Verde Islands, we lost the N.E. trade-wind; but did not get that which blows from the S.E. till the 30th, when we were in the latitude of 2° N., and in the twenty-fifth degree of W. longitude. During this interval †, the wind was mostly in the S.W. quarter. Sometimes it blew fresh, and in squalls; but for the most part a gentle breeze. The calms were few, and of short duration. Between the latitude of 12° and of 7° N., the weather was generally dark and gloomy, with frequent rains, which enabled us to save as much water as filled most of our empty casks.

These rains, and the close sultry weather accompanying them, too often bring on sickness in this passage. Every bad consequence, at least, is to be apprehended from them; and commanders of ships cannot be too much upon their guard, by purifying the air between-decks with fires and smoke, and by obliging the people to dry their clothes at every opportunity. These precautions were constantly observed on board the Resolution ‡ and Discovery; and we certainly profited by them, for we had now fewer sick than on either of my former voyages. We had, however, the mortification to find our ship exceedingly leaky in all her upper works. The hot and sultry weather we had just passed through, had opened her seams, which had been badly caulked at first, so wide, that they admitted the rain-water through as it fell. There was hardly a man that could lie dry in his bed; and the officers in the gun-room were all driven out of their cabins, by the water that came through the sides. The sails in the sail-room got wet; and before we had weather to dry them, many of them were much damaged, and a great expense of canvas and of time became necessary to make them in some degree serviceable. Having experienced the same defect in our sail-rooms on my late voyage, it had been represented to the yard-officers, who undertook to remove it. But it did not appear to me that anything had been done to remedy the complaint. To repair these defects the caulkers were set to work, as soon as we got into fair settled weather, to caulk the decks and inside weather works of the ship; for I would not trust them over the sides while we were at sea.

* Dampier's Voyages, vol. iii. p. 10.

† "On the 18th, I sunk a bucket with a thermometer seventy fathoms below the surface of the sea, where it remained two minutes; and it took three minutes more to haul it up. The mercury in the thermometer was at 66, which before, in the air, stood at 78, and in the surface of the sea at 79. The water which came up in the bucket contained, by Mr. Cavendish's table $\frac{1}{27}$, 7 part salt; and that at the surface of the sea $\frac{1}{28}$, 4. As this last was taken up after a smart shower of rain, it might be lighter on that account."—Captain Cook's log-book.

‡ The particulars are mentioned in his log-book:—"On the 14th of August, a fire was made in the well, to air the ship below. On the 15th, the spare sails were aired upon deck, and a fire made to air the sail-room. On the 17th, cleaned and smoked betwixt decks, and the bread-room aired with fires. On the 21st, cleaned and smoked betwixt decks; and on the 22nd, the men's bedding was spread on deck to air."

On the first of September * we crossed the equator in the longitude of 27° 38′ W., with a fine gale at S.E. by S.; and notwithstanding my apprehensions of falling in with the coast of Brazil in stretching to the S.W., I kept the ship a full point from the wind. However, I found my fears were ill-grounded; for, on drawing near that coast, we met with the wind more and more easterly; so that, by the time we were in the latitude of 10° S., we could make a south-easterly course good. On the 8th we were in the latitude of 8° 57′ S.; which is a little to the southward of Cape St. Augustine, on the coast of Brazil. Our longitude, deduced from a very great number of lunar observations, was 34° 16′ W.; and by the watch 34° 47′. The former is 1° 43′, and the latter 2° 14′ more westerly than the island of Fernando de Noronha, the situation of which was pretty well determined during my late voyage †. Hence I concluded that we could not now be farther from the continent than twenty or thirty leagues at most; and perhaps not much less, as we neither had soundings, nor any other signs of land. Dr. Halley, however, in his voyage, published by Mr. Dalrymple, tells us ‡, that "he made no more than one hundred and two miles, meridian distance, from the island [Fernando de Noronha] to the coast of Brazil;" and seems to think that "currents could not be the whole cause" of his making so little. But I rather think that he was mistaken, and that the currents had hurried him far to the westward of his intended course. This was, in some measure, confirmed by our own observations; for we had found, during three or four days preceding the 8th, that the currents set to the westward; and, during the last twenty-four hours, it had set strong to the northward, as we experienced a difference of twenty-nine miles between our observed latitude and that by dead reckoning. Upon the whole, till some better astronomical observations are made on shore on the eastern coast of Brazil, I shall conclude that its longitude is thirty-five degrees and a half, or thirty-six degrees west, at most.

We proceeded on our voyage, without meeting with anything of note till the 6th of October. Being then in the latitude of 35° 15′ S., longitude 7° 45′ W., we met with light airs and calms by turns, for three days successively. We had, for some days before, seen albatrosses, pintadoes, and other petrels; and here we saw three penguins, which occasioned us to sound; but we found no ground with a line of one hundred and fifty fathoms. We put a boat in the water, and shot a few birds; one of which was a black petrel, about the size of a crow, and, except as to the bill and feet, very like one. It had a few white feathers under the throat; and the under-side of the quill-feathers were of an ash-colour. All the other feathers were jet black, as also the bill and legs.

On the 8th, in the evening, one of those birds which sailors call noddies settled on our rigging, and was caught. It was something larger than an English blackbird, and nearly as black, except the upper part of the head, which was white, looking as if it were powdered; the whitest feathers growing out from the base of the upper bill, from which they gradually assumed a darker colour, to about the middle of the upper part of the neck, where the white shade was lost in the black, without being divided by any line. It was web-footed; had black legs and a black bill, which was long, and not unlike that of a curlew. It is said these birds never fly far from land. We knew of none nearer the station we were in, than Gough's or Richmond Island, from which our distance could not be less than one hundred leagues. But it must be observed that the Atlantic Ocean, to the southward of this latitude, has been but little frequented; so that there may be more islands there than

* The afternoon, as appears from Mr. Anderson's Journal, was spent in performing the old and ridiculous ceremony of ducking those who had not crossed the equator before. Though Captain Cook did not suppress the custom, he thought it too trifling to deserve the least mention of it in his Journal, or even in his log-book. Pernetty, the writer of Bougainville's Voyage to the Falkland Islands, in 1763 and 1764, thought differently; for his account of the celebration of this childish festival on board his ship is extended through seventeen pages, and makes the subject of an entire chapter, under the title of *Baptême de la Ligne*.

It may be worth while to transcribe his introduction to the description of it. "C'est un usage qui ne remonte pas plus haut que ce voyage célèbre de Gama, qui a fourni au Camoens le sujet de la Lusiade. L'idée qu'on ne sçauroit être un bon marin, sans avoir traversé l'Equateur, l'ennui inséparable d'une longue navigation, un certain esprit républicain qui règne dans toutes les petites sociétés, peut-être toutes ces causes réunies, ont pu donner naissance à ces espèces de saturnales. Quoiqu'il en soit, elles furent adoptées, en un instant, dans toutes les nations, et les hommes les plus éclairés furent obligés de se soumettre à une coutume dont ils reconnoissoient l'absurdité. Car, partout, dès que le peuple parle, il faut que le sage se mette à l'unison."—Histoire d'un Voyage aux Isles Malouines, p. 107, 108.

† See Cook's Second Voyage, b. iv. c. 10. ‡ P. 11.

we are acquainted with. We frequently, in the night, saw those luminous marine animals mentioned and described in my first voyage *. Some of them seemed to be considerably larger than any I had before met with; and sometimes they were so numerous, that hundreds were visible at the same moment.

This calm weather was succeeded by a fresh gale from the N.W., which lasted two days. Then we had again variable light airs for about twenty-four hours; when the N.W. wind returned, and blew with such strength, that on the 17th we had sight of the Cape of Good Hope; and the next day anchored in Table Bay, in four fathoms water, with the church bearing S.W. ¼ S., and Green Point N.W. ¼ W. As soon as we had received the usual visit from the master attendant and the surgeon, I sent an officer to wait on Baron Plettenberg the governor; and, on his return, saluted the garrison with thirteen guns, which compliment was returned with the same number. We found in the bay two French East India ships; the one outward, and the other homeward bound. And two or three days before our arrival, another homeward bound ship of the same nation had parted from her cable, and been driven on shore at the head of the bay, where she was lost. The crew were saved; but the greatest part of the cargo shared the same fate with the ship, or (which amounted to the same) was plundered and stolen by the inhabitants, either out of the ship, or as it was driven or carried on shore. This is the account the French officers gave to me; and the Dutch themselves could not deny the fact. But, by way of excusing themselves from being guilty of a crime disgraceful to every civilised state, they endeavoured to lay the whole blame on the French captain, for not applying in time for a guard.

As soon as we had saluted, I went on shore, accompanied by some of my officers, and waited on the governor, the lieutenant-governor, the fiscal, and the commander of the troops. These gentlemen received me with the greatest civility; and the governor, in particular, promised me every assistance that the place afforded. At the same time I obtained his leave to set up our observatory on any spot I should think most convenient; to pitch tents for the sail-makers and coopers; and to bring the cattle on shore to graze near our encampment. Before I returned on board, I ordered soft bread, fresh meat, and greens, to be provided every day for the ship's company. On the 22nd, we set up the tents and observatory, and began to send the several articles out of the ship which I wanted on shore. This could not be done sooner, as the militia of the place were exercising on, or near, the ground which we were to occupy. The next day we began to observe equal altitudes of the sun, in order to ascertain the rate of the watch, or, which is the same thing, to find whether it had altered its rate. These observations were continued every day, whenever the weather would permit, till the time of our departure drew near. But before this, the caulkers had been set to work to caulk the ship; and I had concerted measures with Messrs. Brandt and Chiron, for supplying both ships with such provisions as I should want. Bakers, likewise, had been ordered, immediately after our arrival, to bake such a quantity of bread as I thought would be requisite. As fast as the several articles destined for the Resolution were got ready, they were carried on board.

On the 26th, the French ship sailed for Europe, and by her we sent letters to England. The next day the Hampshire, East India ship, from Bencoolen, anchored in the bay, and saluted us with thirteen guns, which we returned with eleven.

Nothing remarkable happened till the evening of the 31st, when it came on to blow excessively hard at S.E., and continued for three days; during which time there was no communication between the ship and the shore. The Resolution was the only ship in the bay that rode out the gale without dragging her anchors. We felt its effects as sensibly on shore. Our tents and observatory were torn to pieces; and our astronomical quadrant narrowly escaped irreparable damage. On the 3rd of November the storm ceased, and the next day we resumed our different employments. On the 6th, the Hampshire, India ship, sailed for England. In her I sent home an invalid, whom Captain Trimble was so obliging as to receive on board. I was afterwards sorry that I had not availed myself of this opportunity to part with two or three more of my crew, who were troubled with different complaints; but, at this time, there was some hope of their health being re-established.

* See vol. I. p. 9.

In the morning of the 10th, the Discovery arrived in the bay. Captain Clerke informed me that he had sailed from Plymouth on the 1st of August, and should have been with us here a week sooner if the late gale of wind had not blown him off the coast. Upon the whole, he was seven days longer in his passage from England than we had been. He had the misfortune to lose one of his marines, by falling overboard; but there had been no other mortality amongst his people, and they now arrived well and healthy. Captain Clerke having represented to me that his ship was in want of caulking; that no time might be lost in repairing this defect, next day I sent all my workmen on board her, having already completed this service on board the Resolution. I lent every other assistance to the captain to expedite his supply of provisions and water, having given him an order to receive on board as much of both articles as he could conveniently stow. I now found that the bakers had failed in baking the bread I had ordered for the Discovery. They pretended a want of flour; but the truth was, they were doubtful of her coming, and did not care to begin till they saw her at anchor in the bay.

I have before made mention of our getting our cattle on shore. The bull and two cows, with their calves, were sent to graze along with some other cattle; but I was advised to keep our sheep, sixteen in number, close to our tents, where they were penned up every night. During the night preceding the 14th, some dogs having got in amongst them, forced them out of the pen, killing four, and dispersing the rest. Six of them were recovered the next day; but the two rams, and two of the finest ewes in the whole flock, were amongst those missing. Baron Plettenberg being now in the country, I applied to the lieutenant-governor, Mr. Hemmy, and to the fiscal. Both these gentlemen promised to use their endeavours for the recovery of the lost sheep. The Dutch, we know, boast that the police at the Cape is so carefully executed, that it is hardly possible for a slave, with all his cunning and knowledge of the country, to effectuate his escape. Yet my sheep evaded all the vigilance of the fiscal's officers and people. However, after much trouble and expense, by employing some of the meanest and lowest scoundrels in the place (who, to use the phrase of the person who recommended this method to me, would, for a ducatoon, cut their master's throat, burn the house over his head, and bury him and the whole family in the ashes), I recovered them all but the two ewes. Of these I never could hear the least tidings: and I gave over all inquiry after them, when I was told, that since I had got the two rams, I might think myself very well off. One of these, however, was so much hurt by the dogs, that there was reason to believe he would never recover.

Mr. Hemmy very obligingly offered to make up this loss, by giving me a Spanish ram, out of some that he had sent for from Lisbon. But I declined the offer, under a persuasion that it would answer my purpose full as well, to take with me some of the Cape rams; the event proved, that I was under a mistake. This gentleman has taken some pains to introduce European sheep at the Cape; but his endeavours, as he told me, have been frustrated by the obstinacy of the country people, who hold their own breed in greater estimation, on account of their large tails, of the fat of which they sometimes make more money than of the whole carcass besides *; and think that the wool of European sheep will, by no means, make up for their deficiency in this respect. Indeed, I have heard some sensible men here make the same observation. And there seems to be foundation for it. For, admitting that European sheep were to produce wool of the same quality here as in Europe, which experience has shown not to be the case, the Dutch have not hands, at the Cape of Good Hope, to spare for the manufacturing even their own clothing. It is certain that, were it not for the continual importation of slaves, this settlement would be thinner of people than any other inhabited part of the world.

While the ships were getting ready for the prosecution of our voyage, some of our officers made an excursion to take a view of the neighbouring country. Mr. Anderson, my surgeon,

* "The most remarkable thing in the Cape sheep, is the length and thickness of their tails, which weigh from fifteen to twenty pounds. The fat is not so tallowish as that of European mutton, and the poorer sort use it for butter." Kolben's Cape of Good Hope [English translation], vol. ii. p. 65. De la Caille, who finds everything wrong in Kolben, says, the weight of the tails of the Cape sheep is not above five or six pounds. Voyage de la Caille, p. 343. If the information given to Captain Cook may be depended upon, it will prove that, in this instance at least, Kolben is unjustly accused of exaggeration.

who was one of the party, gave me the following relation of their proceedings* :—"On the 16th, in the forenoon, I set out in a waggon, with five more, to take a view of some part of the country. We crossed the large plain that lies to the eastward of the town, which is entirely a white sand, like that commonly found on beaches, and produces only heath, and other small plants of various sorts. At five in the afternoon we passed a large farm-house, with some corn-fields, and pretty considerable vineyards, situated beyond the plain, near the foot of some low hills, where the soil becomes worth cultivating. Between six and seven we arrived at Stellenbosh, the colony next to that of the Cape for its importance. The village does not consist of more than thirty houses, and stands at the foot of the range of lofty mountains, above twenty miles to the eastward of the Cape Town. The houses are neat; and, with the advantage of a rivulet which runs near, and the shelter of some large oaks, planted at its first settling, forms what may be called a rural prospect in this desert country. There are some vineyards and orchards about the place, which, from their thriving appearance, seem to indicate an excellent soil; though, perhaps, they owe much to climate, as the air here has an uncommon serenity. I employed the next day in searching for plants and insects about Stellenbosh, but had little success. Few plants are in flower here at this season, and insects but scarce. I examined the soil in several places, and found it to consist of yellowish clay, mixed with a good deal of sand. The sides of the low hills, which appear brown, seem to be constituted of a sort of stone marl.

"We left Stellenbosh next morning, and soon arrived at the house we had passed on Saturday; the owner of which, Mr. Cloeder, had sent us an invitation, the evening before, to visit him. This gentleman entertained us with the greatest hospitality, and in a manner very different from what we expected. He received us with music; and a band also played while we were at dinner, which, considering the situation of the place, might be reckoned elegant. He showed us his wine-cellars, his orchards, and vineyards; all which, I must own, inspired me with a wish to know in what manner these industrious people could create such plenty in a spot where, I believe, no other European nation would have attempted to settle. In the afternoon we crossed the country, and passed a few plantations, one of which seemed very considerable, and was laid out in a taste somewhat different from any other we saw. In the evening we arrived at a farm-house, which is the first in the cultivated tract called the Pearl. We had, at the same time, a view of Drakenstein, the third colony of this country, which lies along by the foot of the lofty hills already mentioned, and contains several farms or plantations, not very extensive.

"I went, on the 19th in the forenoon, in quest of plants and insects, which I found almost as scarce as at Stellenbosh; but I met with more shrubs or small trees, naturally produced, in the valleys, than in any part of the country I had hitherto seen. In the afternoon, we went to see a stone of a remarkable size, called by the inhabitants the Tower of Babylon, or the Pearl Diamond†. It lies, or stands, upon the top of some low hills, at the foot of which our farm-house was situated; and though the road to it is neither very steep nor rugged, we were above an hour and a half in walking to it. It is of an oblong shape, rounded on the top, and lies nearly south and north. The east and west sides are steep, and almost perpen-

* In the Philosophical Transactions, vol. lxvi. p. 268 to 310, is an "Account of Three Journeys from the Cape Town into the Southern Parts of Africa," in 1772, 1773, and 1774; by Mr. Francis Masson, who had been sent from England for the discovery of new plants, towards the improvement of the Royal Botanical Garden at Kew. Much curious information is contained in Mr. Masson's account of these journeys. M. de Pagès, who was at the Cape in 1773, gives some remarks on the state of that settlement, and also the particulars of his journey from False Bay to the Cape Town.—"Voyage vers le Pôle du Sud," p. 17 to 32.

† In the Philosophical Transactions, vol. lxviii. part I. p. 102, we have a Letter from Mr. Anderson to Sir John Pringle, describing this remarkable stone. The account sent home from the Cape, and read before the Royal Society, is much the same with that now published, but rather fuller. In particular, he tells Sir John, that he went to see it at "Mr. Masson's desire," who, probably, had not had an opportunity of sufficiently examining it himself. In the account of his journeys, above referred to, p. 270, he only says, "There are two large solid rocks on the Perel Berg, each of which (he believes) is more than a mile in circumference at the base, and upwards of two hundred feet high. Their surfaces are nearly smooth, without chink or fissures; and they are found to be a species of granite, different from that which composes the neighbouring mountains."

Mr. Anderson having, with his letter to Sir John Pringle, also sent home a specimen of the rock, it was examined by Sir William Hamilton, whose opinion is, that "this singular, immense fragment of granite, most probably, has been raised by a volcanic explosion, or some such cause." See his Letter to Sir John Pringle, annexed to Mr. Anderson's in the Philosophical Transactions.

dicular. The south end is likewise steep, and its greatest height is there; from whence it declines gently to the north part, by which we ascended to its top, and had an extensive view of the whole country.

"Its circumference, I think, must be at least half a mile; as it took us above half an hour to walk round it, including every allowance for the bad road, and stopping a little. At its highest part, which is the south end, comparing it with a known object, it seems to equal the dome of St. Paul's church. It is one uninterrupted mass of stone, if we except some fissures, or rather impressions, not above three or four feet deep, and a vein which runs across near its north end. It is of that sort of stone called, by mineralogists, *Saxum conglutinatum*, and consists chiefly of pieces of coarse *quartz* and *glimmer*, held together by a clayey cement. But the vein which crosses it, though of the same materials, is much compacter. This vein is not above a foot broad or thick; and its surface is cut into little squares or oblongs, disposed obliquely, which makes it look like the remains of some artificial work. But I could not observe whether it penetrated far into the large rock, or was only superficial. In descending, we found at its foot a very rich black mould; and on the sides of the hills, some trees of a considerable size, natives of the place, which are a species of *olea**. In the morning on the 20th, we set out from the Pearl; and going a different road from that by which we came, passed through a country, wholly uncultivated, till we got to the Tyger hills, when some tolerable corn-fields appeared. At noon, we stopped in a hollow for refreshment; but, in walking about here, were plagued with a vast number of musquitoes or sand-flies, which were the first I saw in the country. In the afternoon we set out again, and in the evening arrived at the Cape Town, tired with the jolting waggon."

On the 23d, we got on board the observatory, clock, &c. By a mean of the several results of the equal altitudes of the sun, taken with the astronomical quadrant, the astronomical clock was found to lose on sidereal time 1′ 8″ .368 each day. The pendulum was kept at the same length as at Greenwich, where the daily loss of the clock on sidereal time, was 4″.

The watch, by the mean of the results of fifteen days' observations, was found to be losing 2″ .261, on mean time, each day; which is 1″ .052 more than at Greenwich: and on the 21st, at noon, she was too slow for mean time by 1ʰ 20′ 57″ .66. From this, 6′ 48″ .956, is to be subtracted, for what she was too slow on the 11th of June at Greenwich, and her daily rate since; and the remainder, viz., 1ʰ 14′ 08″ .704, or 18° 32′ 10″, will be the longitude of the Cape Town by the watch. Its true longitude, as found by Messrs. Mason and Dixon, is 18° 23′ 15″. As our observations were made about half a mile to the east of theirs, the error of the watch, in longitude, is no more than 8′ 25″. Hence we have reason to conclude, that she had gone well all the way from England, and that the longitude, thus given, may be nearer the truth than any other. If this be admitted, it will, in a great measure, enable me to find the direction and strength of the currents we met with on this passage from England. For, by comparing the latitude and longitude by dead reckoning, with those by observation and the watch, we shall, from time to time, have, very accurately, the error of the ship's reckoning, be the cause what it will. But as all imaginable care was taken in heaving and keeping the log, and every necessary allowance made for lee-way, heave of the sea, and other such circumstances, I cannot attribute those errors that did happen, to any other cause but currents; but more particularly when the error was constantly the same way, for several days successively.

On the contrary, if we find the ship ahead of the reckoning on one day, and astern of it

* It is strange that neither Kolben nor De la Caille should have thought the "Tower of Babylon" worthy of a particular description. The former [vol. ii. p. 52, 53, English Translation], only mentions it as a "high mountain." The latter contents himself with telling us, that it is a very low hillock, "un très-bas monticule." Voyage de la Caille, p. 341. We are much obliged to Mr. Anderson for his very accurate account of this remarkable rock, which agrees with Mr. Sonnerat's, who was at the Cape of Good Hope so late as 1781. His words are, "La montagne de la *Perle* mérite d'être observée. C'est une des plus hautes des environs du Cap. Elle n'est composée que d'un seul bloc de granit crévassé dans plusieurs endroits."—Voyage aux Indes, tom. ii. p. 91.

Mr. Sonnerat tells us, that Mr. Gordon, commander of the troops at the Cape, had lately made three journeys up the country, from which, when he publishes his Journal, we may expect much curious information.

on another, we have reason to believe that such errors are owing to accidental causes, and not to currents. This seems to have been the case in our passage between England and Teneriffe. But, from the time of our leaving that island, till the 15th of August, being then in the latitude of 12° N., and longitude 24° W., the ship was carried 1° 20′ of longitude to the westward of her reckoning. At this station the currents took a contrary direction, and set to E.S.E., at the rate of twelve or fourteen miles a day, or twenty-four hours, till we arrived into the latitude of 5° N., and longitude of 20° W.; which was our most easterly situation after leaving the Cape de Verde Islands, till we got to the southward. For in this situation the wind came southerly, and we tacked and stretched to the westward; and for two or three days could not find that our reckoning was affected by any current. So that, I judged, we were between the current that generally, if not constantly, sets to the east upon the coast of Guinea, and that which sets to the west towards the coast of Brasil. This westerly current was not considerable till we got into 2° N., and 25° W. From this station, to 3° S. and 30° W., the ship, in the space of four days, was carried one hundred and fifteen miles in the direction of S.W. by W. beyond her reckoning; an error by far too great to have any other cause but a strong current running in the same direction. Nor did its strength abate here; but its course was, afterward, more westerly, and to the N. of W.; and off Cape Augustine, north, as I have already mentioned. But this northerly current did not exist at twenty or thirty leagues to the southward of that Cape, nor any other, that I could perceive, in the remaining part of the passage. The little difference we afterward found between the reckoning and observations, might very well happen without the assistance of currents, as will appear by the Table of Days' Works.

In the account of my last voyage *, I remarked, that the currents one meets with in this passage generally balance each other. It happened so then, because we crossed the line about 20° more to the eastward than we did now; so that we were, of consequence, longer under the influence of the easterly current, which made up for the westerly one. And this, I apprehend, will generally be the case, if you cross the line 10° or 15° to the east of the meridian of St. Jago.

From these remarks I shall draw the following conclusion, that, after passing the Cape de Verde Island, if you do not make above 4° or 5° easting, and cross the line in, or to the westward of, the meridian of St. Jago, you may expect to find your ship 3° or 4° to the westward of her reckoning, by the time you get into the latitude of 10° S. If, on the other hand, you keep well to the east, and cross the line 15° or 20° to the east of St. Jago, you will be then as much to the east of your reckoning; and the more you keep to the eastward, the greater will be your error; as has been experienced by some India ships, whose people have found themselves close upon the coast of Angola, when they thought its distance was above two hundred leagues. During the whole of our passage from England, no opportunity was omitted of observing, with all the attention and accuracy that circumstances would permit, the variation of the compass, which I have inserted in a table, with the latitude and longitude of the ship at the time of observation. As the longitude may be depended upon, to a quarter or half a degree at most, this table will be of use to those navigators who correct their reckoning by the variation. It will also enable Mr. Dun to correct his new Variation Chart, a thing very much wanted.

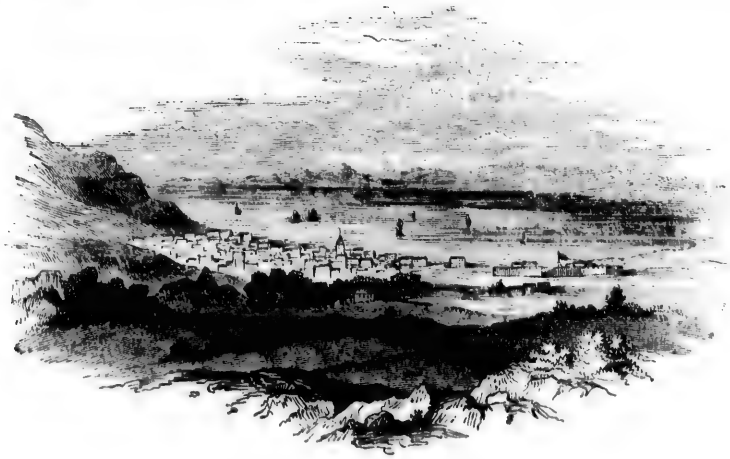
It seems strange to me, that the advocates for the variation should not agree amongst themselves. We find one † of them telling us, as I have already observed, "that with 8° west variation, or anything above that, you may venture to sail by the Cape de Verde islands, by night or day, being well assured, with that variation, that you are to the eastward of them." Another, in his chart‡, lays down this variation ninety leagues to the westward of them. Such a disagreement as this, is a strong proof of the uncertainty of both. However, I have no doubt, the former found here, as well as in other places, the variation he mentions. But he should have considered, that at sea, nay even on land, the results of the most accurate observations will not always be the same. Different compasses will give different variations; and even the same compass will differ from itself two degrees, without our being able to

* Vol. I., p. 348. † Nicholson. ‡ Mr. Dun.

discover, much less to remove, the cause. Whoever imagines he can find the variation within a degree, will very often see himself much deceived. For, besides the imperfection which may be in the construction of the instrument, or in the power of the needle, it is certain that the motion of the ship, or attraction of the ironwork, or some other cause not yet discovered, will frequently occasion far greater errors than this. That the variation may be found, with a share of accuracy more than sufficient to determine the ship's course, is allowed; but that it can be found so exactly as to fix the longitude within a degree, or sixty miles, I absolutely deny.

CHAPTER IV.—THE TWO SHIPS LEAVE THE CAPE OF GOOD HOPE.—TWO ISLANDS, NAMED PRINCE EDWARD'S, SEEN, AND THEIR APPEARANCE DESCRIBED.—KERGUELEN'S LAND VISITED.—ARRIVAL IN CHRISTMAS HARBOUR.—OCCURRENCES THERE.—DESCRIPTION OF IT.

After the disaster which happened to our sheep, it may be well supposed I did not trust those that remained long on shore, but got them, and the other cattle, on board as fast as possible. I also added to my original stock by purchasing two young bulls, two heifers, two young stone-horses, two mares, two rams, several ewes and goats, and some rabbits and poultry. All of them were intended for New Zealand, Otaheite, and the neighbouring islands, or any other places, in the course of our voyage, where there might be a prospect that the leaving any of them would be useful [illegible] posterity. Towards the latter end of November the calkers had finished their work on board the Discovery, and she had received all her provisions and water. Of the former, both ships had a supply sufficient for two years and upwards; and every other article we could think of, necessary for such a voyage, that could be had at the Cape, was procured; neither knowing when or where we might come to a place where we could furnish ourselves so well.



CAPE-TOWN.

Having given Captain Clerke a copy of my instructions, and an order directing him how to proceed in case of separation, in the morning of the 30th we repaired on board. At five in the afternoon a breeze sprung up at S.E., with which we weighed, and stood out of the bay. At nine it fell calm, and we anchored between Penguin Island and the east shore, where we lay till three o'clock next morning. We then weighed and put to sea, with a light breeze at south, but did not get clear of the land till the morning of the 3d, when with a fresh gale at W.N.W. we stood to the S.E. to get more into the way of these winds.

On the 5th a sudden squall of wind carried away the Resolution's mizen topmast. Having another to replace it, the loss was not felt, especially as it was a bad stick, and had often complained. On the 6th, in the evening, being then in the latitude of 39° 14′ S., and in the longitude of 23° 56′ E., we passed through several small spots of water of reddish colour. Some of this was taken up, and it was found to abound with a small animal which the microscope discovered to be like a cray-fish, of a reddish hue. We continued our course to the south-east, with a very strong gale from the westward, followed by a mountainous sea, which made the ship roll and tumble exceedingly, and gave us a great deal of trouble to preserve the cattle we had on board. Notwithstanding all our care, several goats, especially the males, died; and some sheep. This misfortune was, in a great measure, owing to the cold, which we now began most sensibly to feel.

On the 12th, at noon, we saw land extending from S.E. by S. to S.E. by E. Upon a nearer approach, we found it to be two islands. That which lies most to the south, and is also the largest, I judged to be about fifteen leagues in circuit, and to be in the latitude of 46° 53′ S., and in the longitude of 37° 46′ E. The most northerly one is about nine leagues in circuit, and lies in the latitude of 46° 40′ S., and in 38° 8′ E. longitude. The distance from the one to the other is about five leagues. We passed through this channel at equal distance from both islands, and could not discover, with the assistance of our best glasses, either tree or shrub on either of them. They seemed to have a rocky and bold shore; and excepting the south-east parts, where the land is rather low and flat, a surface composed of barren mountains, which rise to a considerable height, and whose summits and sides were covered with snow, which in many places seemed to be of a considerable depth. The south-east parts had a much greater quantity on them than the rest; owing probably to the sun acting for a less space of time on these than on the north and north-west parts. The ground, where it was not hid by the snow, from the various shades it exhibited, may be supposed to be covered with moss, or, perhaps, such a coarse grass as is found in some parts of Falkland's Islands. On the north side of each of the islands is a detached rock: that near the south island is shaped like a tower, and seemed to be at some distance from the shore. As we passed along, a quantity of sea-weed was seen, and the colour of the water indicated soundings. But there was no appearance of an inlet, unless near the rock just mentioned; and that, from its smallness, did not promise a good anchoring-place.

These two islands, as also four others which lie from nine to twelve degrees of longitude more to the east, and nearly in the same latitude, were discovered, as I have mentioned in my late voyage *, by Captains Marion du Fresne, and Crozet, French navigators, in January 1772, on their passage in two ships from the Cape of Good Hope to the Philippine Islands. As they have no names in the French chart of the southern hemisphere which Captain Crozet communicated to me in 1775 †, I shall distinguish the two we now saw, by calling them Prince Edward's Islands, after his Majesty's fourth son; and the other four by the name of Marion's and Crozet's Islands, to commemorate their discoveries. We had now, for the most part, strong gales between the north and west, and but very indifferent weather; not better, indeed, than we generally have in England in the very depth of winter, though it was now the middle of summer in this hemisphere. Not discouraged, however, by this, after leaving Prince Edward's Islands, I shaped our course to pass to the southward of the others, that I might get into the latitude of the land discovered by Monsieur de Kerguelen.

I had applied to the Chevalier de Borda, whom, as I have mentioned, I found at Teneriffe, requesting, that if he knew anything of the island discovered by Monsieur de Kerguelen, between the Cape of Good Hope and New Holland, he would be so obliging as to communicate it to me. Accordingly, just before we sailed from Santa Cruz bay, he sent me the following account of it, viz., "That the pilot of the Boussole, who was in the voyage with

* See book iv. chap. 9. These islands are there said to be in the latitude of 48° S., that is, two degrees farther south than what here appears to be their real position.

† See vol. I., as above. Dr. Forster, in his Observations made during that voyage, p. 30, gives us this description of the chart then communicated by Monsieur Crozet; that it was "published under the patronage of the Duke de Croye, by Robert de Vaugondy." Captain Cook tells us lower in this chapter that it was published in 1773.

Monsieur de Kerguelen, had given him the latitude and longitude of a little island, which Monsieur de Kerguelen called the Isle of Rendezvous, and which lies not far from the great island which he saw. Latitude of the little isle, by seven observations, 48° 26′ south; longitude, by seven observations of the distance of the sun and moon, 64° 57′ east from Paris." I was very sorry I had not sooner known that there was on board the frigate at Teneriffe an officer who had been with Monsieur de Kerguelen, especially the pilot; because from him I might have obtained more interesting information about this land than the situation alone, of which I was not before entirely ignorant *.

My instructions directing me to examine it, with a view to discover a good harbour, I proceeded in the search; and on the 16th, being then in the latitude of 48° 45′, and in the longitude of 52° E., we saw penguins and divers, and rock-weed floating in the sea. We continued to meet with more or less of these every day, as we proceeded to the eastward;

* Captain Cook's proceedings, as related in the remaining part of this chapter, and in the next, being upon a coast newly discovered by the French, it could not but be an object of his attention to trace the footsteps of the original explorers. But no superiority of professional skill, nor diligence in exerting it, could possibly qualify him to do this successfully, without possessing, at the same time, full and authentic intelligence of all that had been performed here by his predecessors in the discovery. But that he was not so fortunate as to be thus sufficiently instructed, will appear from the following facts, which the reader is requested to attend to, before he proceeds to the perusal of this part of the journal.

How very little was known, with any precision, about the operations of Kerguelen, when Captain Cook sailed in 1776, may be inferred from the following paragraph of his instructions:—"You are to proceed in search of some islands *said to have been lately seen* by the French in the latitude of 48° S., and in the meridian of Mauritius." This was barely the amount of the very indefinite and imperfect information which Captain Cook himself had received from Baron Plettenberg at the Cape of Good Hope, in November 1772; in the beginning of which year Kerguelen's *first* voyage had taken place.

The Captain, on his return homeward in March 1775, heard, a second time, something about this French discovery at the Cape, where he met with Monsieur Crozet, who "very obligingly communicated to him" a chart of the southern hemisphere, "wherein were delineated not only his own discoveries, but also that of Captain Kerguelen." But what little information that chart could convey, was still necessarily confined to the operations of the first voyage; the chart here referred to having been published in France in 1773; that is, before any intelligence could possibly be conveyed from the southern hemisphere of the result of Kerguelen's second visit to this new land, which we now know happened towards the close of the same year.

Of these latter operations, the only account (if that can be called an account which conveys no particular information) received by Captain Cook from Monsieur Crozet was, "that a later voyage had been undertaken by the French, under the command of Captain Kerguelen, which had ended much to the disgrace of that commander."

What Crozet had *not* communicated to our author, and what we are sure, from a variety of circumstances, he had *never* heard of from any other quarter, he missed an opportunity of learning at Teneriffe. He expresses his being sorry, as we have just read, "that he did not know sooner that there was on board the frigate an officer who had been with Kerguelen, as he might have obtained from him more interesting information about this land than its situation." And, indeed, if he had conversed with that officer, he might have obtained information "more interesting" than he was aware of; he might have learned that Kerguelen had actually visited this southern land a second time, and that the little isle of which he then received the name and position from the Chevalier de Borda, was a discovery of this later voyage. But the account conveyed to him being, as the reader will observe, unaccompanied with any date, or other distinguishing circumstance, he left Teneriffe, and arrived on the coasts of Kerguelen's Land, under a full persuasion that it had been visited only *once* before. And, even with regard to the operations of that first voyage, he had nothing to guide him but the very scanty materials afforded to him by Baron Plettenberg and Monsieur Crozet.

The truth is, the French seem, for some reason or other, not surely founded on the importance of Kerguelen's discovery, to have been very shy of publishing a full and distinct account of it. No such account had been published while Captain Cook lived. Nay, even after the return of his ships in 1780, the gentleman who obligingly lent his assistance to give a view of the prior observations of the French, and to connect them on the same chart with those of our author, though his assiduity in procuring geographical information can be equalled only by his readiness in communicating it, had not, it should seem, been able to procure any materials for that purpose, but such as mark the operations of the first French voyage; and even for these he was indebted to a MS. drawing.

But this veil of unnecessary secrecy is at length drawn aside. Kerguelen himself has, very lately, published the journal of his proceedings in two successive voyages in the years 1772 and 1773; and has annexed to his Narrative a chart of the coasts of this land, as far as he had explored them in both voyages. Monsieur de Pagès also, much about the same time, favoured us with another account of the second voyage, in some respects fuller than Kerguelen's own, on board whose ship he was then an officer.

From these sources of authentic information we are enabled to draw every necessary material to correct what is erroneous, and to illustrate what otherwise would have remained obscure, in this part of Captain Cook's Journal. We shall take occasion to do this in separate notes on the passages as they occur, and conclude this tedious, but, it is hoped, not unnecessary detail of facts, with one general remark, fully expressive of the disadvantages our author laboured under. He never saw that part of the coast upon which the French had been in 1772; and he never knew that they had been upon another part of it in 1773, which was the very scene of his own operations. Consequently, what he knew of the *former* voyage, as *delineated* upon Crozet's chart, only served to perplex and mislead his judgment; and his total ignorance of the *latter* put it out of his power to compare his own observations with those then made by Kerguelen; though we, who are better instructed, can do this, by tracing the plainest marks of coincidence and agreement.

and on the 21st, in the latitude of 48° 27′ S., and in the longitude of 65° E., a very large seal was seen. We had now much foggy weather, and, as we expected to fall in with the land every hour, our navigation became both tedious and dangerous.

At length, on the 24th, at six o'clock in the morning, as we were steering to the eastward, the fog clearing away a little, we saw land*, bearing S.S.E., which, upon a nearer approach, we found to be an island of considerable height, and about three leagues in circuit†. Soon after, we saw another of the same magnitude, one league to the eastward ‡; and between these two, in the direction of S.E., some smaller ones §. In the direction of S. by E. ½ E., from the E. end of the first island, a third || high island was seen. At times, as the fog broke away, we had the appearance of land over the small islands; and I had thoughts of steering for it, by running in between them. But, on drawing near, I found this would be a dangerous attempt, while the weather continued foggy. For, if there should be no passage, or if we should meet with any sudden danger, it would have been impossible for us to get off; the wind being right astern, and a prodigious sea running, that broke on all the shores in a frightful surf. At the same time, seeing another island in the N.E. direction, and not knowing but that there might be more, I judged it prudent to haul off, and wait for clearer weather, lest we should get entangled amongst unknown lands in a thick fog. We did but just weather the island last mentioned. It is a high round rock, which was named Bligh's Cap. Perhaps this is the same that Monsieur de Kerguelen called the Isle of Rendezvous ¶; but I know nothing that can rendezvous at it, but fowls of the air; for it is certainly inaccessible to every other animal.

At eleven o'clock the weather began to clear up, and we immediately tacked, and steered in for the land. At noon we had a pretty good observation, which enabled us to determine the latitude of Bligh's Cap, which is the northernmost island, to be 48° 29′ S., and its longitude 68° 40′ E.** We passed it at three o'clock, standing to the S.S.E., with a fresh gale at W. Soon after we saw the land, of which we had a faint view in the morning; and at four o'clock it extended from S.E. ½ E., to S.W. by S., distant about four miles The left extreme, which I judged to be the northern point of this land called, in the French chart of the southern hemisphere, Cape St. Louis††, terminated in a perpendicular rock of a considerable height; and the right one (near

* Captain Cook was not the original discoverer of these small islands which he now fell in with. It is certain that they had been seen and named by Kerguelen, on his second voyage, in December, 1773. Their position, relatively to each other, and to the adjoining coasts of the greater land, bears a striking resemblance to Kerguelen's delineation of them.

† This is the isle to which Kerguelen gave the name of Croy or Crouy. Besides delineating it upon his chart, he has added a particular view of it, exactly corresponding with Captain Cook's account of its being of "considerable height."

‡ Kerguelen called this Isle Rolland, after the name of his own ship. There is also a particular view of it on the French chart.

§ The observations of the French and English navigators agree exactly, as to the position of these smaller isles.

|| The situation of Kerguelen's Isle de Clugny, as marked on his chart, shows it to be the "third high island" seen by Captain Cook.

¶ This isle, or *rock*, was the single point about which Captain Cook had received the least information at Teneriffe; and we may observe how sagacious he was in tracing it. What he could only speak of as *probable*, a comparison of his chart with that lately published by Kerguelen, proves to be certain; and if he had even read and copied what his predecessors in the discovery says of it, he could scarcely have varied his account of its shape. Kerguelen's words are "Isle de Réunion, qui n'est qu'une roche, nous servoit *de* rendezvous, ou de point de ralliement; et ressemble à un coin de mire."

** The French and English agree very nearly (as might be expected) in their accounts of the latitude of this island; but the observations by which they fix its longitude, vary considerably.

The pilot at Teneriffe made it only 64° 57′ E. from Paris, which is about 67° 16′ E. from London; or 1° 24′ more westerly than Captain Cook's observations fix it. Monsieur de Pagès says it is 66° 47′ E. from Paris, that is 69° 6′ E. from London, or twenty-six miles more easterly than it is placed by Captain Cook. Kerguelen himself only says that it is *about* 68° of E. longitude, "par 68° de longitude."

†† Hitherto, we have only had occasion to supply defects, owing to Captain Cook's *entire* ignorance of Kerguelen's second voyage in 1773; we must now correct errors, owing to his very limited knowledge of the operations of the first voyage in 1772. The chart of the southern hemisphere, his only guide, having given him, as he tells us, the name of Cape St. Louis (or Cap Louis) as the most northerly promontory then seen by the French; and his own observations now satisfying him that no part of the main land stretched further N. than the "left extreme" now before him; from this supposed similarity of situation he judged that his own "perpendicular rock" must be the Cap Louis of the first discoverers. A comparison of the chart laid down by Captain Cook with that published by Kerguelen, shows in the clearest manner that the northern point now described by Captain Cook is the very same to which the French have given the name of Cap François.

which is a detached rock) in a high indented point *. From this point the coast seemed to turn short round to the southward; for we could see no land to the westward of the direction in which it now bore to us, but the islands we had observed in the morning; the most southerly† of them lying nearly W. from the point, about two or three leagues distant.

About the middle of the land there appeared to be an inlet, for which we steered; but, on approaching, found it was only a bending on the coast, and therefore bore up, to go round Cape St. Louis‡. Soon after, land opened off the Cape, in the direction of S. 53° E., and appeared to be a point at a considerable distance; for the trending of the coast from the Cape was more southerly. We also saw several rocks and islands to the eastward of the above directions, the most distant of which was about seven leagues from the Cape, bearing S. 88° E.§ We had no sooner got off the Cape, than we observed the coast, to the southward, to be much indented by projecting points and bays; so that we now made sure of soon finding a good harbour. Accordingly, we had not run a mile farther, before we discovered one behind the Cape, into which we began to ply; but after making one board, it fell calm, and we anchored at the entrance, in forty-five fathoms water, the bottom black sand; as did the Discovery soon after. I immediately despatched Mr. Bligh, the master, in a boat to sound the harbour; who, on his return, reported it to be safe and commodious, with good anchorage in every part; and great plenty of fresh water, seals, penguins, and other birds, on the shore; but not a stick of wood. While we lay at anchor, we observed that the flood-tide came from the south-east, running two knots, at least, in an hour.

At daybreak, in the morning of the 25th, we weighed with a gentle breeze at west; and having wrought into the harbour, to within a quarter of a mile of the sandy beach at its head, we anchored in eight fathoms water, the bottom a fine dark sand. The Discovery did not get in till two o'clock in the afternoon; when Captain Clerke informed me, that he had narrowly escaped being driven on the south point of the harbour, his anchor having started before they had time to shorten in the cable. This obliged them to set sail, and drag the anchor after them, till they had room to heave it up; and then they found one of its palms was broken off. As soon as we had anchored, I ordered all the boats to be hoisted out; the ship to be moored with a kedge-anchor; and the water-casks to be got ready to send on shore. In the mean time I landed, to look for the most convenient spot where they might be filled, and to see what else the place afforded.

I found the shore, in a manner, covered with penguins and other birds, and seals. These latter were not numerous, but so insensible of fear (which plainly indicated that they were unaccustomed to such visitors), that we killed as many as we chose, for the sake of their fat or blubber, to make oil for our lamps, and other uses. Fresh water was in no less plenty than were birds; for every gully afforded a large stream. But not a single tree or shrub, nor the least sign of any, was to be discovered, and but very little herbage of any sort. The appearances, as we sailed into the harbour, had flattered us with the hope of meeting with something considerable growing here, as we observed the sides of many of the hills to be of a lively green. But I now found that this was occasioned by a single plant, which, with the other natural productions, shall be described in another place. Before I returned to my ship, I ascended the first ridge of rocks, which rise in a kind of amphitheatre above one another. I was in hopes, by this means, of obtaining a view of the country; but before I reached the top, there came on so thick a fog, that I could hardly find my way down again. In the evening, we hauled the seine at the head of the harbour, but caught only half-a-dozen small fish. We had no better success next day, when we tried with hook and line. So

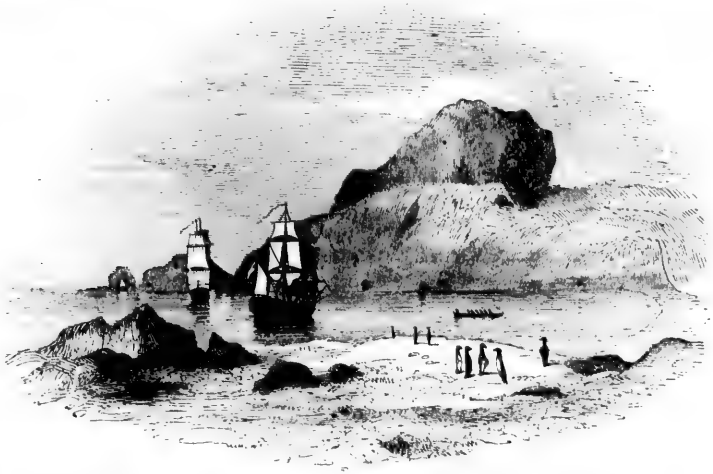
* This *right extreme* of the coast, as it now showed itself to Captain Cook, seems to be what is represented on Kerguelen's chart under the name of Cap Aubert. It may be proper to observe here, that all that extent of coast lying between Cap Louis and Cap François, of which the French saw very little during their first visit in 1772, and may be called the N.W. side of this land, they had it in their power to trace the position of in 1773, and have assigned names to some of its bays, rivers, and promontories, upon their chart.

† Kerguelen's Isle de Cluny.

‡ Cap François, as already observed.

§ The observations of the French, round Cap François, remarkably coincide with Captain Cook's in this paragraph; and the rocks and islands here mentioned by him, also appear upon their chart.

that our only resource here, for fresh provisions, were birds, of which there was an inexhaustible store.



KERGUELEN'S LAND.

The morning of the 26th proved foggy, with rain. However, we went to work to fill water, and to cut grass for our cattle, which we found in small spots near the head of the harbour. The rain which fell swelled all the rivulets to such a degree, that the sides of the hills bounding the harbour seemed to be covered with a sheet of water. For the rain, as it fell, ran into the fissures and crags of the rocks that composed the interior parts of the hills, and was precipitated down their sides in prodigious torrents.

The people having wrought hard the two preceding days, and nearly completed our water, which we filled from a brook at the left corner of the beach, I allowed them the 27th, as a day of rest, to celebrate Christmas. Upon this indulgence, many of them went on shore and made excursions, in different directions, into the country, which they found barren and desolate in the highest degree. In the evening, one of them brought to me a quart-bottle which he had found, fastened with some wire to a projecting rock on the north side of the harbour. This bottle contained a piece of parchment, on which was written the following inscription:—

LUDOVICO XV. GALLIARUM
REGE, ET D.* DE BOYNES
REGI A SECRETIS AD RES
MARITIMAS ANNIS 1772 ET
1773.

From this inscription, it is clear, that we were not the first Europeans who had been in this harbour. I supposed it to be left by Monsieur de Boisguehenneu, who went on shore in a boat, on the 13th of February, 1772, the same day that Monsieur de Kerguelen discovered this land; as appears by a note in the French chart of the southern hemisphere, published the following year†.

* The *D.*, no doubt, is a contraction of the word *Domino*. The French Secretary of the Marine was then Monsieur de Boynes.

† On perusing this paragraph of the Journal, it will be natural to ask, How could Monsieur de Boisguehenneu, in the beginning of 1772, leave an inscription, which, upon the very face of it, commemorates a transaction of the following year? Captain Cook's manner of expressing himself here strongly marks that he made this supposition only for want of information to enable him to make

As a memorial of our having been in this harbour, I wrote on the other side of the parchment,

NAVES RESOLUTION
ET DISCOVERY
DE REGE MAGNÆ BRITANNIÆ,
DECEMBRIS, 1776.

I then put it again into a bottle, together with a silver two-penny piece of 1772; and having covered the mouth of the bottle with a leaden cap, I placed it, the next morning, in a pile of stones erected for the purpose, upon a little eminence on the north shore of the harbour, and near to the place where it was first found; in which position it cannot escape the notice of any European, whom chance or design may bring into this port. Here I displayed the British flag, and named the place *Christmas Harbour*, from our having arrived in it on that festival.

It is the first, or northernmost inlet that we meet with on the south-east side of Cape St. Louis *, which forms the north side of the harbour, and is also the northern point of this land. The situation alone is sufficient to distinguish it from any of the other inlets; and, to make it more remarkable, its south point terminates in a high rock, which is perforated quite through, so as to appear like the arch of a bridge. We saw none like this upon the whole coast †. The harbour has another distinguishing mark within, from a single stone or

any other. He had no idea that the French had visited this land a second time; and, reduced to the necessity of trying to accommodate what he saw himself to what little he had heard of their proceedings, he confounds a transaction which we, who have been better instructed, know, for a certainty, belongs to the second voyage, with a similar one, which his chart of the Southern Hemisphere has recorded, and which happened in a different year, and at a different place. The bay, indeed, in which Monsieur de Boisguehenneu landed is upon the west side of this land, considerably to the south of Cape Louis, and not far from another more southerly promontory, called Cape Bourbon; a part of the coast which our ships were not upon. A particular view of the Bay *du Lion Marin* (for so Boisguehenneu called it), with the soundings, is preserved by Kerguelen.

But if the bottle and inscription, found by Captain Cook's people, were not left here by Boisguehenneu, by whom and when were they left? This we learn most satisfactorily, from the accounts of Kerguelen's second voyage, as published by himself and Monsieur de Pagès, which present us with the following particulars:—That they arrived on the west side of this land on the 14th of December, 1773; that, steering to the north-east, they discovered, on the 16th, the *Isle de Réunion*, and the other small islands as mentioned above; that, on the 17th, they had before them the principal land (which they were sure was connected with that seen by them on the 14th), and a high point of that land named by them Cap François; that beyond this Cape the coast took a south-easterly direction, and behind it they found a bay, called by them *Baie de l'Oiseau*, from the name of their frigate; that they then endeavoured to enter it, but were prevented by contrary winds and blowing weather, which drove them off the coast eastward; but that, at last, on the 6th of January, Monsieur de Rosnevet, Captain of the Oiseau, was able to send his boat on shore into this bay, under the command of Monsieur de Rochegude, one of his officers, "who took possession of that bay, and of all that country, in the name of the King of France, with all the requisite formalities."

Here, then, we trace, by the most unexceptionable evidence, the history of the bottle and inscription; the leaving of which was, no doubt, one of the requisite formalities observed by Monsieur de Rochegude on this occasion. And though he did not land till the 6th of January 1774, yet, as Kerguelen's ships arrived upon the coast on the 14th of December, 1773, and had discovered and looked into this very bay on the 17th of that month, it was with the strictest propriety and truth that 1773, and not 1774 was mentioned as the date of the discovery.

We need only look at Kerguelen's and Cook's charts, to judge that the *Baie de l'Oiseau*, and the harbour where the French inscription was found, is one and the same place. But besides this agreement as to the general position, the same conclusion results more decisively still, from another circumstance worth mentioning: the French, as well as the English visitors of this bay and harbour, have given us a particular plan of it; and whoever compares ours, published in this volume, with that to be met with in Kerguelen's and De Pagès' voyages, must be struck with a resemblance that could only be produced by copying one common original with fidelity. Nay, even the soundings are the same upon the same spots in both plans, being forty-five fathoms between the two Capes, before the entrance of the bay; sixteen fathoms further in, where the shores begin to contract; and eight fathoms up, near the bottom of the harbour.

To these particulars, which throw abundant light on this part of our author's Journal, I shall only add, that the distance of our harbour from that where Boisguehenneu landed, in 1772, is forty leagues. For this we have the authority of Kerguelen, in the following passage:—"Monsieur de Boisguehenneu descendit le 13 de Février, 1772, dans un baie, qu'il nomme Baie du Lion Marin, et prit possession de cette terre au nom de Roi; il n'y vit aucune trace d'habitants. Monsieur de Rochegude, en 1774, a descendu dans un autre baie, que nous avons nommé Baie de l'Oiseau, et cette seconde rade est à quarantes lieues de la première. Il en a également pris possession, et il n'y trouva également aucune trace d'habitants."—Kerguelen, p. 92.

* Cap François, for reasons already assigned.

† If there could be the least doubt remaining of the identity of the Baie de l'Oiseau, and Christmas Harbour, the circumstance of the perforated rock, which divides it from another bay to the south, would amount to a strict demonstration. For Monsieur de Pagès had observed this discriminating mark before Captain Cook. His words are as follow:—"L'on vit que la côte de l'est,

rock, of a vast size, which lies on the top of a hill on the south side, near its bottom; and opposite this, on the north side, there is another hill, much like it, but smaller. There is a small beach at its bottom, where we commonly landed; and, behind it, some gently rising ground, on the top of which is a large pool of fresh water. The land on both sides of the inlet is high, and it runs in west, and W.N.W., about two miles. Its breadth is one mile and a quarter, for more than half its length; above which, it is only half a mile. The depth of water, which is forty-five fathoms at the entrance, varies, as we proceed farther in, from thirty to five and four fathoms, as marked upon the plan. The shores are steep; and the bottom is everywhere a fine dark sand, except in some places close to the shore, where there are beds of sea-weed, which always grows on rocky ground. The head of the harbour lies open only to two points of the compass; and even these are covered by islands in the offing, so that no sea can fall in to hurt a ship. The appearances on shore confirmed this; for we found grass growing close to high-water mark, which is a sure sign of a pacific harbour *. It is high water here, at the full and change days, about ten o'clock; and the tide rises and falls about four feet. After I had finished this business of the inscription, I went, in my boat, round the harbour, and landed in several places, to examine what the shore afforded; and, particularly, to look for drift-wood. For, although the land here was totally destitute of trees, this might not be the case in other parts; and if there were any, the torrents would force some, or, at least, some branches, into the sea, which would afterward throw them upon the shores; as in all other countries where there is wood, and in many where there is none; but throughout the whole extent of the harbour I found not a single piece.

In the afternoon I went upon Cape St. Louis †, accompanied by Mr. King, my second lieutenant. I was in hopes, from this elevation, to have had a view of the sea-coast, and of the islands lying off it. But, when I got up, I found every distant object below me hid in a thick fog. The land on the same plain, or of a greater height, was visible enough, and appeared naked and desolate in the highest degree; except some hills to the southward, which were covered with snow.

When I got on board, I found the launch hoisted in, the ships unmoored, and ready to put to sea; but our sailing was deferred till five o'clock the next morning, when we weighed anchor.

voisine du Cap François, avoit deux baies; elles étoient séparées par une pointe très-reconnoissable par sa forme, qui représentoit une porte cochère, au travers de laquelle l'on voyait le jour."—Voyage du M. de Pagès, vol. ii. p. 67. Every one knows how exactly the form of a *porte cochère*, or arched gateway, corresponds with that of the arch of a bridge. It is very satisfactory to find the two navigators, neither of whom knew anything of the other's description, adopting the same idea; which both proves that they had the same uncommon object before their eyes, and that they made an accurate report.

* In the last note, we saw how remarkably Monsieur de Pagés and Captain Cook agree about the appearance of the south point of the harbour; I shall here subjoin another quotation from the former, containing his account of the harbour itself, in which the reader may trace the same distinguishing features observed by Captain Cook in the foregoing paragraph.

"Le 6, l'on mit à terre dans la première baie à l'est du Cap François, et l'on prit possession de ces contrées. Ce mouillage consiste en une petite rade, qui a environs quatres encablures, ou quatre cents toises de profondeur, sur un tiers en sus de largeur. En dedans de cette rade est un petit port, dont l'entrée, de quatres encablures de largeur, présente au sud-est. La sonde de la petite rade est depuis quarante-cinq jusqu'à trente brasses; et celle du port, depuis seize jusqu'à huit. Le fond des deux est de sable noir et vaseux. La côte des deux bords est haute, et par une pente très-rude; elle est couverte de verdure, et il y a une quantité prodigieuse d'outardes. Le fond du port est occupé par un monticule qui laisse entre lui et la mer une plage de sable. Une petite rivière, de très-bonne eau, coule à la mer dans cet endroit; et elle est fournie par un lac qui est un peu au loin, au-dessus du monticule. Il y avoit sur la plage beaucoup de pinguoins et de lions marins. Ces deux espèces d'animaux ne fuyoient pas, et l'on augura que le pays n'étoit point habité; la terre rapportoit de l'herbe large, noire, et bien nourrie, qui n'avoit cependant que cinque pouces ou plus de hauteur. L'on ne vit aucun arbre, ni signe d'habitation."—Voyage du Monsieur du Pagès, tom. ii. p. 69, 70.

† Cap François.

CHAPTER V.—DEPARTURE FROM CHRISTMAS HARBOUR.—RANGE ALONG THE COAST, TO DISCOVER ITS POSITION AND EXTENT.—SEVERAL PROMONTORIES AND BAYS, AND A PENINSULA, DESCRIBED AND NAMED.—DANGER FROM SHOALS.—ANOTHER HARBOUR AND A SOUND.—MR. ANDERSON'S OBSERVATIONS ON THE NATURAL PRODUCTIONS, ANIMALS, SOIL, ETC. OF KERGUELEN'S LAND.

As soon as the ships were out of Christmas Harbour, we steered S.E. ½ S., along the coast, with a fine breeze at N.N.W., and clear weather. This we thought the more fortunate, as, for some time past, fogs had prevailed, more or less, every day; and the continuance of them would have defeated our plan of extending Kerguelen's discovery. We kept the lead constantly going, but seldom struck ground with a line of fifty or sixty fathoms. About seven or eight o'clock, we were off a promontory, which I called Cape Cumberland. It lies a league and a half from the south point of Christmas Harbour, in the direction of S.E. ½ S. Between them is a bay with two arms, both of which seemed to afford good shelter for shipping. Off Cape Cumberland is a small but pretty high island, on the summit of which is a rock like a sentry-box, which occasioned our giving that name to the island. Two miles farther to the eastward, lies a group of small islands and rocks, with broken ground about them; we sailed between these and Sentry-Box Island, the channel being a full mile broad, and more than forty fathoms deep; for we found no bottom with that length of line.

Being through this channel, we discovered, on the south side of Cape Cumberland, a bay, running in three leagues to the westward. It is formed by this cape to the N., and by a promontory to the S., which I named Point Pringle, after my good friend Sir John Pringle, President of the Royal Society. The bottom of this bay was called Cumberland Bay; and it seemed to be disjoined from the sea, which washes the N.W. coast of this country, by a narrow neck of land. Appearances, at least, favoured such conjecture. To the southward of Point Pringle, the coast is formed into a fifth bay; of which this point is the northern extreme; and from it to the southern extreme is about four miles in the direction of S.S.E. ½ E. In this bay, which obtained the name of White Bay, on account of some white spots of land or rocks in the bottom of it, are several lesser bays or coves, which seemed to be sheltered from all winds. Off the S. point are several rocks which raise their heads above water, and, probably, many more that do not.

Thus far our course was in a direction parallel to the coast, and not more than two miles from it. Thither our glasses were continually pointed; and we could easily see that, except the bottoms of the bays and coves, which, for the most part, terminated in sandy beaches, the shores were rocky, and, in many places, swarmed with birds; but the country had the same barren and naked appearance as in the neighbourhood of Christmas Harbour. We had kept on our larboard bow the land which first opened off Cape St. Louis *, in the direction of S. 53° E., thinking that it was an island, and that we should find a passage between it and the main. We now discovered this to be a mistake, and found that it was a peninsula, joined to the rest of the coast by a low isthmus. I called the bay, formed by this peninsula, Repulse Bay; and a branch of it seemed to run a good way inland towards the S.S.W. Leaving this, we steered for the northern point of the peninsula, which we named Howe's Foreland, in honour of Admiral Lord Howe. As we drew near it, we perceived some rocks and breakers near the N.W. part, and two islands a league and a half to the eastward of it, which, at first, appeared as one. I steered between them and the Foreland †, and was in the middle of the channel by noon. At that time our latitude, by observation, was 48° 51′ S., and we had made twenty-six miles of E. longitude from Cape St. Louis ‡.

* Cap François.

† Though Kerguelen's ships, in 1773, did not venture to explore this part of the coast, Monsieur de Pagés' account of it answers well to Captain Cook's. "Du 17 au 23, l'on ne prit d'autre connoissance que celle de la figure de la côte, qui, courant d'abord au S.E., et revenant ensuite au N.E., formoit un grand golfe. Il étoit occupé par des brisans et des rochers; il avoit aussi une isle basse, et assez étendue, et l'on usa d'une bien soigneuse précaution, pour ne pas s'affaler dans ce golfe."—Voyage de M. de Pagés, tom. ii. p. 67.

‡ Cap François.

From this situation, the most advanced land to the southward bore S.E.; but the trending of the coast from the foreland was more southerly. The islands which lie off Christmas Harbour bore N.; and the N. point of the foreland, N. 60° W., distant three miles. The land of this peninsula, or foreland, is of a moderate height, and of a hilly and rocky substance. The coast is low, with rocky points shooting out from it; between which points are little coves, with sandy beaches; and these, at this time, were mostly covered with sea-birds. We also saw upon them some seals. As soon as we were clear of the rocks and islands before mentioned, I gave orders to steer S.E. by S., along the coast. But before these orders could be carried into execution, we discovered the whole sea before us to be checkered with large beds of rock-weed, which we knew to be fast to the bottom, and to grow on rocky shoals. I had often found a great depth of water on such shoals; and I had as often found rocks that have raised their heads nearly to the surface of the water. It is always dangerous, therefore, to sail over them before they are well examined; but more especially, when there is no surge of the sea to discover the danger. This was the case at present, for the sea was as smooth as a mill-pond. Consequently we endeavoured to avoid them, by steering through the winding channels by which they were separated. We kept the lead continually going, but never struck ground with a line of sixty fathoms. This circumstance increased the danger, as we could not anchor, whatever necessity there might be for it. After running in this manner above an hour, we discovered a lurking rock just even with the surface of the sea. It bore N.E. ½ E., distant three or four miles, and lay in the middle of one of these large beds of weeds. This was a sufficient warning to make us use every precaution to prevent our coming upon them.

We were now across the mouth of a large bay, that lies about eight miles to the southward of Howe's Foreland. In and before the entrance of this bay are several low islands, rocks, and those beds of sea-weed. But there seemed to be winding channels between them. After continuing our course half an hour longer, we were so much embarrassed with these shoals, that I resolved to haul off to the eastward, as the likeliest means of extricating ourselves from the danger that threatened us. But so far was this from answering the intended purpose, that it brought us into more. I therefore found it absolutely necessary to secure the ships, if possible, in some place before night, especially as the weather had now become hazy, and a fog was apprehended. And seeing some inlets to the south-west of us, I ordered Captain Clerke, as the Discovery drew less water than the Resolution, to lead in for the shore; which was accordingly done.

In standing in, it was not possible to avoid running over the edges of some of the shoals, on which we found from ten to twenty fathoms water; and the moment we were over, had no ground at the depth of fifty fathoms. After making a few boards to weather a spit that ran out from an island on our lee, Captain Clerke made the signal for having discovered a harbour; in which, about five o'clock, we anchored in fifteen fathoms water, over a bottom of fine dark sand, about three-quarters of a mile from the shore; the north point of the harbour bearing N. by E. ½ E., one mile distant; and the small islands in the entrance, within which we anchored, extending from E. to S.E. Scarcely were the ships secured, when it began to blow very strong; so that we thought it prudent to strike top-gallant yards. The weather, however, continued fair; and the wind dispersing the fog that had settled on the hills, it was tolerably clear also. The moment, therefore, we had anchored, I hoisted out two boats; in one of which I sent Mr. Bligh, the master, to survey the upper part of the harbour, and look for wood; for not a shrub was to be seen from the ship. I also desired Captain Clerke to send his master to sound the channel that is on the south side of the small isles, between them and a pretty large island which lies near the south point of the harbour. Having given these directions, I went myself, in my other boat, accompanied by Mr. Gore, my first lieutenant, and Mr. Bailey, and landed on the north point, to see what I could discover from thence.

From the highest hill over the point, we had a pretty good view of the sea-coast, as far as Howe's Foreland. It is much indented, and several rocky points seemed to shoot out from it, with coves and inlets of unequal extent. One of the latter, the end of which I could not see, was disjoined from that in which the ships were at anchor, by the point we

then stood upon. A great many small islands, rocks, and breakers appeared scattered along the coast, as well to the southward as northward; and I saw no better channel to get out of the harbour than by the one through which we had entered it.

While Mr. Bailey and I were making the observations, Mr. Gore encompassed the hill, and joined us by a different route, at the place where I had ordered the boat to wait for us. Except the craggy precipices, we met with nothing to obstruct our walk. For the country was, if possible, more barren and desolate than about Christmas Harbour. And yet, if there be the least fertility in any part of this land, we ought to have found it in this, which is completely sheltered from the predominating bleak southerly and westerly winds. I observed, with regret, that there was neither food nor covering for cattle of any sort; and that if I left any, they must inevitably perish. In the little cove where the boat waited for us (which I called Penguin Cove, as the beach was covered with these birds), is a fine rivulet of fresh water, that may be easily come at. Here were also some large seals, shags, and a few ducks; and Mr. Bailey had a transient sight of a very small land-bird; but it flew amongst the rocks, and we lost it. About nine o'clock we got on board. Soon after, Mr. Bligh returned, and reported that he had been four miles up the harbour, and, as he judged, not far from the head of it. He found that its direction was W.S.W.; and that its breadth, a little above the ships, did not exceed a mile, but grew narrower towards the head. The soundings were very irregular, being from thirty-seven to ten fathoms; and, except under the beds of sea-weed, which in many places extended from the shore near half channel over, the bottom was a fine sand. He landed on both shores, which he found barren and rocky, without the least signs of tree or shrub, and with very little verdure of any kind. Penguins, and other oceanic birds and seals, occupied part of the coast, but not in such numbers as at Christmas Harbour.

Finding no encouragement to continue our researches, and the next morning both wind and weather being favourable, I weighed anchor and put to sea. To this harbour I gave the name of Port Palliser, in honour of my worthy friend Admiral Sir Hugh Palliser. It is situated in the latitude of 49° 3′ S., in the longitude of 69° 37′ E., and five leagues from Howe's Foreland, in the direction of S. 25° E. There are several islands, rocks, and breakers lying in and without the entrance, for which the annexed chart* of the coast and sketch of the harbour may be consulted. We went in and out between them and the north head; but I have no doubt that there are other channels.

As we were standing out of Port Palliser, we discovered a round hill, like a sugar-loaf, in the direction of S. 72° E., about nine leagues distant. It had the appearance of an island lying at some distance from the coast; but we afterwards found it was upon the mainland. In getting out to sea, we had to steer through the winding channels amongst the shoals. However, we ventured to run over some of them, on which we never found less than eighteen fathoms, and often did not strike ground with twenty-four; so that, had it not been for the sea-weed growing upon all of them, they would not have been discovered. After we had got about three or four leagues from the coast, we found a clear sea, and then steered east till nine o'clock, when the Sugar-loaf hill, above mentioned, which I named Mount Campbell, bore S.E., and a small island that lies to the northward of it, S.S.E., distant four leagues. I now steered more southerly, in order to get in with the land. At noon, the latitude by double altitudes was 49° 8′ S.; and we had made eighty miles of E. longitude from Cape St. Louis †. Mount Campbell bore S. 47° W., distant about four leagues; a low point, beyond which no land was to be seen, bore S.S.E., at the distance of about twenty miles; and we were about two leagues from the shore.

The land here is low and level ‡. The mountains ending about five leagues from the low point, a great extent of low land is left, on which Mount Campbell is situated, about four miles from the foot of the mountains, and one from the sea-coast. These mountains have a considerable elevation, as also most of the inland ones. They seemed to be composed of naked

* See the quarto edition. † Cap François.

‡ This part of the coast seems to be what the French saw on the 5th of January, 1774. Monsieur de Pagés speaks of it thus: "Nous reconnumes une nouvelle côte étendue de toute vue dans l'est, et dans le ouest. Les terres de cette côte étoient moins élevées que celles que nous avions vues jusques ici; elles étoient aussi d'un aspect moins rude."—De Pagés, tom. ii. p. 68.

rocks, whose summits were capped with snow. Nor did the valleys appear to greater advantage. To whatever quarter we directed our glasses, nothing but sterility was to be seen.

We had scarcely finished taking the bearings at noon, before we observed low land opening off the low point just mentioned, in the direction of S.S.E., and eight miles beyond it. This new point proved to be the very eastern extremity of this land, and it was named Cape Digby. It is situated in the latitude of 49° 23′ S., and in the longitude of 70° 34′ E. Between Howe's Foreland and Cape Digby, the shore forms (besides the several lesser bays and harbours) one great bay that extends several leagues to the south-west, where it seemed to lose itself in various arms running in between the mountains. A prodigious quantity of sea-weed grows all over it, which seemed to be the same sort of weed that Mr. Banks distinguished by the name of *Fucus giganteus* *. Some of this weed is of a most enormous length, though the stem is not much thicker than a man's thumb. I have mentioned, that on some of the shoals upon which it grows, we did not strike ground with a line of twenty-four fathoms: the depth of water, therefore, must have been greater. And as this weed does not grow in a perpendicular direction, but makes a very acute angle with the bottom, and much of it afterwards spreads many fathoms on the surface of the sea, I am well warranted to say, that some of it grows to the length of sixty fathoms and upward.

At one o'clock (having run two leagues upon a S.E. ½ E. course, from noon) we sounded, and found eighteen fathoms water, and a bottom of fine sand. Seeing a small bending in the coast, on the north side of Cape Digby, I steered for it. It was my intention to anchor there, if I should find it might be done with safety, and to land on the Cape, to examine what the low land within it produced. After running in one league, we sounded again, and found thirteen fathoms; and, immediately after, saw a shoal right before us, that seemed to extend off from the shore, from which we were distant about two miles. This discovery obliged us to haul off, E. by S., one league, where our depth of water increased to twenty-five fathoms. We then steered along shore, and continued in the same depth, over a bottom of fine sand, till Cape Digby bore west, two leagues distant, when we found twenty-six fathoms.

After this we did not strike ground, though we tried several times; but the ship having a good deal of way, ran the line out before the lead could reach the bottom; and being disappointed in my views, both of anchoring and of landing, I would not shorten sail, but pushed forward, in order to see as much of the coast as possible before night. From Cape Digby, it trends nearly S.W. by S. for about four or five leagues, or to a low point, to which, in honour of her Majesty, I gave the name of Point Charlotte; and it is the southernmost on the low coast. Six leagues from Cape Digby, in the direction of S.S.W. ½ W., is a pretty high projecting point, which was called Prince of Wales's Foreland; and six leagues beyond that, in the same direction, and in the latitude of 49° 54′ S., and the longitude of 70° 13′ E., is the most southerly point of the whole coast, which I distinguished by the name of Cape George, in honour of his Majesty.

Between Point Charlotte and Prince of Wales's Foreland, where the country to the south-west began again to be hilly, is a deep inlet, which was called Royal Sound. It runs in west, quite to the foot of the mountains which bound it on the south-west, as the low land before mentioned does on the north. There are islands lying in the entrance, and others higher up, as far as we could distinguish. As we advanced to the south, we observed, on the south-west side of Prince of Wales's Foreland, another inlet into Royal Sound; and it then appeared that the Foreland was the east point of a large island lying in the mouth of it. There are several small islands in this inlet, and one about a league to the southward of Prince of Wales's Foreland. All the land on the south-west side of Royal Sound, quite to Cape George, is composed of elevated hills, that rise directly from the sea, one behind another, to a considerable height. Most of the summits were capped with snow, and they appeared as naked and barren as any we had seen. The smallest vestige of a tree or shrub was not discoverable, either inland or on the coast; and I think I may venture to pronounce that the country produces none. The low land about Cape Digby, when examined through our glasses, resembled the rest of the low land we had before met with; that is, it appeared to

* See vol. i. p. 20.

be partly naked and partly covered with a green turf, a description of which shall be given in its proper place. The shore is composed of sandy beaches, on which were many penguins and other oceanic birds; and an immense number of shags kept perpetually flying about the ships as we sailed along.

Being desirous of getting the length of Cape George, to be assured whether or not it was the most southerly point of the whole land, I continued to stretch to the south, under all the sail we could carry, till half an hour past seven o'clock; when, seeing no likelihood of accomplishing my design, as the wind had, by this time, shifted to W.S.W., the very direction in which we wanted to go, I took the advantage of the shifting of the wind, and stood away from the coast. At this time Cape George bore south 53° W. distant about seven leagues. A small island that lies off the pitch of the Cape was the only land we could see to the south of it; and we were farther confirmed that there was no more in that quarter, by a south-west swell which we met as soon as we brought the Cape to bear in this direction. But we have still a stronger proof that no part of this land can extend much, if at all, to the southward of Cape George; and that is, Captain Furneaux's tract in February 1773, after his separation from me during my late voyage. His log-book is now lying before me; and I find from it, that he crossed the meridian of this land only about seventeen leagues to the southward of Cape George; a distance at which it may very well be seen in clear weather. This seems to have been the case when Captain Furneaux passed it. For his log-book makes no mention of fogs or hazy weather; on the contrary, it expressly tells us, that, when in this situation, they had it in their power to make observations, both for latitude and longitude, on board his ship; so that, if this land extends farther south than Cape George, it would have been scarcely possible that he should have passed without seeing it. From these circumstances we are able to determine, within a very few miles, the quantity of latitude that this land occupies; which does not much exceed one degree and a quarter. As to its extent from east to west, that still remains undecided. We only know, that no part of it can reach so far to the west as the meridian of 65°; because, in 1773, under that meridian I searched for it in vain*. The French discoverers, with some reason, imagined Cape St. Louis† to be the projecting point of a southern continent. The English have since proved that no such continent exists, and that the land in question is an island of no great extent‡; which, from its sterility, I should, with great propriety, call the Island of Desolation, but that I would not rob Monsieur de Kerguelen of the honour of its bearing his name§.

* If the French observations, as marked upon Captain Cook's chart, and still more authentically upon that published by their own discoverers, may be depended upon, this land doth not reach so far to the west as the meridian of 68°; Cap Louis, which is represented as its most westerly point, being laid down by them to the east of that meridian.

† The idea of Cap Louis being this projecting point of a southern continent, must have soon vanished, as Cap François, within a year after, was found, by the same discoverer, to lie above one-third of a degree farther north upon the same land. But if Kerguelen entertained any such imagination at first, we are sure that at present he thinks very differently. This appears from the following explicit declaration of his sentiments, which deserves to be transcribed from his late publication, as it does equal honour to his candour, and to Captain Cook's abilities. "La terre que j'ai découverte est certainement une isle; puisque le célèbre Capitaine Cook a passé au sud, lors de son premier voyage, sans rien rencontrer. Je juge même, que cette isle n'est pas bien grande. Il y a aussi apparence, d'après le Voyage de Monsieur Cook, que toute cette étendue de mers méridionales est semée d'isles ou de rochers, mais qu'il n'y a ni continent ni grande terre."—Kerguelen, p. 92.

‡ Kerguelen, as we see in the last note, concurs with Captain Cook as to this. However, he tells us, that he has reason to believe that it is about two hundred leagues in circuit; and that he was acquainted with about four-score leagues of its coast. "J'en connois environs quatre-vingt lieues des côtes; et j'ai lieu de croire, qu'elle a environs deux cents lieues de circuit."—Kerguelen, ibid.

§ Some of Monsieur de Kerguelen's own countrymen seem more desirous than we are, to rob him of this honour. It is very remarkable that Monsieur de Pagés never once mentions the name of his commander. And, though he takes occasion to enumerate the several French explorers of the southern hemisphere, from Gonneville down to Crozet, he affects to preserve an entire silence about Kerguelen, whose first voyage, in which the discovery of this considerable tract of land was made, is kept as much out of sight as if it never had taken place. Nay, not satisfied with refusing to acknowledge the right of another, he almost assumes it to himself. For, upon a map of the World, annexed to his book, at the spot where the new land is delineated, we read this inscription: "Isles nouvelles Australes vues par Monsieur de Pagès, en 1774." He could scarcely have expressed himself in stronger terms, if he had meant to convey an idea that he was the conductor of the discovery. And yet we know, that he was only a lieutenant [enseigne de vaisseau] on board one of the three ships commanded by Kerguelen; and that the discovery had been already made in a former voyage, undertaken while he was actually engaged in his singular journey round the world.

After all, it cannot but be remarked that Kerguelen was peculiarly unfortunate, in having done so little to

Mr. Anderson, my surgeon, who, as I have already mentioned, had made natural history a part of his studies, lost no opportunity, during the short time we lay in Christmas Harbour, of searching the country in every direction. He afterwards communicated to me the observations he made on its natural productions; and I shall insert them here in his own words:—"Perhaps no place, hitherto discovered in either hemisphere, under the same parallel of latitude, affords so scanty a field for the naturalist as this barren spot. The verdure which appears, when at a little distance from the shore, would flatter one with the expectation of meeting with some herbage; but in this we were much deceived. For on landing, we saw that this lively colour was occasioned only by one small plant, not much unlike some sorts of *Saxifrage*, which grows in large spreading tufts, to a considerable way up the hills. It forms a surface of a pretty large texture, and grows on a kind of rotten turf, into which one sinks a foot or two at every step. This turf, dried, might in cases of necessity serve for fuel, and is the only thing we met with here that could possibly be applied to this use.

"There is another plant, plentifully enough scattered about the boggy declivities, which grows to near the height of two feet, and not much unlike a small cabbage, when it has shot into seeds. The leaves about the root are numerous, large, and rounded; narrower at the base, and ending in a small point. Those on the stalks are much smaller, oblong, and pointed. The stalks, which are often three or four, all rise separately from the root, and run into long cylindrical heads, composed of small flowers. It has not only the appearance, but the watery acrid taste of the antiscorbutic plants, and yet differs materially from the whole tribe; so that we looked upon it as a production entirely peculiar to the place. We ate it frequently raw, and found it almost like the New Zealand scurvy-grass. But it seemed to acquire a rank flavour by being boiled; which, however, some of our people did not perceive, and esteemed it good. If it could be introduced into our kitchen-gardens, it would, in all probability, improve so far by cultivation as to be an excellent pot-herb. At this time, none of its seeds were ripe enough to be preserved, and brought home, to try the experiment. Two other small plants were found near the brooks and boggy places, which were eaten as salad; the one almost like garden cresses, and very fiery; and the other very mild. This last, though but small, is in itself a curiosity; having not only male and female, but what the botanists call *androgynous* plants.

"A coarse grass, which we cut down for the cattle, grows pretty plentifully in a few small spots about the sides of the harbour with a smaller sort which is rarer; and, upon the flat ground, a sort of goose-grass, and another small plant much like it. In short, the whole catalogue of plants does not exceed sixteen or eighteen, including some sorts of moss, and a beautiful species of *lichen*, which grows upon the rocks, higher up than the rest of the vegetable productions. Nor is there even the least appearance of a shrub in the whole country.

"Nature has rather been more bountiful in furnishing it with animals; though, strictly speaking, they are not inhabitants of the place, being all of the marine kind; and, in general, only using the land for breeding, and for a resting-place. The most considerable are seals, or (as we used to call them) sea-bears; being that sort called the ursine seal. These come ashore to rest or breed; but they were not very numerous, which is not to be wondered at, as it is known that these animals rather frequent out-rocks, and little islands lying off coasts, than bays or inlets. They were, at this time, shedding their hair, and so tame, that we killed what number we chose. No other quadruped, either of the sea or of the land kind, was seen; but a great number of birds, viz., ducks, petrels, albatrosses, shags, gulls, and sea-swallows.

"The ducks are about the size of a teal or widgeon, but somewhat different in colour from either. They were in tolerable plenty about the sides of the hills, or even lower; and we killed a considerable number, which were good, and without the least fishy taste. We met with some of the same sort at the island of Georgia, in our late voyage. The Cape

complete what he had begun. He discovered a new land indeed; but, in two expeditions to it, he could not once bring the ships to an anchor upon any part of its coasts. Captain Cook, as we have seen in this, and in the foregoing chapter, had either fewer difficulties to struggle with, or was more successful in surmounting them.

petrel, or Pintado bird; the small blue one, which is always seen at sea, and the small black one, or Mother Carey's chicken, are not here in great numbers. But we found a nest of the first with an egg in it, about the size of a pullet's; and the second, though scarce, was met with in some holes like rabbit-burrows. Another sort, which is the largest of all the petrels, and called by the seamen Mother Carey's goose, is in greater numbers, and so tame, that at first we could kill them with a stick upon the beach. They are not inferior in size to an albatross, and are carnivorous, feeding on the dead carcasses of seals or birds that were thrown into the sea. Their colour is a sooty brown, with a greenish bill and feet; and, doubtless, they are the same that the Spaniards call *quebrantahuessos*, whose head is figured in Pernetty's Voyage to Falkland Islands.

"Of the albatrosses, none were found on shore except the grey one, which is commonly met with at sea in the higher southern latitudes. Once I saw one of these sitting in the cliff of a rock, but they were frequently flying about the harbour; and the common large sort, as well as a smaller with a black face, were seen farther out.

"Penguins form, by far, the greatest number of birds here, and are of three sorts: The first, or largest, I have seen formerly at the island of Georgia*. It is also mentioned by Bougainville†; but it does not seem to be so solitary as he represents it, for we found considerable numbers flocking together. The head is black, the upper part of the body a leaden grey, and the under part white, with black feet. It has two broad stripes of fine yellow, that begin on the sides of the head, and descending by each side of the neck, meet above its breast. The bill is partly reddish, and longer than in the other sorts. The second sort of penguin scarcely exceeds half the size of the former. The upper part of the body is a blackish grey, with a white spot on the upper part of the head, growing broader at each side. The bill and feet are yellowish. A very accurate figure and description, both of this and of the preceding, is given by M. Sonnerat‡. The third sort of penguin met with here had never been seen by any of us before. Its length is twenty-four inches, and its breadth twenty. The upper part of the body and throat are black; the rest white, except the upper part of the head, which has a fine yellow arch, looking backward, and ending on each side in long soft feathers, which it can erect as two crests. The two first sorts were found together on the beach; the large ones keeping by themselves, and walking in small flocks amongst the others, which were more numerous, and were sometimes seen a considerable way up the sides of the hills. The third sort were only found by themselves, but in great numbers, on the outer shores of the harbour. They were breeding at this time; and they lay, on the bare stones, only one white egg, larger than that of a duck. All the three sorts of penguins were so tame, that we took as many as we pleased with our hands.

"The shags of this place are of two sorts; the lesser cormorant or water-crow, and another, which is black above, with a white belly; the same that is found in New Zealand, Terra del Fuego, and the island of Georgia. We also met with here the common sea-gull, sea-swallow, tern, and Port Egmont hen; the last of which were tame and numerous. Another sort of white bird, flocks of which flew about the bay, is very singular, having the base of the bill covered with a horny crust §. It is larger than a pigeon, with the bill black and the feet white, made like those of a curlew. Some of our people put it in competition with the duck as food.

"The seine was hauled once; but we found only a few fish about the size of a small haddock, though quite different from any we knew. The snout is lengthened, the head armed with some strong spines, the rays of the back fin long, and very strong; the belly is large, and the body without scales. The only shell-fish are a few limpets and muscles; and amongst the stones a few small star-fish and sea-anemones were found.

"The hills are of a moderate height; yet many of their tops were covered with snow at this time, though answering to our June. Some of them have large quantities of stones, irregularly ! ped together at their foot, or on their sides. The sides of others, which form steep cliffs towards the sea, are rent from the top downward, and seem ready to fall off,

* Pennant's Patagonian penguin. See his Genera of Birds, tab. 14, p. 66.

† Voyage autour du Monde, p. 69.

‡ Voyage à la Nouvelle Guinée, p. 181, 182; tab. 113. 115.

§ The sheath-bill.—See Pennant's Genera of Birds, p. 43.

having stones of a considerable size lying in the fissures. Some were of opinion that frost might be the cause of these fissures, which I shall not dispute; but how others of the appearances could be effected, but by earthquakes, or some such severe shocks, I cannot say. It appears that rain must be almost constant here, not only from the marks of large torrents having rushed down, but from the disposition of the country, which, even on the hills, is almost an entire bog or swamp, the ground sinking at every step.

"The rocks, or foundations of the hills, are composed chiefly of a dark blue, and very hard stone, intermixed with small particles of glimmer or quartz. This seems to be one of the most universal productions of nature, as it constitutes whole mountains in Sweden, in Scotland, at the Canary Islands, the Cape of Good Hope, and at this place. Another brownish, brittle stone forms here some considerable rocks; and one which is blacker, and found in detached pieces, incloses bits of coarse quartz. A red, a dull yellow, and a purplish sandstone, are also found in small pieces; and pretty large lumps of semi-transparent quartz, disposed irregularly in polyedral pyramidal crystals of long shining fibres. Some small pieces of the common sort are met with in the brooks, made round by attrition, but none hard enough to resist a file. Nor were any of the other stones acted on by aqua fortis, or attracted by the magnet. Nothing that had the least appearance of an ore or metal was seen."

CHAPTER VI. — PASSAGE FROM KERGUELEN'S TO VAN DIEMEN'S LAND. — ARRIVAL IN ADVENTURE BAY. — INCIDENTS THERE. — INTERVIEWS WITH THE NATIVES. — THEIR PERSONS AND DRESS DESCRIBED. — ACCOUNT OF THEIR BEHAVIOUR. — TABLE OF THE LONGITUDE, LATITUDE, AND VARIATION. — MR. ANDERSON'S OBSERVATIONS ON THE NATURAL PRODUCTIONS OF THE COUNTRY, ON THE INHABITANTS, AND THEIR LANGUAGE.

AFTER leaving Kerguelen's Land, I steered E. by N., intending, in obedience to my instructions, to touch next at New Zealand, to recruit our water, to take in wood, and to make hay for the cattle. Their number, by this time, had been considerably diminished; two young bulls, one of the heifers, two rams, and several of the goats, having of late died, while we were employed in exploring this desolate coast. The 31st, in the morning, being the day after we stood out to sea, we had several observations of the sun and moon. Their results gave the longitude 72° 33′ 36″ E. The time-keeper, in this situation, gave 72° 38′ 15″. These observations were the more useful, as we had not been able to get any for some time before, and they now served to assure us that no material error had crept into the time-keeper.

On the 1st of January, being then in the latitude of 48° 41′ S., longitude 76° 50′ E., the variation was 30° 39′ W.; and the next day, in the latitude of 48° 22′ S., longitude 80° 22′ E., it was 30° 47′ 18″ W. This was the greatest variation we found in this passage; for afterward it began to decrease, but so slowly, that on the 3d, in the evening, being then in the latitude of 48° 16′ S., longitude 85° E., it was 29° 38′ W.

Thus far we had fresh gales from the W. and S.W., and tolerably clear weather. But now the wind veered to the N., where it continued eight days, and was attended with a thick fog. During this time we ran above three hundred leagues in the dark. Now and then the weather would clear up, and give us a sight of the sun; but this happened very seldom, and was always of short continuance. On the 7th, I hoisted out a boat, and sent an order to Captain Clerke, appointing Adventure Bay, in Van Diemen's Land, as our place of rendezvous, in case of separation, before we arrived in the meridian of that land. But we were fortunate enough, amidst all this foggy weather, by frequently firing guns as signals, though we seldom saw each other, not to lose company.

On the 12th, being in the latitude of 48° 40′ S., longitude 110° 26′ E., the northerly winds ended in a calm, which, after a few hours, was succeeded by a wind from the southward. This, with rain, continued for twenty-four hours, when it freshened, and veered to the west and north-west, and brought on fair and clear weather. We continued our course to the

eastward, without meeting with anything worthy of notice, till four o'clock in the morning of the 19th, when, in a sudden squall of wind, though the Discovery received no damage, our fore-top-mast went by the board, and carried the main-top-gallant-mast with it. This occasioned some delay, as it took us up the whole day to clear the wreck, and to fit another topmast. The former was accomplished without losing any part of it, except a few fathoms of small rope. Not having a spare main-top-gallant-mast on board, the fore-top-gallant-mast was converted into one for our immediate use.

The wind continued westerly, blew a fresh gale, and was attended with clear weather; so that scarcely a day passed without being able to get observations for fixing the longitude and the variation of the compass. The latter decreased in such a manner, that in the latitude of 44° 18′ S., longitude 132° 2′ E., it was no more than 5° 34′ 18″ W.; and on the 22d, being then in the latitude of 43° 27′ S., longitude 141° 50′ E., it was 1° 24′ 15″ E. So that we had crossed the line where the compass has no variation.

On the 24th, at three o'clock in the morning, we discovered the coast of Van Diemen's Land, bearing N. ½ W. At four o'clock, the south-west Cape bore N.N.W. ½ W.; and the Mewstone, N.E. by E. three leagues distant. There are several islands and high rocks lying scattered along this part of the coast, the southernmost of which is the Mewstone. It is a round, elevated rock, five or six leagues distant from the south-west Cape, in the direction of S. 55° E. At noon, our latitude was 43° 47′ S., longitude 147° E.; and the situation of the lands round us, as follows: An elevated round-topped hill bore N. 17° W.; the south-west Cape, N. 74° W.; the Mewstone, W. ½ N.; Swilly Isle or Rock, S. 49° E.; and the south-east or South Cape, N. 40° E., distant near three leagues. The land between the south-west and the south capes is broken and hilly, the coast winding, with points shooting out from it; but we were too far off to be able to judge whether the bays formed by these points were sheltered from the sea-winds. The bay, which appeared to be the largest and deepest, lies to the westward of the peaked hill above mentioned. The variation of the compass here was 5° 15′ E.

At six o'clock in the afternoon we sounded, and found sixty fathoms water, over a bottom of broken coral and shells. The South Cape then bore N. 75° W., two or three leagues distant; Tasman's Head, N.E.; and Swilly Rock, S. by W. ½ W. About a league to the eastward of Swilly is another elevated rock, that is not taken notice of by Captain Furneaux. I called it the Eddystone, from its very great resemblance to that lighthouse. Nature seems to have left these two rocks here for the same purpose that the Eddystone lighthouse was built by man, viz., to give navigators notice of the dangers around them: for they are the conspicuous summits of a ledge of rocks under water, on which the sea in many places breaks very high. Their surface is white with the dung of sea-fowls, so that they may be seen at some distance, even in the night. On the north-east side of Storm Bay, which lies between the South Cape and Tasman's Head, there are some coves or creeks, that seemed to be sheltered from the sea-winds; and I am of opinion, that were this coast examined, there would be found some good harbours.

Soon after we had sight of land, the westerly winds left us, and were succeeded by variable light airs and alternate calms till the 26th at noon. At that time a breeze sprung up and freshened at south-east, which put it in my power to carry into execution the design I had, upon due consideration, formed, of carrying the ships into Adventure Bay, where I might expect to get a supply of wood, and of grass for the cattle; of both which articles we should, as I now found, have been in great want, if I had waited till our arrival in New Zealand. We therefore stood for the bay, and anchored in it at four o'clock in the afternoon, in twelve fathoms water, over a bottom of sand and ooze. Penguin Island, which lies close to the east point of the bay, bore N. 84° E.; the southernmost point of Maria's Islands bore N. 76° ½ E.; and Cape Frederic Henry, or the north point of the bay, bore N. 33° E. Our distance from the nearest shore was about three quarters of a mile.

As soon as we had anchored, I ordered the boats to be hoisted out. In one of them I went myself, to look for the most commodious place for furnishing ourselves with the necessary supplies; and Captain Clerke went in his boat upon the same service. Wood and water we found in plenty, and in situations convenient enough, especially the first: but grass, of which

we stood most in need, was scarce, and also very coarse. Necessity, however, obliged us to take such as we could get.

Next morning early, I sent Lieutenant King to the east side of the bay, with two parties; one to cut wood, and the other to cut grass, under the protection of the marines, whom I judged it prudent to land as a guard. For although, as yet, none of the natives had appeared, there could be no doubt that some were in our neighbourhood, as we had seen columns of smoke from the time of our approaching the coast, and some now was observed at no great distance up in the woods. I also sent the launch for water, and afterwards visited all the parties myself. In the evening we drew the seine at the head of the bay, and, at one haul, caught a great quantity of fish. We should have got many more, had not the net broken in drawing it ashore: most of them were of that sort known to seamen by the name of elephant fish. After this, every one repaired on board with what wood and grass we had cut, that we might be ready to sail whenever the wind should serve. This not happening next morning, the people were sent on shore again, on the same duty as the day before. I also employed the carpenter, with part of his crew, to cut some spars for the use of the ship; and despatched Mr. Roberts, one of the mates, in a small boat, to survey the bay.

In the afternoon, we were agreeably surprised, at the place where we were cutting wood, with a visit from some of the natives; eight men and a boy. They approached us from the woods, without betraying any marks of fear, or rather with the greatest confidence imaginable; for none of them had any weapons, except one, who held in his hand a stick about two feet long, and pointed at one end. They were quite naked, and wore no ornaments; unless we consider as such, and as a proof of their love of finery, some large punctures or ridges raised on different parts of their bodies, some in straight, and others in curved lines. They were of the common stature, but rather slender. Their skin was black, and also their hair, which was as woolly as that of any native of Guinea; but they were not distinguished by remarkably thick lips nor flat noses. On the contrary, their features were far from being disagreeable. They had pretty good eyes; and their teeth were tolerably even, but very dirty. Most of them had their hair and beards smeared with a red ointment; and some had their faces also painted with the same composition.

They received every present we made to them without the least appearance of satisfaction. When some bread was given, as soon as they understood that it was to be eaten, they either returned it, or threw it away, without even tasting it. They also refused some elephant fish, both raw and dressed, which we offered to them. But upon giving some birds to them, they did not return these, and easily made us comprehend that they were fond of such food. I had brought two pigs ashore, with a view to leave them in the woods. The instant these came within their reach, they seized them, as a dog would have done, by the ears, and were for carrying them off immediately; with no other intention, as we could perceive, but to kill them. Being desirous of knowing the use of the stick which one of our visitors carried in his hand, I made signs to them to show me; and so far succeeded, that one of them set up a piece of wood as a mark, and threw at it, at the distance of about twenty yards. But we had little reason to commend his dexterity; for after repeated trials, he was still very wide

HEAD OF MAN OF VAN DIEMEN'S LAND.

from the object. Omai, to show them how much superior our weapons were to theirs, then fired his musket at it; which alarmed them so much, that notwithstanding all we could do or say, they ran instantly into the woods. One of them was so frightened, that he let drop an axe and two knives, that had been given to him. From us, however, they went to the place where some of the Discovery's people were employed in taking water into their boat. The officer of that party, not knowing that they had paid us so friendly a visit, nor what their intent might be, fired a musket in the air, which sent them off with the greatest precipitation.

Thus ended our first interview with the natives. Immediately after their final retreat, judging that their fears would prevent their remaining near enough to observe what was passing, I ordered the two pigs, being a boar and sow, to be carried about a mile within the woods, at the head of the bay. I saw them left there by the side of a fresh-water brook. A young bull and a cow, and some sheep and goats, were also, at first, intended to have been left by me as an additional present to Van Diemen's Land. But I soon laid aside all thoughts of this, from a persuasion that the natives, incapable of entering into my views of improving their country, would destroy them. If ever they should meet with the pigs, I have no doubt this will be their fate. But as that race of animals soon becomes wild, and is fond of the thickest cover of the woods, there is great probability of their being preserved. An open place must have been chosen for the accommodation of the other cattle; and in such a situation, they could not possibly have remained concealed many days.

The morning of the 29th was ushered in with a dead calm, which continued all day, and effectually prevented our sailing. I therefore sent a party over to the east point of the bay to cut grass; having been informed that some of a superior quality grew there. Another party, to cut wood, was ordered to go to the usual place, and I accompanied them myself. We had observed several of the natives this morning sauntering along the shore, which assured us, that though their consternation had made them leave us so abruptly the day before, they were convinced that we intended them no mischief, and were desirous of renewing the intercourse. It was natural that I should wish to be present on the occasion. We had not been long landed, before about twenty of them, men and boys, joined us, without expressing the least sign of fear or distrust. There was one of this company conspicuously deformed; and who was not more distinguishable by the hump upon his back, than by the drollery of his gestures, and the seeming humour of his speeches; which he was very fond of exhibiting, as we supposed, for our entertainment. But, unfortunately, we could not understand him; the language spoken here being wholly unintelligible to us. It appeared to me to be different from that spoken by the inhabitants of the more northern parts of this country, whom I met with in my first voyage; which is not extraordinary, since those we now saw, and those we then visited, differ in many other respects *. Nor did they seem to be such miserable wretches as the natives whom Dampier mentions to have seen on its western coast †.

* The most striking difference seems to be with regard to the texture of the hair. The natives whom Captain Cook met with at Endeavour River in 1770 are said, by him, to have "naturally long and black hair, though it be universally cropped short. In general it is straight, but sometimes it has a slight curl. We saw none that was not matted and filthy. Their beards were of the same colour with the hair, and bushy and thick." See vol. i. p. 262, of this edition of Cook's Voyages.

It may be necessary to mention here, on the authority of Captain King, that Captain Cook was very unwilling to allow that the hair of the natives now met with in Adventure Bay was woolly, fancying that his people, who first observed this, had been deceived, from its being clotted with grease and red ochre. But Captain King prevailed upon him afterward to examine carefully the hair of the boys, which was generally, as well as that of the women, free from this dirt; and then he owned himself satisfied that it was naturally woolly. Perhaps we may suppose it possible that he himself had been deceived when he was in Endeavour River, from this very circumstance; as he expressly says, that "they saw none that was not matted and filthy."

† And yet Dampier's New Hollanders, on the western coast, bear a striking resemblance to Captain Cook's at Van Diemen's Land, in many remarkable instances:—

1st, As to their becoming familiar with the strangers.

2dly, As to their persons; being straight-bodied and thin; their skin black; and black, short, curled hair, like the negroes of Guinea; with wide mouths.

3dly, As to their wretched condition; having no houses, no garment, no canoes, no instrument to catch large fish; feeding on broiled muscles, cockles, and periwinkles; having no fruits of the earth; their weapons a straight pole, sharpened and hardened at the end, &c. &c.

The chief peculiarities of Dampier's "miserable wretches" are, 1st, Their eyelids being always half closed, to keep the flies out, which were excessively troublesome there: and, 2dly, Their wanting the two fore-teeth of the upper

Some of our present group wore loose round their necks three or four folds of small cord, made of the fur of some animal; and others of them had a narrow slip of the *kangooroo* skin tied round their ankles. I gave to each of them a string of beads and a medal; which I thought they received with some satisfaction. They seemed to set no value on iron, or on iron tools. They were even ignorant of the use of fish-hooks, if we might judge from their manner of looking at some of ours which we showed to them. We cannot, however, suppose it to be possible that a people who inhabit a sea-coast, and who seem to derive no part of their sustenance from the productions of the ground, should not be acquainted with some mode of catching fish, although we did not happen to see any of them thus employed; nor observe any canoe or vessel in which they could go upon the water. Though they absolutely rejected the sort of fish that we offered to them, it was evident that shell-fish, at least, made a part of their food, from the many heaps of muscle-shells we saw in different parts near the shore, and about some deserted habitations near the head of the bay. These were little sheds or hovels built of sticks, and covered with bark. We could also perceive evident signs of their sometimes taking up their abode in the trunks of large trees, which had been hollowed out by fire, most probably for this very purpose. In or near all these habitations, and wherever there was a heap of shells, there remained the marks of fire; an indubitable proof that they do not eat their food raw.

After staying about an hour with the wooding party and the natives, as I could now be pretty confident that the latter were not likely to give the former any disturbance, I left them, and went over to the grass-cutters on the east point of the bay, and found that they had met with a fine patch. Having seen the boats loaded, I left that party, and returned on board to dinner; where, some time after, Lieutenant King arrived. From him I learned that I had but just left the shore, when several women and children made their appearance, and were introduced to him by some of the men who attended them. He gave presents to all of them, of such trifles as he had about him. These females wore a *kangooroo* skin (in the same shape as it came from the animal) tied over the shoulders and round the waist. But its only use seemed to be, to support their children when carried on their backs; for it did not cover those parts which most nations conceal; being in all other respects as naked as the men, and as black, and their bodies marked with scars in the same manner. But in this they differed from the men, that though their hair was of the same colour and texture, some of them had their heads completely shorn or shaved; in others this operation had been performed only on one side, while the rest of them had all the upper part of the head shorn close, leaving a circle of hair all round, somewhat like the tonsure of the Romish ecclesiastics. Many of the children had fine features, and were thought pretty; but of the persons of the women, especially those advanced in years, a less favourable report was made. However, some of the gentlemen belonging to the Discovery, I was told, paid their addresses, and made liberal offers of presents, which were rejected with great disdain; whether from a sense of virtue, or the fear of displeasing their men, I shall not pretend to determine. That this gallantry was not very agreeable to the latter, is certain: for an elderly man, as soon as he observed it, ordered all the women and children to retire, which they obeyed, though some of them showed a little reluctance.

This conduct of Europeans amongst savages to their women is highly blameable; as it creates a jealousy in their men, that may be attended with consequences fatal to the success of the common enterprise, and to the whole body of adventurers, without advancing the private purpose of the individual, or enabling him to gain the object of his wishes. I believe it has been generally found amongst uncivilised people, that where the women are easy of access, the men are the first to offer them to strangers; and that, where this is not the case, neither the allurement of presents, nor the opportunity of privacy, will be likely to have the desired effect. This observation, I am sure, will hold good throughout all the parts of the South Sea where I have been. Why then should men act so absurd a part, as to risk their own safety, and that of all their companions, in pursuit of a gratification which they have no probability of obtaining?

jaw, and their having no beards. See Dampier's Voyages, vol. i. p. 464, &c. There seems to be no reason for supposing that Dampier was mistaken in the above account of what he saw.

In the afternoon I went again to the grass-cutters, to forward their work. I found them then upon Penguin Island, where they had met with a plentiful crop of excellent grass. We laboured hard till sunset, and then repaired on board, satisfied with the quantity we had collected, and which I judged sufficient to last till our arrival in New Zealand.

During our whole stay, we had either calms or light airs from the eastward. Little or no time, therefore, was lost by my putting in at this place. For if I had kept the sea, we should not have been twenty leagues advanced farther on our voyage. And, short as our continuance was here, it has enabled me to add somewhat to the imperfect acquaintance that hath hitherto been acquired with this part of the globe. Van Diemen's Land has been twice visited before. It was so named by Tasman, who discovered it in November 1642. From that time it had escaped all farther notice by European navigators, till Captain Furneaux touched at it in March 1773. I hardly need say, that it is the southern point of New Holland*, which, if it doth not deserve the name of a continent, is by far the largest island in the world.

The land is, for the most part, of a good height, diversified with hills and valleys, and everywhere of a greenish hue. It is well wooded; and if one may judge from appearances, and from what we met with in Adventure Bay, is not ill supplied with water. We found plenty of it in three or four places in this bay. The best, or what is most convenient for ships that touch here, is a rivulet, which is one of several that fall into a pond that lies behind the beach at the head of the bay. It there mixes with the sea-water; so that it must be taken up above this pond, which may be done without any great trouble. Firewood is to be got with great ease in several places. The only wind to which this bay is exposed, is the N.E. But as this wind blows from Maria's Islands, it can bring no very great sea along with it; and, therefore, upon the whole, this may be accounted a very safe road. The bottom is clean, good holding-ground, and the depth of water from twelve to five and four fathoms.

Captain Furneaux's sketch of Van Diemen's Land, published with the Narrative of my last Voyage†, appears to me to be without any material error, except with regard to Maria's Islands, which have a different situation from what is there represented. What my idea of them is, will be seen in the sketch of that coast here inserted ‡; and I insert it, not as the result of a more faithful, but merely of a second examination. The longitude was determined by a great number of lunar observations which we had before we made the land, while we were in sight of it, and after we had left it; and reduced to Adventure Bay, and the several principal points, by the time-keeper. The following Table will exhibit both the longitude and latitude at one view:—

	Latitude south.				Longitude east.		
Adventure Bay	43°	21′	20″	—	147°	29′	0″
Tasman's Head	43	33	0	—	147	28	0
South Cape	43	42	0	—	146	56	0
South-west Cape	43	37	0	—	146	7	0
Swilly Isle	43	55	0	—	147	6	0

Adventure Bay { Variation of the compass 5° 15′ east.
Dip of the south end of the needle 70° 15½′.

We had high-water on the 29th, being two days before the last quarter of the moon, at nine in the morning. The perpendicular rise then was eighteen inches; and there was no appearance of its having ever exceeded two feet and a half. These are all the memorials useful to navigation, which my short stay has enabled me to preserve, with respect to Van Diemen's Land.

Mr. Anderson, my surgeon, with his usual diligence, spent the few days we remained in Adventure Bay, in examining the country. His account of its natural productions, with which he favoured me, will more than compensate for my silence about them: some of his

* Captain Cook here speaks under the impression that Van Diemen's Land, or Tasmania, as it is now generally called, formed a part of the main land of New Holland.—ED.

† Book III. chap. vii.

‡ See the quarto edition.

remarks on the inhabitants will supply what I may have omitted or represented imperfectly; and his specimen of their language, however short, will be thought worth attending to, by those who wish to collect materials for tracing the origin of nations. I shall only premise, that the tall straight forest-trees which Mr. Anderson describes in the following account, are of a different sort from those which are found in the more northern parts of this coast. The wood is very long and close-grained; extremely tough; fit for spars, oars, and many other uses; and would, on occasion, make good masts (perhaps none better), if a method could be found to lighten it.

"At the bottom of Adventure Bay is a beautiful sandy beach, which seems to be wholly formed by the particles washed by the sea from a very fine white sandstone, that in many places bounds the shore, and of which Fluted Cape, in the neighbourhood, from its appearance, seems to be composed. This beach is about two miles long, and is excellently adapted for hauling a seine, which both ships did repeatedly with success. Behind this, is a plain or flat, with a salt, or rather brackish lake (running in length parallel with the beach), out of which we caught, with angling rods, many whitish bream, and some small trout. The other parts of the country adjoining the bay are quite hilly; and both those and the flat are an entire forest of very tall trees, rendered almost impassible by shrubs, brakes of fern, and fallen trees; except on the sides of some of the hills, where the trees are but thin, and a coarse grass is the only interruption. To the northward of the bay, there is low land, stretching farther than the eye can reach, which is only covered with wood in certain spots; but we had no opportunity to examine in what respects it differed from the hilly country. The soil on the flat land is either sandy, or consists of a yellowish mould, and, in some places, of a reddish clay. The same is found on the lower part of the hills; but farther up, especially where there are few trees, it is of a grey tough cast, to appearance very poor.

"In the valleys between the hills, the water drains down from their sides; and at last, in some places, forms small brooks; such indeed as were sufficient to supply us with water, but by no means of that size we might expect in so extensive a country, especially as it is both hilly and well wooded. Upon the whole, it has many marks of being naturally a very dry country; and perhaps might (independent of its wood) be compared to Africa, about the Cape of Good Hope, though that lies ten degrees farther northward, rather than to New Zealand, on its other side, in the same latitude, where we find every valley, however small, furnished with a considerable stream of water. The heat too appears to be great, as the thermometer stood at 64, 70, and once at 74. And it was remarked, that birds were seldom killed an hour or two, before they were almost covered with small maggots, which I would rather attribute merely to the heat; as we had not any reason to suppose there is a peculiar disposition in the climate to render substances soon putrid. No mineral bodies, nor indeed stones of any other sort, but the white sand one already mentioned, were observed.

"Amongst the vegetable productions, there is not one, that we could find, which afforded the smallest subsistence for man. The forest-trees are all of one sort, growing to a great height, and in general quite straight, branching but little, till towards the top. The bark is white, which makes them appear, at a distance, as if they had been peeled; it is also thick; and within it are sometimes collected pieces of a reddish transparent gum or resin, which has an astringent taste. The leaves of this tree are long, narrow, and pointed; and it bears clusters of small white flowers, whose cups were, at this time, plentifully scattered about the ground, with another sort resembling them somewhat in shape, but much larger; which makes it probable that there are two *species* of this tree. The bark of the smaller branches, the fruit, and leaves, have an agreeable pungent taste, and aromatic smell, not unlike peppermint; and in its nature, it has some affinity to the *myrtus* of botanists. The most common tree, next to this, is a small one about ten feet high, branching pretty much, with narrow leaves, and a large, yellow, cylindrical flower, consisting only of a vast number of filaments; which, being shed, leave a fruit like a pine-top. Both the above-mentioned trees are unknown in Europe. The underwood consists chiefly of a shrub somewhat resembling a myrtle, and which seems to be the *Leptospermum scoparium*, mentioned in Dr. Forster's *Char. Gen. Plant.*; and, in some places, of another, rather smaller, which is a new species of the *Melaleuca* of Linnæus. Of other plants, which are by no means numerous,

there is a species of *Gladiolus*, rush, bell-flower, samphire, a small sort of wood-sorrel, milk-wort, cudweed, and Job's tears; with a few others, peculiar to the place. There are several kinds of fern, as polypody, spleenwort, female fern, and some mosses; but the species are either common, or at least found in some other countries, especially New Zealand.

"The only animal of the quadruped kind we got, was a sort of *opossum*, about twice the size of a large rat; and is, most probably, the male of that species found at Endeavour River, as mentioned in Hawkesworth's Collection of Voyages*. It is of a dusky colour above, tinged with a brown or rusty cast, and whitish below. About a third of the tail, towards its tip, is white, and bare underneath; by which it probably hangs on the branches of trees, as it climbs these, and lives on berries. The *kangooroo*, another animal found farther northward in New Holland, as described in the same voyage†, without all doubt also inhabits here, as the natives we met with had some pieces of their skins; and we several times saw animals, though indistinctly, run from the thickets when we walked in the woods, which, from the size, could be no other. It should seem also, that they are in considerable numbers, from the dung we saw almost everywhere, and from the narrow tracks or paths they have made amongst the shrubbery.

"There are several sorts of birds, but all so scarce and shy, that they are evidently harassed by the natives, who, perhaps, drew much of their subsistence from them. In the woods, the principal sorts are large brown hawks or eagles; crows nearly the same as ours in England; yellowish parroquets; and large pigeons. There are also three or four small birds, one of which is of the thrush kind; and another small one, with a pretty long tail, has part of the head and neck of a most beautiful azure colour; from whence we named it *Motacilla cyanea*. On the shore were several common and sea gulls; a few black oyster-catchers, or sea-pies; and a pretty plover of a stone colour, with a black hood. About the pond or lake behind the beach, a few wild ducks were seen; and some shags used to perch upon the high leafless trees near the shore. Some pretty large blackish snakes were seen in the woods; and we killed a large, hitherto unknown, lizard, fifteen inches long and six round, elegantly clouded with black and yellow; besides a small sort, of a brown gilded colour above, and rusty below.

"The sea affords a much greater plenty, and at least as great a variety as the land. Of these the elephant fish, or *pejegallo*, mentioned in Frezier's Voyage ‡, are the most numerous; and though inferior to many other fish, were very palatable food. Several large rays, nurses, and small leather-jackets, were caught; with some small white bream, which were firmer and better than those caught in the lake. We likewise got a few soles and flounders; two sorts of gurnards, one of them a new species; some small spotted mullet; and, very unexpectedly, the small fish with a silver band on its side, called *Atherina hepsetus* by Hasselquist §. But that next in number, and superior in goodness, to the elephant fish, was a sort none of us recollected to have seen before. It partakes of the nature both of a round and of a flat fish, having the eyes placed very near each other; the fore-part of the body much flattened or depressed, and the rest rounded. It is of a brownish sandy colour, with rusty spots on the upper part, and whitish below. From the quantity of slime it was always covered with, it seems to live after the manner of flat fish, at the bottom.

"Upon the rocks are plenty of muscles, and some other small shell-fish. There are also great numbers of sea-stars; some small limpets; and large quantities of sponge; one sort of which, that is thrown on shore by the sea, but not very common, has a most delicate texture; and another, is the *Spongia dichotoma*. Many pretty *Medusa's heads* were found upon the beach; and the stinking *Laplysia*, or sea-hare, which, as mentioned by some authors, has the property of taking off the hair by the acrimony of its juice; but this sort was deficient in this respect.

"Insects, though not numerous, are here in considerable variety. Amongst them are grasshoppers, butterflies, and several sorts of small moths, finely variegated. There are two sorts of dragon-flies, gad-flies, camel-flies; several sorts of spiders; and some scorpions; but the last are rather rare. The most troublesome, though not very numerous tribe of insects,

* Vol. i. p. 244 of this Edition of Cook's Voyages.
† Ibid. p. 240.
‡ Tom. ii. p. 211. 12mo. Planche xvii.
§ Itter Palæstinum.

are the musquitoes; and a large black ant, the pain of whose bite is almost intolerable, during the short time it lasts. The musquitoes, also, make up the deficiency of their number, by the severity of their venomous proboscis.

"The inhabitants whom we met with here had little of that fierce or wild appearance common to people in their situation; but, on the contrary, seemed mild and cheerful, without reserve or jealousy of strangers. This, however, may arise from their having little to lose or care for. With respect to personal activity or genius, we can say but little of either. They do not seem to possess the first in any remarkable degree; and as for the last, they have, to appearance, less than even the half-animated inhabitants of Terra del Fuego, who have not invention sufficient to make clothing for defending themselves from the rigour of their climate, though furnished with the materials. The small stick, rudely pointed, which one of them carried in his hand, was the only thing we saw that required any mechanical exertion, if we except the fixing on the feet of some of them pieces of kangaroo skin, tied with thongs; though it could not be learned whether these were in use as shoes, or only to defend some sore. It must be owned, however, they are masters of some contrivance, in the manner of cutting their arms and bodies in lines of different lengths and directions, which are raised considerably above the surface of the skin, so that it is difficult to guess the method they use in executing this embroidery of their persons. Their not expressing that surprise which one might have expected from their seeing men so much unlike themselves, and things to which, we were well assured, they had been hitherto utter strangers—their indifference for our presents, and their general inattention, were sufficient proofs of their not possessing any acuteness of understanding.

"Their colour is a dull black, and not quite so deep as that of the African Negroes. It should seem, also, that they sometimes heightened their black colour, by smutting their bodies; as a mark was left behind on any clean substance, such as white paper, when they handled it. Their hair, however, is perfectly woolly, and it is clotted or divided into small parcels, like that of the Hottentots, with the use of some sort of grass, mixed with a red paint or ochre, which they smear in great abundance over their heads. This practice, as some might imagine, has not the effect of changing their hair into the frizzling texture we observed; for, on examining the head of a boy, which appeared never to have been smeared, I found the hair to be of the same kind. Their noses, though not flat, are broad and full. The lower part of the face projects a good deal, as is the case of most Indians I have seen; so that a line let fall from the forehead, would cut off a much larger portion than it would in Europeans. Their eyes are of a middling size, with the white less clear than in us; and though not remarkably quick or piercing, such as give a frank, cheerful cast to the whole countenance. Their teeth are broad, but not equal, nor well set; and either from nature or from dirt, not of so true a white as is usual among people of a black colour. Their mouths are rather wide; but this appearance seems heightened by wearing their beards long, and clotted with paint, in the same manner as the hair on their heads. In other respects, they are well-proportioned; though the belly seems rather projecting. This may be owing to the want of compression there, which few nations do not use, more or less. The posture of which they seem fondest, is to stand with one side forward, or the upper part of the body gently reclined, and one hand grasping (across the back) the opposite arm, which hangs down by the projecting side.

"What the ancient poets tell us of Fauns and Satyrs living in hollow trees, is here realised. Some wretched constructions of sticks, covered with bark, which do not even deserve the name of huts, were indeed found near the shore in the bay; but these seemed only to have been erected for temporary purposes; and many of their largest trees were converted into more comfortable habitations. These had their trunks hollowed out by fire, to the height of six or seven feet; and that they take up their abode in them sometimes, was evident from the hearths, made of clay, to contain the fire in the middle, leaving room for four or five persons to sit round it *. At the same time, these places of shelter are durable; for they take

* Tasman, when in the bay of Frederick Henry, adjoining to Adventure Bay, found two trees, one of which was two fathoms, and the other two fathoms and a half in girth, and sixty or sixty-five feet high, from the root to the branches. See his Voyage, in Harris's Collection. Campbell's Edition, vol. i. p. 326.

care to leave one side of the tree sound, which is sufficient to keep it growing as luxuriantly as those which remain untouched.

"The inhabitants of this place are, doubtless, from the same stock with those of the northern parts of New Holland. Though some of the circumstances mentioned by Dampier, relative to those he met with on the western coast of this country, such as their defective sight, and want of fore-teeth, are not found here; and though Hawkesworth's account of those met with by Captain Cook on the east side shows also that they differ in many respects, yet still, upon the whole, I am persuaded, that distance of place, entire separation, diversity of climate, and length of time, all concurring to operate, will account for greater differences, both as to their persons and as to their customs, than really exist between our Van Diemen's Land natives, and those described by Dampier, and in Captain Cook's first Voyage. This is certain, that the figure of one of those seen in Endeavour River, and represented in Sidney Parkinson's Journal of that voyage, very much resembles our visitors in Adventure Bay. That there is not the like resemblance in their language, is a circumstance that need not create any difficulty. For though the agreement of the languages of people living distant from each other may be assumed as a strong argument for their having sprung from one common source, disagreement of language is by no means a proof of the contrary *.

IMMENSE TREE OF VAN DIEMEN'S LAND.

"However, we must have a far more intimate acquaintance with the languages spoken here and in the more northern parts of New Holland, before we can be warranted to pronounce that they are totally different. Nay, we have good grounds for the opposite opinion; for we found that the animal called kangooroo at Endeavour River was known under the same name here †; and I need not observe that it is scarcely possible to suppose

* The ingenious Author of Recherches sur les Américains illustrates the grounds of this assertion, in the following satisfactory manner:—"C'est quelque chose de surprenant, que la foule des idiomes, tous variés entr'eux, que parlent les naturels de l'Amérique Septentrionale. Qu'on réduise ces idiomes à des racines, qu'on les simplifie, qu'on en sépare les dialectes et les jargons dérivés, il en résulte toujours cinq ou six langues-mères, respectivement incompréhensibles. On a observé la même singularité dans la Sibérie et la Tartarie, où le nombre des idiomes, et des dialectes, est également multiplié; et rien n'est plus commun que d'y voir deux hordes voisines qui ne se comprennent point. On retrouve cette même multiplicité de jargons dans toutes les provinces de l'Amérique Méridionale." [He might also have included Africa.] "Il y a beaucoup d'apparence que la vie sauvage, en dispersant les hommes par petites troupes isolées dans des bois épais, occasione necessairement cette grande diversité des langues, dont le nombre diminue à mesure que la société, en rassemblant les barbares vagabonds, en forme un corps de nation. Alors l'idiome le plus riche, ou le moins pauvre en mots, devient dominant, et absorbe les autres."—Tom. i. p. 159, 160.

[These observations, which are worthy of much consideration in attempting to investigate the origin of "mother-tongues," are supported by the evidence of Mr. Catlin, whose remarkable travels among the Indian tribes of North America have recently excited so much attention. He states, that among the forty-eight tribes he visited, most of them make use of languages wholly distinct from each other.—ED.]

† [That there is no distinction of races among the inhabitants of New Holland and Van Diemen's Land, is

that this was not transmitted from one another, but accidentally adopted by two nations, differing in language and extraction. Besides, as it seems very improbable that the Van Diemen's Land inhabitants should have ever lost the use of canoes or sailing vessels if they had been originally conveyed thither by sea, we must necessarily admit that they, as well as the kangooroo itself, have been stragglers by land from the more northern parts of the country. And if there be any force in this observation, while it traces the origin of the people, it will, at the same time, serve to fix another point, if Captain Cook and Captain Furneaux have not already decided it, that New Holland is nowhere totally divided by the sea into islands, as some have imagined *.

"As the New Hollanders seem all to be of the same extraction, so neither do I think there is anything peculiar in them. On the contrary, they much resemble many of the inhabitants whom I have seen at the islands Tanna and Manicola. Nay, there is even some foundation for hazarding a supposition that they may have originally come from the same place with all the inhabitants of the South Sea. For, of only about ten words which we could get from them, that which expresses *cold* differs little from that of New Zealand and Otaheite; the first being *Mallareede*, the second *Makka'reede*, and the third *Ma'reede*. The rest of our very scanty Van Diemen's Land Vocabulary is as follows:—

Quadne,	A woman.	Ka'my,	The teeth, mouth, or tongue.
Eve'rai,	The eye.	Koy'gee,	The ear.
Muidje,	The nose.	No'onga,	Elevated scars on the body.
Lac'renne,	A small bird, a native of the woods here.	Teegera,	To eat.
		Toga'rago,	I must be gone, or I will go.

"Their pronunciation is not disagreeable, but rather quick, though not more so than is that of other nations of the South Sea; and if we may depend upon the affinity of languages as a clue to guide us in discovering the origin of nations, I have no doubt but we shall find, on a diligent inquiry, and when opportunities offer to collect accurately a sufficient number of these words, and to compare them, that all the people from New Holland, eastward to Easter Island, have been derived from the same common root †."

confirmed by the accounts of all writers who have given us descriptions of them; but the habits and customs, and also the languages or dialect, used by various tribes vary considerably. Thus, some tribes use the throwing stick and the boomerang, and others are unacquainted with either of these instruments; some are accustomed to strike out the two fore-teeth, whilst others, as the natives of Van Diemen's Land, do not practise this mutilation; and although the tribe whom Captain Cook found at Endeavour River gave the name Kangaroo to the animal still so called by us, yet Captain King, on visiting the same place, found it distinguished by the natives then dwelling there by another name.—The aborigines of Van Diemen's Land are now no longer denizens of their native soil, having been, after a protracted resistance, all conveyed to Gun Carriage Island, in Bass's Straits, which has been given up to their undisputed possession, but where, as is natural, they are far from being contented: Mr. Darwin states, that it was "the opinion of some that the race will soon become extinct." Their removal appears to have been necessary for the safety of the settlers, but it is one more melancholy proof of the exterminating influence of the step of the white man.—ED.

* Dampier seems to be of this opinion. Vol. iii. p. 104. 125.

[It was not until the year 1797 that this question was set at rest by Captain Flinders, then a lieutenant of H. M.S. Reliance, who, in company with Mr. Bass the surgeon, in a small decked boat or sloop built at Norfolk Island of native fir, and thence called the Norfolk, discovered Port Dalrymple, and passing through the straits, since known as Bass's Straits, circumnavigated the island, and, on its southern extremity, sailed up and examined the river Derwent, on the west bank of which Hobart Town has since been erected. The first European settlement was made in 1804, at Risdon, on the left or eastern bank of the Derwent, about eighteen miles from its northern entrance. Hobart Town was established on the western bank, in the following year.—ED.]

† We find Mr. Anderson's notions on this subject conformable to those of Mr. Marsden, who has remarked "that one general language prevailed (however mutilated and changed in the course of time) throughout all this portion of the world, from Madagascar to the most distant discoveries eastward: of which the Malay is a dialect, much corrupted or refined by a mixture of other tongues. This very extensive similarity of language indicates a common origin of the inhabitants; but the circumstances and progress of their separation are wrapped in the darkest veil of obscurity."—History of Sumatra, p. 35.

See also his very curious paper, read before the Society of Antiquaries, and published in their Archæologia, vol. vi., p. 155; where his sentiments on this subject are explained more at large, and illustrated by two tables of corresponding words.

CHAPTER VII.—THE PASSAGE FROM VAN DIEMEN'S LAND TO NEW ZEALAND.—EMPLOYMENTS IN QUEEN CHARLOTTE'S SOUND.—TRANSACTIONS WITH THE NATIVES THERE.—INTELLIGENCE ABOUT THE MASSACRE OF THE ADVENTURE'S BOAT'S CREW.—ACCOUNT OF THE CHIEF WHO HEADED THE PARTY ON THAT OCCASION.—OF THE TWO YOUNG MEN WHO EMBARK TO ATTEND OMAI.—VARIOUS REMARKS ON THE INHABITANTS.—ASTRONOMICAL AND NAUTICAL OBSERVATIONS.

AT eight o'clock in the morning of the 30th of January, a light breeze springing up at W., we weighed anchor, and put to sea from Adventure Bay. Soon after, the wind veered to the southward, and increased to a perfect storm. Its fury abated in the evening, when it veered to the E. and N.E. This gale was indicated by the barometer, for the wind no sooner began to blow than the mercury in the tube began to fall. Another remarkable thing attended the coming on of this wind, which was very faint at first. It brought with it a degree of heat that was almost intolerable. The mercury in the thermometer rose, as it were, instantaneously, from about 70° to near 90°. This heat was of so short a continuance, that it seemed to be wafted away before the breeze that brought it; so that some on board did not perceive it.

We pursued our course to the eastward, without meeting with anything worthy of note till the night between the 6th and 7th of February, when a marine belonging to the Discovery fell overboard, and was never seen afterward. This was the second misfortune of the kind that had happened to Captain Clerke since he left England. On the 10th, at four in the afternoon, we discovered the land of New Zealand. The part we saw proved to be Rock's Point, and bore S.E. by S., about eight or nine leagues distant. During this run from Van Diemen's Land, the wind, for the first four or five days, was at N.E., N., and N.N.W., and blew, for the most part, a gentle breeze. It afterward veered to S.E., where it remained twenty-four hours. It then came to W. and S.W.; in which points it continued, with very little deviation, till we reached New Zealand. After making the land, I steered for Cape Farewell, which at day-break, the next morning, bore S. by W., distant about four leagues. At eight o'clock it bore S.W. by S., about five leagues distant; and, in this situation, we had forty-five fathoms' water over a sandy bottom. In rounding the Cape we had fifty fathoms, and the same sort of bottom.

I now steered for Stephen's Island, which we came up with at nine o'clock at night; and at ten next morning, anchored in our old station, in Queen Charlotte's Sound. Unwilling to lose any time, our operations commenced that very afternoon, when we landed a number of empty water-casks, and began to clear a place where we might set up the two observatories, and tents for the reception of a guard, and of such of our people whose business might make it necessary for them to remain on shore. We had not been long at anchor before several canoes, filled with natives, came alongside of the ships; but very few of them would venture on board; which appeared the more extraordinary, as I was well known to them all. There was one man in particular amongst them, whom I had treated with remarkable kindness, during the whole of my stay when I was last here. Yet now, neither professions of friendship, nor presents, could prevail upon him to come into the ship. This shyness was to be accounted for only upon this supposition, that they were apprehensive we had revisited their country, in order to revenge the death of Captain Furneaux's people. Seeing Omai on board my ship now, whom they must have remembered to have seen on board the Adventure, when the melancholy affair happened, and whose first conversation with them, as they approached, generally turned on that subject, they must be well assured that I was no longer a stranger to it. I thought it necessary, therefore, to use every endeavour to assure them of the continuance of my friendship, and that I should not disturb them on that account. I do not know whether this had any weight with them; but certain it is that they very soon laid aside all manner of restraint and distrust.

On the 13th we set up two tents, one from each ship, on the same spot where we had pitched them formerly. The observatories were at the same time erected; and Messrs. King and Bayly began their operations immediately, to find the rate of the time-keeper, and

to make other observations. The remainder of the empty water-casks were also sent on shore, with the cooper to trim, and a sufficient number of sailors to fill them. Two men were appointed to brew spruce-beer; and the carpenter and his crew were ordered to cut wood. A boat, with a party of men, under the direction of one of the mates, was sent to collect grass for our cattle; and the people that remained on board were employed in refitting the ship, and arranging the provisions. In this manner, we were all profitably busied during our stay. For the protection of the party on shore, I appointed a guard of ten marines, and ordered arms for all the workmen; and Mr. King, and two or three petty officers, constantly remained with them. A boat was never sent to any considerable distance from the ships without being armed, and under the direction of such officers as I could depend upon, and who were well acquainted with the natives. During my former visits to this country, I had never taken some of these precautions; nor were they, I firmly believe, more necessary now than they had been formerly. But after the tragical fate of the Adventure's boat's crew in this Sound, and of Captain Marion du Fresne, and of some of his people, in the Bay of Islands *, it was impossible totally to divest ourselves of all apprehension of experiencing a similar calamity. If the natives entertained any suspicion of our revenging these acts of barbarity, they very soon laid it aside. For, during the course of this day, a great number of families came from different parts of the coast, and took up their residence close to us, so that there was not a spot in the cove where a hut could be put up, that was not occupied by them, except the place where we had fixed our little encampment. This they left us in quiet possession of; but they came and took away the ruins of some old huts that were there, as materials for their new erections.

It is curious to observe with what facility they build these occasional places of abode. I have seen above twenty of them erected on a spot of ground that, not an hour before, was covered with shrubs and plants. They generally bring some part of the materials with them; the rest they find upon the premises. I was present when a number of people landed, and built one of these villages. The moment the canoes reached the shore, the men leaped out, and at once took possession of a piece of ground, by tearing up the plants and shrubs, or sticking up some part of the framing of a hut. They then returned to their canoes, and secured their weapons, by setting them up against a tree, or placing them in such a position, that they could be laid hold of in an instant. I took particular notice that no one neglected this precaution. While the men were employed in raising the huts, the women were not idle. Some were stationed to take care of the canoes; others to secure the provisions, and the few utensils in their possession; and the rest went to gather dry sticks, that a fire might be prepared for dressing their victuals. As to the children, I kept them, as also some of the more aged, sufficiently occupied in scrambling for beads, till I had emptied my pockets, and then I left them. These temporary habitations are abundantly sufficient to afford shelter from the wind and rain, which is the only purpose they are meant to answer. I observed that, generally, if not always, the same tribe or family, though it were ever so large, associated and built together; so that we frequently saw a village, as well as their larger towns, divided into different districts by low palisades, or some similar mode of separation.

The advantage we received from the natives coming to live with us, was not inconsiderable. For, every day, when the weather would permit, some of them went out to catch fish; and we generally got, by exchanges, a good share of the produce of their labours. This supply, and what our own nets and lines afforded us, were so ample, that we seldom were in want of fish. Nor was there any deficiency of other refreshments. Celery, scurvy-grass, and portable soup, were boiled with the peas and wheat, for both ships' companies, every day during our whole stay; and they had spruce-beer for their drink. So that, if any of our people had contracted the seeds of the scurvy, such a regimen soon removed them. But the truth is, when we arrived here, there were only two invalids (and these on board the Resolution) upon the sick lists in both ships.

Besides the natives who took up their abode close to us, we were occasionally visited

* In 1772.

by others of them, whose residence was not far off; and by some who lived more remote. Their articles of commerce were, curiosities, fish, and women. The two first always came to a good market, which the latter did not. The seamen had taken a kind of dislike to these people, and were either unwilling or afraid to associate with them, which produced this good effect, that I knew no instance of a man's quitting his station to go to their habitations. A connexion with women I allow, because I cannot prevent it; but never encourage, because I always dread its consequences. I know, indeed, that many men are of opinion that such an intercourse is one of our greatest securities amongst savages; and perhaps they who, either from necessity or choice, are to remain and settle with them, may find it so. But with travellers and transient visitors, such as we were, it is generally otherwise; and in our situation, a connexion with their women betrays more men than it saves. What else can be reasonably expected, since all their views are selfish, without the least mixture of regard or attachment? My own experience, at least, which hath been pretty extensive, hath not pointed out to me one instance to the contrary.

Amongst our occasional visitors was a chief named Kahoora, who, as I was informed, headed the party that cut off Captain Furneaux's people, and himself killed Mr. Rowe, the officer who commanded. To judge of the character of Kahoora by what I heard from many of his countrymen, he seemed to be more feared than beloved amongst them. Not satisfied with telling me that he was a very bad man, some of them even importuned me to kill him; and I believe they were not a little surprised that I did not listen to them; for, according to their ideas of equity, this ought to have been done. But if I had followed the advice of all our pretended friends, I might have extirpated the whole race; for the people of each hamlet or village, by turns, applied to me to destroy the other. One would have almost thought it impossible that so striking a proof of the divided state in which this miserable people live, could have been assigned. And yet I was sure that I did not misconceive the meaning of those who made these strange applications to me; for Omai, whose language was a dialect of their own, and perfectly understood all that they said, was our interpreter.

On the 15th I made an excursion in my boat to look for grass, and visited the Hippah, or fortified village, at the south-west point of Motuara, and the places where our gardens had been planted on that island. There were no people at the former; but the houses and palisades had been rebuilt, and were now in a state of good repair; and there were other evident marks of its having been inhabited not long before. It would be unnecessary, at present, to give a particular account of this Hippah, sufficient notice having been taken of it in the Account of my first Voyage, to which I refer *.

When the Adventure arrived first at Queen Charlotte's Sound, in 1773 †, Mr. Bayly fixed upon this place for making his observations; and he and the people with him, at their leisure hours, planted several spots with English garden-seeds. Not the least vestige of these now remained. It is probable that they had been all rooted out to make room for buildings, when the village was re-inhabited; for, at all the other gardens then planted by Captain Furneaux, although now wholly overrun with the weeds of the country, we found cabbages, onions, leeks, purslane, radishes, mustard, &c., and a few potatoes. These potatoes, which were first brought from the Cape of Good Hope, had been greatly improved by change of soil; and, with proper cultivation, would be superior to those produced in most other countries. Though the New Zealanders are fond of this root, it was evident that they had not taken the trouble to plant a single one (much less any other of the articles which we had introduced); and if it were not for the difficulty of clearing ground where potatoes had been once planted, there would not have been any now remaining ‡.

* See vol. I. p. 168. † See vol. I. p. 388.

‡ Potatoes have already been exported to New South Wales, from New Zealand; and Mr. Petrie, who in 1841 published an interesting account of his experience as a colonist, says they are likely to become a very considerable article of exportation. The natives, although they have kept up a stock of potatoes, have hitherto conducted the cultivation in the same slovenly and careless way they did in Captain Cook's time. "In many cases," says Mr. Petrie, "the crop is left on the ground, the natives merely opening the earth about the roots, taking up enough to supply their immediate wants, and covering the root again with earth." This mode, as is well known to all European agriculturists, tends to deteriorate both the land and the produce; but the example of the settlers will, without doubt, soon teach a nation, deficient in no one quality fitting them for high civilization, to adopt a better plan. — ED.

On the 16th, at daybreak, I set out with a party of men, in five boats, to collect food for our cattle. Captain Clerke, and several of the officers, Omai, and two of the natives, accompanied me. We proceeded about three leagues up the Sound, and then landed on the east side, at a place where I had formerly been. Here we cut as much grass as loaded the two launches. As we returned down the Sound, we visited Grass Cove, the memorable scene of the massacre of Captain Furneaux's people. Here I met with my old friend Pedro, who was almost continually with me the last time I was in this Sound, and is mentioned in my History of that Voyage *. He, and another of his countrymen, received us on the beach, armed with the pa-too and spear. Whether this form of reception was a mark of their courtesy or of their fear, I cannot say; but I thought they betrayed manifest signs of the latter. However, if they had any apprehensions, a few presents soon removed them, and brought down to the beach two or three more of the family; but the greatest part of them remained out of sight.

Whilst we were at this place, our curiosity prompted us to inquire into the circumstances attending the melancholy fate of our countrymen; and Omai was made use of as our interpreter for this purpose. Pedro, and the rest of the natives present, answered all the questions that were put to them on the subject, without reserve, and like men who are under no dread of punishment for a crime of which they are not guilty. For we already knew that none of them had been concerned in the unhappy transaction. They told us, that while our people were sitting at dinner, surrounded by several of the natives, some of the latter stole, or snatched from them, some bread and fish, for which they were beat. This being resented, a quarrel ensued, and two New Zealanders were shot dead, by the only two muskets that were fired. For before our people had time to discharge a third, or to load again those that had been fired, the natives rushed in upon them, overpowered them with their numbers, and put them all to death. Pedro and his companions, besides relating the history of the massacre, made us acquainted with the very spot that was the scene of it. It is at the corner of the cove, on the right hand. They pointed to the place of the sun, to mark to us at what hour of the day it happened; and, according to this, it must have been late in the afternoon. They also showed us the place where the boat lay; and it appeared to be about two hundred yards distant from that where the crew were seated. One of their number, a black servant of Captain Furneaux, was left in the boat to take care of her. We were afterwards told that this black was the cause of the quarrel, which was said to have happened thus: One of the natives stealing something out of the boat, the negro gave him a severe blow with a stick. The cries of the fellow being heard by his countrymen at a distance, they imagined he was killed, and immediately began the attack on our people; who, before they had time to reach the boat, or to arm themselves against the unexpected impending danger, fell a sacrifice to the fury of their savage assailants.

The first of these accounts was confirmed by the testimony of many of the natives, whom we conversed with at different times, and who, I think, could have no interest in deceiving us. The second manner of relating the transaction rests upon the authority of the young New Zealander, who chose to abandon his country and go away with us, and who, consequently, could have no possible view in disguising the truth. All agreeing that the quarrel happened when the boat's crew were sitting at their meal, it is highly probable that both the accounts are true, as they perfectly coincide. For we may very naturally suppose, that while some of the natives were stealing from the man who had been left in the boat, others of them might take the same liberties with the property of our people who were on shore.

Be this as it will, all agree that the quarrel first took its rise from some thefts, in the commission of which the natives were detected. All agree, also, that there was no premeditated plan of bloodshed, and that, if these thefts had not been, unfortunately, too hastily resented, no mischief would have happened. For Kahoora's greatest enemies, those who solicited his destruction most earnestly, at the same time confessed that he had no intention to quarrel, much less to kill, till the fray had actually commenced. It also appears that the unhappy victims were under no sort of apprehension of their fate; otherwise they never

* See vol. I. p. 546.

would have ventured to sit down to a repast at so considerable a distance from their boat, amongst people who were the next moment to be their murderers. What became of the boat I never could learn. Some said she was pulled to pieces and burnt; others told us that she was carried, they knew not whither, by a party of strangers.

We staid here till the evening, when, having loaded the rest of the boats with grass, celery, scurvy-grass, &c., we embarked to return to the ships. We had prevailed upon Pedro to launch his canoe, and accompany us; but we had scarcely put off from the shore, when the wind began to blow very hard at north-west, which obliged him to put back. We proceeded ourselves, but it was with a good deal of difficulty that we could reach the ships; where some of the boats did not arrive till one o'clock the next morning; and it was fortunate that they got on board then, for it afterwards blew a perfect storm, with abundance of rain, so that no manner of work could go forward that day. In the evening the gale ceased, and the wind having veered to the east, brought with it fair weather.

The next day we resumed our works; the natives ventured out to catch fish; and Pedro, with all his family, came and took up his abode near us. This chief's proper name is Matahouah; the other being given him by some of my people during my last voyage, which I did not know till now. He was, however, equally well known amongst his countrymen by both names. On the 20th, in the forenoon, we had another storm from the north-west. Though this was not of so long continuance as the former, the gusts of wind from the hills were far more violent, insomuch that we were obliged to strike the yards and top-masts to the very utmost; and even with all this precaution, it was with difficulty that we rode it out. These storms are very frequent here, and sometimes violent and troublesome. The neighbouring mountains, which at these times are always loaded with vapours, not only increase the force of the wind, but alter its direction in such a manner, that no two blasts follow each other from the same quarter; and the nearer the shore, the more their effects are felt.

The next day we were visited by a tribe or family, consisting of about thirty persons, men, women, and children, who came from the upper part of the Sound. I had never seen them before. The name of their chief was Tomatongeauooranuc; a man of about forty-five years of age, with a cheerful open countenance. And, indeed, the rest of his tribe were, in general, the handsomest of the New Zealand race I had ever met with. By this time more than two-thirds of the inhabitants of the Sound had settled themselves about us. Great numbers of them daily frequented the ships, and the encampment on shore: but the latter became, by far, the most favourite place of resort, while our people there were melting some seal blubber. No Greenlander was ever fonder of train-oil, than our friends here seem to be. They relished the very skimmings of the kettle, and dregs of the casks; but a little of the pure stinking oil was a delicious feast, so eagerly desired, that I supposed it is seldom enjoyed.

Having got on board as much hay and grass as we judged sufficient to serve the cattle till our arrival at Otaheite, and having completed the wood and water of both ships, on the 23rd we struck our tents, and carried everything off from the shore; and next morning we weighed anchor, and stood out of the cove. But the wind not being very fair, and finding that the tide of ebb would be spent before we could get out of the Sound, we cast anchor again a little without the island Motuara, to wait for a more favourable opportunity of putting into the strait. While we were unmooring and getting under sail, Tomatongeauooranuc, Matahouah, and many more of the natives, came to take their leave of us, or rather to obtain, if they could, some additional present from us before we left them. These two chiefs became suitors to me for some goats and hogs. Accordingly, I gave to Matahouah two goats, a male and female with kid; and to Tomatongeauooranuc two pigs, a boar, and a sow. They made me a promise not to kill them; though I must own I put no great faith in this. The animals which Captain Furneaux sent on shore here, and which soon after fell into the hands of the natives, I was now told were all dead; but I could get no intelligence about the fate of those I had left in West Bay, and in Cannibal Cove, when I was here in the course of my last voyage. However, all the natives whom I conversed with agreed, that poultry are now to be met with wild in the woods behind Ship Cove; and

I was afterward informed, by the two youths who went away with us, that Tiratou, a popular chief amongst them, had a great many cocks and hens in his separate possession, and one of the sows.

On my present arrival at this place, I fully intended to have left not only goats and hogs, but sheep, and a young bull, with two heifers, if I could have found either a chief powerful enough to protect and keep them, or a place where there might be a probability of their being concealed from those who would ignorantly attempt to destroy them. But neither the one nor the other presented itself to me. Tiratou was now absent; and Tringoboohee, whom I had met with during my last voyage*, and who seemed to be a person of much consequence at that time, had been killed five months ago, with about seventy persons of his tribe; and I could not learn that there now remained in our neighbourhood any tribe whose numbers could secure to them a superiority of power over the rest of their countrymen. To have given the animals to any of the natives who possessed no such power, would not have answered the intention. For, in a country like this, where no man's property is secure, they would soon have fallen a prey to different parties, and been either separated or killed; but most likely both. This was so evident, from what we had observed since our arrival, that I had resolved to leave no kind of animal, till Matahouah and the other chief solicited me for the hogs and goats. As I could spare them, I let them go, to take their chance. I have, at different times, left in New Zealand no less than ten or a dozen hogs, besides those put on shore by Captain Furneaux. It will be a little extraordinary, therefore, if this race should not increase and be preserved here, either in a wild or in a domestic state, or in both†.

We had not been long at anchor near Motuara, before three or four canoes, filled with natives, came off to us from the south-east side of the Sound; and a brisk trade was carried on with them for the curiosities of this place. In one of these canoes was Kahoora, whom I have already mentioned as the leader of the party who cut off the crew of the Adventure's boat. This was the third time he had visited us, without betraying the smallest appearance of fear. I was ashore when he now arrived, but had got on board just as he was going away. Omai, who had returned with me, presently pointed him out, and solicited me to shoot him. Not satisfied with this, he addressed himself to Kahoora, threatening to be his executioner, if ever he presumed to visit us again. The New Zealander paid so little regard to these threats, that he returned, the next morning, with his whole family, men, women, and children, to the number of twenty and upwards. Omai was the first who acquainted me with his being alongside the ship, and desired to know if he should ask him to come on board. I told him he might; and accordingly he introduced the chief into the cabin, saying, "There is Kahoora; kill him!" But, as if he had forgot his former threats, or were afraid that I should call upon him to perform them, he immediately retired. In a short time, however, he returned; and seeing the chief unhurt, he expostulated with me very earnestly, saying, "Why do you not kill him? You tell me, if a man kills another in England, that he is hanged for it. This man has killed ten, and yet you will not kill him; though many of his countrymen desire it, and it would be very good." Omai's arguments, though specious enough, having no weight with me, I desired him to ask the chief, why he had killed Captain Furneaux's people? At this question, Kahoora folded his arms, hung down his head, and looked like one caught in a trap; and, I firmly believe, he expected instant death. But no sooner was he assured of his safety, than he became cheerful. He did not, however, seem willing to give me an answer to the question that had been put to him, till I had, again and again, repeated my promise that he should not be hurt. Then he ventured to tell us, that one of his countrymen having brought a stone hatchet to barter, the man to whom it was offered took it, and would neither return it nor give anything for it; on which the owner of it snatched up the bread as an equivalent; and then the quarrel began.

* See vol. I. p. 546.

† The quantity of food, particularly the fern-root, fitted for the support of swine, which abounds in the forests of New Zealand, would lead us to suppose that at the present day those animals would be found wild; but such does not appear to be the case, although they are bred in large numbers by the natives, who undoubtedly derived their first supply from Cook.—Ed.

The remainder of Kahoora's account of this unhappy affair differed very little from what we had before learned from the rest of his countrymen. He mentioned the narrow escape he had during the fray, a musket being levelled at him, which he avoided by skulking behind the boat; and another man, who stood close to him, was shot dead. As soon as the musket was discharged, he instantly seized the opportunity to attack Mr. Rowe, who commanded the party, and who defended himself with his hanger (with which he wounded Kahoora in the arm) till he was overpowered by numbers.

Mr. Burney, who was sent by Captain Furneaux the next day* with an armed party, to look for his missing people, upon discovering the horrid proofs of their shocking fate, had fired several volleys amongst the crowds of natives who still remained assembled on the spot, and were, probably, partaking of the detestable banquet. It was natural to suppose that he had not fired in vain; and that, therefore, some of the murderers and devourers of our unhappy countrymen had suffered under our just resentment. Upon inquiry, however, into this matter, not only from Kahoora, but from others who had opportunities of knowing, it appeared that our supposition was groundless, and that not one of the shot fired by Mr. Burney's people had taken effect, so as to kill, or even to hurt, a single person.

It was evident, that most of the natives we had met with since our arrival, as they knew I was fully acquainted with the history of the massacre, expected I should avenge it with the death of Kahoora. And many of them seemed not only to wish it, but expressed their surprise at my forbearance. As he could not be ignorant of this, it was a matter of wonder to me that he put himself so often in my power. When he visited us while the ships lay in the Cove, confiding in the number of his friends that accompanied him, he might think himself safe. But his two last visits had been made under such circumstances, that he could no longer rely upon this. We were then at anchor in the entrance of the Sound, and at some distance from any shore; so that he could not have any assistance from thence, nor flatter himself he could have the means of making his escape, had I determined to detain him. And yet, after his first fears, on being interrogated, were over, he was so far from entertaining any uneasy sensations, that, on seeing a portrait of one of his countrymen hanging up in the cabin, he desired to have his own portrait drawn; and sat till Mr. Webber had finished it, without marking the least impatience. I must confess, I admired his courage, and was not a little pleased to observe the extent of the confidence he put in me. For he placed his whole safety in the declarations I had uniformly made to those who solicited his death, that I had always been a friend to them all, and would continue so, unless they gave me cause to act otherwise; that as to their inhuman treatment of our people, I should think no more of it, the transaction having happened long ago, and when I was not present; but that, if ever they made a second attempt of that kind, they might rest assured of feeling the weight of my resentment.

For some time before we arrived at New Zealand, Omai had expressed a desire to take one of the natives with him to his own country. We had not been there many days, before he had an opportunity of being gratified in this; for a youth, about seventeen or eighteen years of age, named Taweiharooa, offered to accompany him, and took up his residence on board. I paid little attention to this at first, imagining that he would leave us when we were about to depart, and after he had got what he could from Omai. At length, finding that he was fixed in his resolution to go with us, and having learnt that he was the only son of a deceased chief, and that his mother, still living, was a woman much respected here, I was apprehensive that Omai had deceived him and his friends, by giving them hopes and assurances of his being sent back. I therefore caused it to be made known to them all, that if the young man went away with us, he would never return. But this declaration seemed to make no sort of impression. The afternoon before we left the cove, Tiratoutou, his mother, came on board, to receive her last present from Omai. The same evening, she and Taweiharooa parted, with all the marks of tender affection that might be expected between a parent and a child who were never to meet again. But she said she would cry no more; and, sure enough, she kept her word. For, when she returned the next morning, to take

* See his Narrative, vol. I. p. 584.

her last farewell of him, all the time she was on board she remained quite cheerful, and went away wholly unconcerned.

That Taweiharooa might be sent away in a manner becoming his birth, another youth was to have gone with him as his servant; and, with this view, as we supposed, he remained on board till we were about to sail, when his friends took him ashore. However, his place was supplied, next morning, by another, a boy of about nine or ten years of age, named Kokoa. He was presented to me by his own father, who, I believe, would have parted with his dog with far less indifference. The very little clothing the boy had, he stripped him of, and left him as naked as he was born. It was to no purpose that I endeavoured to convince these people of the improbability, or rather of the impossibility, of these youths ever returning home. Not one, not even their nearest relations, seemed to trouble themselves about their future fate. Since this was the case, and I was well satisfied that the boys would be no losers by exchange of place, I the more readily gave my consent to their going.

From my own observations, and from the information of Taweiharooa and others, it appears to me that the New Zealanders must live under perpetual apprehensions of being destroyed by each other; there being few of their tribes that have not, as they think, sustained wrongs from some other tribe, which they are continually upon the watch to revenge. And, perhaps, the desire of a good meal may be no small incitement. I am told that many years will sometimes elapse before a favourable opportunity happens, and that the son never loses sight of an injury that has been done to his father. Their method of executing their horrible designs, is by stealing upon the adverse party in the night; and if they find them unguarded (which, however, I believe, is very seldom the case), they kill every one indiscriminately, not even sparing the women and children. When the massacre is completed, they either feast and gorge themselves on the spot, or carry off as many of the dead bodies as they can, and devour them at home, with acts of brutality too shocking to be described. If they are discovered before they can execute their bloody purpose, they generally steal off again; and sometimes are pursued and attacked by the other party in their turn. To give quarter, or to take prisoners, makes no part of their military law; so that the vanquished can only save their lives by flight. This perpetual state of war, and destructive method of conducting it, operates so strongly in producing habitual circumspection, that one hardly ever finds a New Zealander off his guard, either by night or by day. Indeed, no other man can have such powerful motives to be vigilant, as the preservation both of body and of soul depends upon it. For, according to their system of belief, the soul of the man whose flesh is devoured by the enemy is doomed to a perpetual fire; while the soul of the man whose body has been rescued from those who killed him, as well as the souls of all who die a natural death, ascend to the habitations of the gods. I asked whether they ate the flesh of such of their friends as had been killed in war, but whose bodies were saved from falling into the enemy's hands? They seemed surprised at the question, which they answered in the negative, expressing some abhorrence at the very idea. Their common method of disposing of their dead, is by depositing their bodies in the earth; but if they have more of their slaughtered enemies than they can eat, they throw them into the sea.

They have no such thing as *morais*, or other places of public worship; nor do they ever assemble together with this view. But they have priests, who alone address the gods in prayers for the prosperity of their temporal affairs; such as an enterprise against a hostile tribe, a fishing party, or the like. Whatever the principles of their religion may be, of which we remain very ignorant, its instructions are very strongly inculcated into them from their very infancy. Of this I saw a remarkable instance, in the youth who was first destined to accompany Taweiharooa. He refrained from eating, the greatest part of the day, on account of his hair being cut; though every method was tried to induce him to break his resolution, and he was tempted with the offer of such victuals as he was known to esteem the most. He said, if he ate anything that day, the *Eatooa* would kill him. However, towards evening, the cravings of nature got the better of the precepts of his religion, and he ate, though but sparingly. I had often conjectured, before this, that they had some superstitious notions about their hair, having frequently observed quantities of it tied to the branches of trees near some of their habitations; but what these notions are, I never could learn.

Notwithstanding the divided and hostile state in which the New Zealanders live, travelling strangers, who come with no ill design, are well received and entertained during their stay; which, however, it is expected will be no longer than is requisite to transact the business they come upon. Thus it is that a trade for *poenammoo*, or green talc, is carried on throughout the whole northern island. For they tell us, that there is none of this stone to be found, but at a place which bears its name, somewhere about the head of Queen Charlotte's Sound, and not above one or two days' journey, at most, from the station of our ships. I regretted much that I could not spare time sufficient for paying a visit to the place; as we were told a hundred fabulous stories about this stone, not one of which carried with it the least probability of truth, though some of their most sensible men would have us believe them. One of these stories is, that this stone is originally a fish, which they strike with a gig in the water, tie a rope to it, and drag it to the shore, to which they fasten it, and it afterwards becomes stone. As they all agree that it is fished out of a large lake, or collection of waters, the most probable conjecture is, that it is brought from the mountains, and deposited in the water, by the torrents*. This lake is called by the natives *Tavai Poenammoo;* that is, the Water of Green Talc; and it is only the adjoining part of the country, and not the whole southern island of New Zealand, that is known to them by the name which hath been given to it on my chart.

Polygamy is allowed amongst these people; and it is not uncommon for a man to have two or three wives. The women are marriageable at a very early age; and it should seem, that one who is unmarried is but in a forlorn state. She can with difficulty get a subsistence; at least she is, in a great measure, without a protector, though in constant want of a powerful one. The New Zealanders seem to be a people perfectly satisfied with the little knowledge they are masters of, without attempting, in the least, to improve it; nor are they remarkably curious, either in their observations or their inquiries. New objects do not strike them with such a degree of surprise as one would naturally expect; nor do they even fix their attention for a moment. Omai, indeed, who was a great favourite with them, would sometimes attract a circle about him; but they seemed to listen to his speeches like persons who neither understood, nor wished to understand, what they heard.

One day, on our inquiring of Taweiharooa how many ships, such as ours, had ever arrived in Queen Charlotte's Sound, or in any part of its neighbourhood? he began with giving an account of one absolutely unknown to us. This, he said, had put into a port on the north-west coast of Teerawitte, but a very few years before I arrived in the Sound in the Endeavour, which the New Zealanders distinguish by calling Tupia's ship. At first, I thought he might have been mistaken as to the time and place; and that the ship in question might be either Monsieur Surville's, who is said to have touched upon the north-east coast of Eaheinomauwe, the same year I was there in the Endeavour, or else Monsieur Marion du Fresne's, who was in the Bay of Islands, on the same coast, a few years after; but he assured us that he was not mistaken, either as to the time or as to the place of this ship's arrival, and that it was well known to everybody about Queen Charlotte's Sound and Teerawitte. He said, that the Captain of her, during his stay here, cohabited with a woman of the country; and that she had a son by him still living, and about the age of Kokoa; who, though not born then, seemed to be equally well acquainted with the story. We were also informed by Taweiharooa, that this ship first introduced the venereal disease amongst the New Zealanders. I wish that subsequent visiters from Europe may not have their share of guilt, in leaving so dreadful a remembrance of them amongst this unhappy race. The disorder now is but too common here, though they do not seem to regard it, saying, that its effects are not near so pernicious at present as they were at its first appearance. The only method, as far as I ever heard, that they make use of as a remedy, is by giving the patient the use of a sort of hot bath, which they produce by the steam of certain green plants laid over hot stones.

* The situation of this lake is now understood to be in the southern part of the southern island, or New Munster, a site yet unexplored by Europeans, between two and three hundred miles from Queen Charlotte's Sound. The account given to Cook, whose care in procuring and accuracy in reporting information has never been surpassed, may still be correct, as the lake laid down in the maps of the present day as Te-wai-poenamu, or the Water of Green Talc, may not be the only one where that substance is procurable.—Ed.

I regretted much that we did not hear of this ship while we were in the Sound; as, by means of Omai, we might have had full and correct information about her from eye-witnesses. For Taweiharooa's account was only from what he had been told, and therefore liable to many mistakes. I have not the least doubt, however, that his testimony may so far be depended upon, as to induce us to believe that a ship really had been at Terrawitte prior to my arrival in the Endeavour, as it corresponds with what I had formerly heard. For in the latter end of 1773, the second time I visited New Zealand, during my last voyage, when we were continually making inquiries about the Adventure, after our separation, some of the natives informed us of a ship's having been in a port on the coast of Teerawitte. But, at that time, we thought we must have misunderstood them, and took no notice of the intelligence. The arrival of this unknown ship has been marked by the New Zealanders with more cause of remembrance than the unhappy one just mentioned. Taweiharooa told us their country was indebted to her people for the present of an animal, which they left behind them. But as he had not seen it himself, no sort of judgment could be formed, from his description, of what kind it was. We had another piece of intelligence from him, more correctly given, though not confirmed by our own observations, that there are snakes and lizards there of an enormous size. He described the latter as being eight feet in length, and as big round as a man's body. He said, they sometimes seize and devour men; that they burrow in the ground; and that they are killed by making fires at the mouths of the holes. We could not be mistaken as to the animal; for with his own hand he drew a very good representation of a lizard on a piece of paper; as also of a snake, in order to show what he meant.*

Though much has been said, in the narratives of my two former voyages, about this country and its inhabitants, Mr. Anderson's remarks, as serving either to confirm or to correct our former accounts, may not be superfluous. He had been three times with me in Queen Charlotte's Sound, during my last voyage; and, after this fourth visit, what he thought proper to record may be considered as the result of sufficient observation. The reader will find it in the next chapter; and I have nothing farther to add, before I quit New Zealand, but to give some account of the astronomical and nautical observations made during our stay there.

The longitude of the Observatory in Ship Cove, by a mean of 103 sets of observations, each set consisting of six or more observed distances, was	174°	25′	15″	east.
By the time-keeper, at Greenwich rate, it was	175	26	30	
By ditto, at the Cape rate, it was	174	56	12	
Variation of the compass, being the mean of six needles, observed on board the ship	12	40	0	east.
By the same needles on shore, it was	13	53	0	
The dip of the south end, observed on shore, was	63	42	0	

By a mean of the results of eleven days' observations, the time-keeper was too slow for mean time, on February 22, at noon, by $11^h\ 50'\ 37''.396$; and she was found to be losing, on mean time, at the rate of $2''.913$ per day. From this rate the longitude will be computed, till some other opportunity offers to ascertain her rate anew. The astronomical clock, with the same length of pendulum as at Greenwich, was found to be losing on sidereal time $40''.239$ per day. It will not be amiss to mention, that the longitude, by lunar observations, as above, differs only $6'\ 45''$ from what Mr. Wales made it during my last voyage; his being so much more to the W., or $174°\ 18'\ 30''$. The latitude of Ship Cove is $41°\ 6'\ 0''$, as found by Mr. Wales.

* This man's story still wants confirmation, as neither snakes nor lizards, of the size he mentioned, have yet been met with. Perhaps the animal he mentions as left behind by the strange ship, was the Norway rat, which has nearly exterminated the New Zealand rat, the only indigenous four-footed animal known in the country.—ED.

CHAPTER VIII.—MR. ANDERSON'S REMARKS ON THE COUNTRY NEAR QUEEN CHARLOTTE'S SOUND.—THE SOIL.—CLIMATE.—WEATHER.—WINDS.—TREES.—PLANTS.—BIRDS.—FISH.—OTHER ANIMALS.—OF THE INHABITANTS.—DESCRIPTION OF THEIR PERSONS.—THEIR DRESS.—ORNAMENTS.—HABITATIONS.—BOATS.—FOOD AND COOKERY.—ARTS.—WEAPONS.—CRUELTY TO PRISONERS.—VARIOUS CUSTOMS.—SPECIMEN OF THEIR LANGUAGE.

THE land everywhere about Queen Charlotte's Sound is uncommonly mountainous, rising immediately from the sea into large hills with blunted tops. At considerable distances are valleys, or rather impressions on the sides of the hills, which are not deep; each terminating toward the sea in a small cove, with a pebbly or sandy beach; behind which are small flats, where the natives generally build their huts, at the same time hauling their canoes upon the beaches. This situation is the more convenient, as in every cove a brook of very fine water (in which are some small trout) empties itself into the sea. The bases of these mountains, at least toward the shore, are constituted of a brittle, yellowish sandstone, which acquires a bluish cast where the sea washes it. It runs, at some places, in horizontal, and, at other places, in oblique strata; being frequently divided, at small distances, by thin veins of coarse quartz, which commonly follow the direction of the other, though they sometimes intersect it. The mould, or soil, which covers this, is also of a yellowish cast, not unlike marl; and is commonly from a foot to two, or more, in thickness.

The quality of this soil is best indicated by the luxuriant growth of its productions. For the hills (except a few toward the sea, which are covered with smaller bushes) are one continued forest of lofty trees, flourishing with a vigour almost superior to anything that imagination can conceive, and affording an august prospect to those who are delighted with the grand and beautiful works of nature. The agreeable temperature of the climate, no doubt, contributes much to this uncommon strength in vegetation: for at this time, though answering to our month of August, the weather was never disagreeably warm; nor did it raise the thermometer higher than 66°. The winter, also, seems equally mild with respect to cold; for in June 1773, which corresponds to our December, the mercury never fell lower than 48°, and the trees, at that time, retained their verdure as if in the summer season; so that, I believe, their foliage is never shed till pushed off by the succeeding leaves in spring.

The weather in general is good, but sometimes windy, with heavy rain; which, however, never lasts above a day, nor does it appear that it is ever excessive. For there are no marks of torrents rushing down the hills, as in many countries; and the brooks, if we may judge from their channels, seem never to be greatly increased. I have observed, in the four different times of my being here, that the winds from the S. eastward are commonly moderate, but attended with cloudy weather or rain. The S.W. winds blow very strong, and are also attended with rain; but they seldom last long. The N.W. winds are the most prevailing; and though often pretty strong, are almost constantly connected with fine weather. In short, the only obstacle to this being one of the finest countries upon earth is its great hilliness, which, allowing the woods to be cleared away, would leave it less proper for pasturage than flat land, and still more improper for cultivation, which could never be effected here by the plough.

The large trees which cover the hills are chiefly of two sorts. One of them, of the size of our largest firs, grows much after their manner; but the leaves and small berries on their points are much liker the yew. It was this which supplied the place of spruce in making beer; which we did with a strong decoction of its leaves, fermented with treacle or sugar. And this liquor, when well prepared, was acknowledged to be little inferior to the American spruce-beer, by those who had experience of both. The other sort of tree is not unlike a maple, and grows often to a great size; but it only served for fuel, as the wood, both of this and of the preceding, was found to be rather too heavy for masts, yards, and other similar repairs. There is a greater variety of trees on the small flat spots behind the beaches. Amongst these are two that bear a kind of plum of the size of prunes, the one yellow, called *karraca;* and the other black, called *maitao;* but neither of them of a very agreeable taste, though the natives ate both, and our people did the same. Those of the first sort

grow on small trees, always facing the sea; but the others belong to larger trees that stand farther within the wood, and which we frequently cut down for fuel. A species of *Philadelphus* grows on the eminences which jut out into the sea; and also a tree bearing flowers almost like myrtle, with roundish-spotted leaves of a disagreeable smell. We drank the leaves of the *Philadelphus* as tea; and found that they had a pleasant taste and smell, and might make an excellent substitute for the Oriental sort.

Among other plants that were useful to us, may be reckoned wild celery, which grows plentifully in almost every cove, especially if the natives have ever resided here before; and one that we used to call scurvy-grass, though entirely different from the plant to which we give that name. This, however, is far preferable to ours for common use; and may be known by its jagged leaves and small clusters of white flowers on the top. Both sorts were boiled every morning with wheat ground in a mill, and with portable soup for the people's breakfast, and also amongst their pease-soup for dinner. Sometimes they were used as salad, or dressed as greens. In all which ways they are good; and together with the fish, with which we were constantly supplied, they formed a sort of refreshment, perhaps little inferior to what is to be met with in places most noted by navigators for plentiful supplies of animal and vegetable food.

Amongst the known kinds of plants met with here, are common and rough bindweed, nightshade, and nettles, both which grow to the size of small trees; a shrubby speedwell, found near all the beaches; sow-thistles, virgin's bower, vanelloe, French willow, euphorbia, and crane's-bill; also cudweed, rushes, bull-rushes, flax, all-heal, American nightshade, knot-grass, brambles, eye-bright, and groundsel; but the species of each are different from any we have in Europe. There is also polypody, spleenwort, and about twenty other different sorts of ferns, entirely peculiar to the place; with several sorts of mosses, either rare, or produced only here; besides a great number of other plants, whose uses are not yet known, and subjects fit only for botanical books.

Of these, however, there is one which deserves particular notice here, as the natives make their garments of it; and it produces a fine silky flax, superior in appearance to anything we have, and, probably, at least as strong. It grows everywhere near the sea, and in some places a considerable way up the hills, in bunches or tufts, with sedge-like leaves, bearing, on a long staik, yellowish flowers, which are succeeded by a long roundish pod, filled with very thin shining black seeds *. A species of long pepper is found in great plenty; but it has little of the aromatic flavour that makes spices valuable; and a tree much like a palm at a distance is pretty frequent in the woods, though the deceit appears as you come near it. It is remarkable that, as the greatest part of the trees and plants had, at this time, lost their flowers, we perceived they were generally of the berry-bearing kind; of which, and other seeds, I brought away about thirty different sorts. Of these, one in particular, which bears a red berry, is much like the supple-jack, and grows about the trees, stretching from one to another, in such a manner as to render the woods almost wholly impassable.

The birds, of which there is a tolerable stock, as well as the vegetable productions, are almost entirely peculiar to the place. And though it be difficult to follow them, on account of the quantity of underwood and the climbing plants, that render travelling, for pleasure alone, uncommonly fatiguing, yet a person, by remaining in one place, may shoot as many in a day as would serve six or eight others. The principal sorts are, large brown parrots, with white or greyish heads; green parroquets with red foreheads; large wood-pigeons, brown above, with white bellies, the rest green, and the bill and feet red. Two sorts of cuckoos, one as large as our common sort, of a brown colour, variegated with black; the other not larger than a sparrow, of a splendid green cast above, and elegantly varied with waves

* The *Phormium tenax*, or New Zealand flax. Of this there are several species, and already it has been employed with considerable success as a substitute for hemp, but until a method of dressing it in a better manner than that practised by the natives, which at present is the only one found to answer, is practised, it cannot become, what it is probably eventually destined to be, a large article of commerce, and even the staple of the country. The settlers at Port Nicholson offered a large reward to the inventor of a machine for dressing New Zealand flax; but we have not yet heard that the prize has been gained, although many attempts have been made to obtain it. See the Hon. H. W. Petre's "New Zealand."—Ed.

of golden, green, brown, and white colours below. Both these are scarce; but several others are in greater plenty; one of which, of a black colour, with a greenish cast, is remarkable for having a tuft of white curled feathers hanging under the throat, and was called the *poy* bird by our people. Another sort, rather smaller, is black, with a brown back and wings, and two small gills under the root of the bill. This we called the small wattle-bird, to distinguish it from another, which we called the large one, of the size of a common pigeon, with two large yellow and purple membranes also at the root of the bill. It is black, or rather blue, and has no resemblance of the other but in name; for the bill is thick, short, and crooked, and has altogether an uncommon appearance. A gross-beak, about the size of a thrush, of a brown colour, with a reddish tail, is frequent; as is also a small greenish bird, which is almost the only musical one here, but is sufficient by itself to fill the woods with a melody that is not only sweet, but so varied, that one would imagine he was surrounded by a hundred different sorts of birds, when the little warbler is near. From this circumstance we named it the mocking-bird. There are likewise three or four sorts of smaller birds; one of which, in figure and tameness, exactly resembles our robin, but is black where that is brown, and white where that is red. Another differs but little from this, except in being smaller; and a third sort has a long tail, which it expands as a fan on coming near, and makes a chirping noise when it perches. King-fishers are seen, though rare, and are about the size of our English ones, but with an inferior plumage.

About the rocks are seen black sea-pies with red bills; and crested shags of a leaden colour, with small black spots on the wings and shoulders, and the rest of the upper part of a velvet black tinged with green. We frequently shot both these, and also a more common sort of shags, black above and white underneath, that build their nests upon trees, on which sometimes a dozen or more sit at once. There are also, about the shore, a few sea-gulls; some blue herons; and sometimes, though very rarely, wild ducks; a small sandy-coloured plover, and some sand-larks; and small penguins, black above with a white belly, as well as numbers of little black divers, swim often about the Sound. We likewise killed two or three rails of a brown or yellowish colour, variegated with black, which feed about the small brooks, and are nearly as large as a common fowl. No other sort of game was seen, except a single snipe, which was shot, and differs but little from that of Europe.

The principal fish we caught by the seine were mullets and elephant-fish, with a few soles and flounders; but those that the natives mostly supplied us with, were a sort of sea-bream of a silver colour with a black spot on the neck, large conger-eels, and a fish in shape much like the bream, but so large as to weigh five, six, or seven pounds. It is blackish with thick lips, and called *mogge* by the natives. With hook and line we caught chiefly a blackish fish of the size of a haddock, called cole-fish by the seamen, but differing much from that known by the same name in Europe; and another of the same size, of a reddish colour with a little beard, which we called night-walkers, from the greatest number being caught in the night. Sometimes we got a sort of small salmon, gurnards, skate, and nurses; and the natives, now and then, brought hake, paracutas, a small sort of mackerel, parrot-fish, and leather-jackets; besides another fish which is very rare, shaped almost like a dolphin, of a black colour, with strong bony jaws, and the back-fin, as well as those opposite to it, much lengthened at the end. All these sorts, except the last, which we did not try, are excellent to eat; but the *mogge*, small salmon, and cole-fish, are superior to the rest.

The rocks are abundantly furnished with great quantities of excellent muscles; one sort of which, that is not very common, measures above a foot in length. There are also cockles buried in the sand of the small beaches; and in some places oysters, which, though very small, are well tasted. Of other shell-fish, there are ten or twelve sorts, such as periwinkles, wilks, limpets, and some very beautiful sea-ears; also another sort which stick to the weeds; with some other things, as sea-eggs, star-fish, &c., several of which are peculiar to the place. The natives likewise sometimes brought us very fine cray-fish, equal to our largest lobsters, and cuttle-fish, which they eat themselves.

Insects are very rare. Of these, we only saw two sorts of dragon-flies, some butterflies,

small grasshoppers, several sorts of spiders, some small black ants, and vast numbers of scorpion flies, with whose chirping the woods resound. The only noxious one is the sand-fly, very numerous here, and almost as troublesome as the musquito; for we found no reptile here, except two or three sorts of small harmless lizards *.

It is remarkable that, in this extensive land, there should not even be the traces of any quadruped, only excepting a few rats, and a sort of fox-dog, which is a domestic animal with the natives. Neither is there any mineral worth notice, but a green jasper or serpent-stone, of which the New Zealanders make their tools and ornaments. This is esteemed a precious article by them; and they have some superstitious notions about the method of its generation, which we could not perfectly understand. It is plain, however, that wherever it may be found (which, they say, is in the channel of a large river far to the southward), it is disposed in the earth in thin layers, or, perhaps, in detached pieces, like our flints; for the edges of those pieces, which have not been cut, are covered with a whitish crust like these. A piece of this sort was purchased, about eighteen inches long, a foot broad, and near two inches thick; which yet seemed to be only the fragment of a larger piece.

The natives do not exceed the common stature of Europeans; and, in general, are not so well made, especially about the limbs. This is, perhaps, the effect of sitting, for the most part, on their hams; and of being confined, by the hilly disposition of the country, from using that sort of exercise which contributes to render the body straight and well-proportioned. There are, however, several exceptions to this; and some are remarkable for their large bones and muscles; but few that I have seen are corpulent. Their colour is of different casts, from a pretty deep black to a yellowish or olive tinge; and their features also are various, some resembling Europeans. But, in general, their faces are round, with their lips full, and also their noses towards the point; though the first are not uncommonly thick, nor the last flat. I do not, however, recollect to have seen an instance of the true aquiline nose amongst them. Their teeth are commonly broad, white, and well set; and their eyes large, with a very free motion, which seems the effect of habit. Their hair is black, straight, and strong, commonly cut short on the hind part, with the rest tied on the crown of the head: but some have it of a curling disposition, or of a brown colour. In the young, the countenance is generally free or open; but in many of the men it has a serious cast, and sometimes a sullenness or reserve, especially if they are strangers. The women are, in general, smaller than the men; but have few peculiar graces, either in form or features, to distinguish them.

The dress of both sexes is alike; and consists of an oblong garment about five feet long, and four broad, made from the silky flax already mentioned. This seems to be their most material and complex manufacture, which is executed by knotting; and their work is often ornamented with pieces of dog-skin, or checkered at the corners. They bring two corners of this garment over the shoulders, and fasten it on the breast with the other part, which covers the body; and about the belly, it is again tied with a girdle made of mat. Sometimes they cover it with large feathers of birds (which seem to be wrought into the piece of cloth when it is made), or with dog-skin; and that alone we have seen worn as a covering. Over this garment, many of them wear mats, which reach from the shoulders to near the heels. But the most common outer-covering is a quantity of the above sedgy plant, badly dressed, which they fasten on a string to a considerable length, and, throwing it about the shoulders, let it fall down on all sides, as far as the middle of the thighs. When they sit down with this upon them, either in their boats, or upon the shore, it would be difficult to distinguish them from large grey stones, if their black heads, projecting beyond their coverings, did not engage one to a stricter examination.

By way of ornament, they fix in their heads feathers, or combs of bone, or wood, adorned with pearl shell, or the thin inner skin of some leaf. And in the ears, both of men and women, which are pierced, or rather slit, are hung small pieces of jasper, bits of cloth, or beads when they can get them. A few also have the *septum* of the nose bored in its lower part; but no ornament was worn there that we saw; though one man passed a twig through

* In a separate memorandum-book, Mr. Anderson mentions the monstrous animal of the lizard kind, described by the two boys after they left the island.

it, to show us that it was sometimes used for that purpose. They wear long beards, but are fond of having them shaved. Some are punctured or stained in the face with curious spiral and other figures, of a black or deep blue colour; but it is doubtful whether this be ornamental, or intended as a mark of particular distinction; and the women, who are marked so, have the puncture only on their lips, or a small spot on their chins. Both sexes often besmear their faces and heads with a red paint, which seems to be a martial ochre mixed with grease; and the women sometimes wear necklaces of shark's teeth, or bunches of long beads, which seem to be made of the leg-bones of small birds, or a particular shell. A few also have small triangular aprons adorned with the feathers of parrots, or bits of pearl shells, furnished with a double or treble set of cords to fasten them about the waist. I have sometimes seen caps or bonnets made of the feathers of birds, which may be reckoned as ornaments; for it is not their custom to wear any covering on their heads.

They live in the small coves formerly described, in companies of forty or fifty, or more; and sometimes in single families, building their huts contiguous to each other; which, in general, are miserable lodging-places. The best I ever saw was about thirty feet long, fifteen broad, and six high, built exactly in the manner of one of our country barns. The inside was both strong and regularly made of supporters at the sides, alternately large and small, well fastened by means of withes, and painted red and black. The ridge pole was strong; and the large bulrushes, which composed the inner part of the thatching, were laid with great exactness parallel to each other. At one end was a small square hole, which served as a door to creep in at; and near it another much smaller, seemingly for letting out the smoke, as no other vent for it could be seen. This, however, ought to be considered as one of the best, and the residence of some principal person; for the greatest part of them are not half the above size, and seldom exceed four feet in height; being, besides, indifferently built, though proof against wind and rain.

No other furniture is to be seen in them, than a few small baskets or bags, in which they put their fishing-hooks, and other trifles; and they sit down in the middle round a small fire, where they also probably sleep, without any other covering than what they wear in the day, or perhaps without that; as such confined places must be very warm, though inhabited but by a few persons.

They live chiefly by fishing, making use either of nets of different kinds, or of wooden fish-hooks pointed with bone; but so oddly made, that a stranger is at a loss to know how they can answer such a purpose. It also appears, that they remove their habitations from one place to another when the fish grow scarce, or for some other reason; for we found houses now built in several parts, where there had been none when we were here during our last voyage, and even these have been already deserted. Their boats are well built, of planks raised upon each other, and fastened with strong withes, which also bind a long narrow piece on the outside of the seams to prevent their leaking. Some are fifty feet long, and so broad as to be able to sail without an outrigger; but the smaller sort commonly have one; and they often fasten two together by rafters, which we then call a double canoe. They carry from five to thirty men or more; and have often a large head ingeniously carved, and painted with a figure at the point, which seems intended to represent a man, with his features distorted by rage. Their paddles are about four or five feet long, narrow, and pointed; with which, when they keep time, the boat is pushed along pretty swiftly. Their sail, which is seldom used, is made of a mat of a triangular shape, having the broadest part above.

The only method of dressing their fish, is by roasting, or rather baking, for they are entirely ignorant of the art of boiling. In the same manner they dress the root, and part of the stalk, of the large fern-tree, in a great hole dug for that purpose, which serves as an oven. After which they split it, and find within a fine gelatinous substance, like boiled sago-powder, but firmer. They also use another smaller fern root, which seems to be their substitute for bread, as it is dried and carried about with them, together with dried fish in great quantities, when they remove their families, or go far from home. This they beat with a stick till it becomes pretty soft, when they chew it sufficiently, and spit out the hard fibrous part, the other having a sweetish mealy taste not at all disagreeable. When they dare not venture

to sea, or perhaps from choice, they supply the place of other fish with muscles and sea-ears; great quantities of the shells of which lie in heaps near their houses. And they sometimes, though rarely, find means to kill rails, penguins, and shags, which help to vary their diet. They also breed considerable numbers of the dogs, mentioned before, for food; but these cannot be considered as a principal article of diet. From whence we may conclude, that as there is not the least sign of cultivation of land, they depend principally for their subsistence on the sea, which, indeed, is very bountiful in its supply.

Their method of feeding corresponds with the nastiness of their persons, which often smell disagreeably from the quantity of grease about them, and their clothes never being washed. We have seen them eat the vermin, with which their heads are sufficiently stocked. They also used to devour, with the greatest eagerness, large quantities of stinking train oil, and blubber of seals, which we were melting at the tent, and had kept near two months; and, on board the ships, they were not satisfied with emptying the lamps, but actually swallowed the cotton and fragrant wick with equal voracity. It is worthy of notice, that though the inhabitants of Van Diemen's Land appear to have but a scanty subsistence, they would not even taste our bread, though they saw us eat it; whereas these people devoured it greedily, when both mouldy and rotten. But this must not be imputed to any defect in their sensations; for I have observed them throw away things which we eat, with evident disgust, after only smelling to them.

They show as much ingenuity, both in invention and execution, as any uncivilized nations under similar circumstances. For, without the use of any metal tools, they make everything by which they procure their subsistence, clothing, and warlike weapons, with a degree of neatness, strength, and convenience, for accomplishing their several purposes. Their chief mechanical tool is formed exactly after the manner of our adzes; and is made, as are also the chisel and gouge, of the green serpent-stone or jasper already mentioned; though sometimes they are composed of a black, smooth, and very solid stone. But their masterpiece seems to be carving, which is found upon the most trifling things; and, in particular, the heads of their canoes are sometimes ornamented with it in such a manner, as not only shows much design, but is also an example of their great labour and patience in execution. Their cordage for fishing-lines is equal, in strength and evenness, to that made by us; and their nets not at all inferior. But what must cost them more labour than any other article is the making the tools we have mentioned; for the stone is exceedingly hard, and the only method of fashioning it, we can guess at, is by rubbing one stone upon another, which can have but a slow effect. Their substitute for a knife is a shell, a bit of flint, or jasper. And, as an auger, to bore holes, they fix a shark's tooth in the end of a small piece of wood. It is true, they have a small saw made of some jagged fishes' teeth, fixed on the convex edge of a piece of wood nicely carved. But this, they say, is only used to cut up the bodies of their enemies whom they kill in battle.

No people can have a quicker sense of an injury done to them, and none are more ready to resent it. But, at the same time, they will take an opportunity of being insolent when they think there is no danger of punishment; which is so contrary to the spirit of genuine bravery, that, perhaps, their eagerness to resent injuries is to be looked upon rather as an effect of a furious disposition than of great courage. They also appear to be of a suspicious or mistrustful temper (which, however, may rather be acquired than natural), for strangers never came to our ships immediately, but lay in their boats at a small distance, either to observe our motions, or consult whether or no they should risk their safety with us. To this they join a great degree of dishonesty; for they steal everything they can lay their hands on, if there be the least hope of not being detected; and, in trading, I have little doubt but they would take advantages, if they thought it could be done with safety; as they not only refuse to trust a thing in one's hand for examination, but exult, if they think they have tricked you in the bargain.

Such conduct, however, is in some measure to be expected where there appears to be but little subordination, and consequently few, if any laws, to punish transgressions. For no man's authority seems to extend farther than his own family; and when, at any time, they join for mutual defence, or any other purpose, those amongst them who are eminent for

courage or prudence, are directors. How their private quarrels are terminated is uncertain; but, in the few we saw, which were of little consequence, the parties concerned were clamorous and disorderly. Their public contentions are frequent, or rather perpetual; for it appears, from their number of weapons, and dexterity in using them, that war is their principal profession. These weapons are spears, *patoos*, and halberts, or sometimes stones. The first are made of hard wood pointed, of different lengths, from five to twenty, or even thirty feet long. The short ones are used for throwing as darts. The *patoo* or *emeete* is of an elliptical shape, about eighteen inches long, with a handle made of wood, stone, the bone of some sea animal, or green jasper, and seems to be their principal dependence in battle. The halbert, or long club, is about five or six feet long, tapering at one end with a carved head, and at the other, broad or flat, with sharp edges.

Before they begin the onset, they join in a war-song, to which they all keep the exactest time, and soon raise their passion to a degree of frantic fury, attended with the most horrid distortion of their eyes, mouths, and tongues, to strike terror into their enemies; which, to those who have not been accustomed to such a practice, makes them appear more like demons than men, and would almost chill the boldest with fear. To this succeeds a circumstance, almost foretold in their fierce demeanour, horrid, cruel, and disgraceful to human nature; which is, cutting in pieces, even before being perfectly dead, the bodies of their enemies, and, after dressing them on a fire, devouring the flesh, not only without reluctance, but with peculiar satisfaction.

One might be apt to suppose, that people, capable of such excess of cruelty, must be destitute of every humane feeling, even amongst their own party. And yet we find them lamenting the loss of their friends, with a violence of expression which argues the most tender remembrance of them. For both men and women, upon the death of those connected with them, whether in battle or otherwise, bewail them with the most doleful cries; at the same time cutting their foreheads and cheeks, with shells or pieces of flint, in large gashes, until the blood flows plentifully and mixes with their tears. They also carve pieces of their green stone, rudely shaped as human figures, which they ornament with bright eyes of pearl shell, and hang them about their necks, as memorials of those whom they held most dear; and their affections of this kind are so strong, that they even perform the ceremony of cutting, and lamenting for joy, at the return of any of their friends, who have been absent but for a short time.

The children are initiated, at a very early age, into all the practices, good or bad, of their fathers; so that you find a boy or girl, nine or ten years old, able to perform all the motions, and to imitate the frightful gestures, by which the more aged use to inspire their enemies with terror, keeping the strictest time in their song. They likewise sing, with some degree of melody, the traditions of their forefathers, their actions in war, and other indifferent subjects; of all which they are immoderately fond, and spend much of their time in these amusements, and in playing on a sort of flute. Their language is far from being harsh or disagreeable, though the pronunciation is frequently guttural; and whatever qualities are requisite in any other language to make it musical, certainly obtain to a considerable degree here, if we may judge from the melody of some sorts of their songs. It is also sufficiently comprehensive, though, in many respects, deficient, if compared with our European languages, which owe their perfection to long improvement. But a small specimen is here subjoined, from which some judgment may be formed. I collected a great many of their words, both now and in the course of our former voyage; and being equally attentive, in my inquiries, about the languages of the other islands throughout the South Sea, I have the amplest proof of their wonderful agreement, or rather identity. This general observation has indeed been already made in the accounts of the former voyages*. I shall be enabled, however, to confirm and strengthen it, by a fresh list of words, selected from a large vocabulary in my possession; and by placing in the opposite column the corresponding words as used at Otaheite, the curious reader will, at one view, be furnished with sufficient materials for judging by what subordinate changes the difference of dialect has been effected.

* See vol. i. page 321.

ENGLISH.	NEW ZEALAND.	OTAHEITE.	ENGLISH.	NEW ZEALAND.	OTAHEITE.
Water	Ewy	Evy.	White	Ema	Oauma.
A tail of a dog	Wyeroo	Ero.	To reside, or dwell	Nohoanna	Nohonoa.
Death, dead	Kaoo, matte	Matte, roa.	Out, not within	Woho	Woho.
To fly	Ereere	Eraire.	Male kind (of any animal)	Toa	Etoa.
A house	Ewharre	Ewharre.	Female	Eoowha	Fooha.
To sleep	Moea	Moe.	A shark	Mango	Mao.
A fish-hook	Makoee	Matou.	To understand	Geetaia	Eeteu.
Shut	Opanee	Opanee.	Forgot	Warre	Ooaro.
A bed	Moenga	Moera.	Yesterday	Taeninuahoi	Ninuahoi.
A butterfly	Epaipe	Pepe.	One	Tahaee	Atahay.
To chew or eat	Hekaee	Ey.	Two	Rooa	Erooa.
Cold	Makkareede	Mareede.	Three	Toroo	Toroo.
To-day	Agooanai	Aooanai.	Four	Faa	Ahaa.
The hand	Reenga	Ereema.	Five	Reema	Ereema.
Large	Keerahoi	Erahoi.	Six	Ono	Aono.
Red	Whairo	Oora, oora.	Seven	Heetoo	Aheitoo.
We	Taoua	Taoua.	Eight	Waroo	Awaroo.
Where is it?	Kahaia	Tehaia.	Nine	Eeva	Aeeva.
A stone	Powhy	Owhy.	Ten	Angahoora	Ahooroo.
A man	Tangata	Taata.			
Black	Purra, purra	Ere, ere.			

The New Zealanders to these numerals prefix *Ma;* as,

Eleven	Matahee.
Twelve, &c. &c.	Maroon, &c. &c.
Twenty	Mangahoora.

BOOK II.

FROM LEAVING NEW ZEALAND TO OUR ARRIVAL AT OTAHEITE, OR THE SOCIETY ISLANDS.

CHAPTER I.—PROSECUTION OF THE VOYAGE.—BEHAVIOUR OF THE TWO NEW ZEALANDERS ON BOARD.—UNFAVOURABLE WINDS.—AN ISLAND CALLED MANGEEA DISCOVERED.—THE COAST OF IT EXAMINED.—TRANSACTIONS WITH THE NATIVES.—AN ACCOUNT OF THEIR PERSONS, DRESS, AND CANOE.—DESCRIPTION OF THE ISLAND.—A SPECIMEN OF THE LANGUAGE.—DISPOSITION OF THE INHABITANTS.

On the 25th, at ten o'clock in the morning, a light breeze springing up at N.W. by W., we weighed, stood out of the Sound, and made sail through the strait, with the Discovery in company. We had hardly got the length of Cape Tierawhitte, when the wind took us aback at S.E. It continued in this quarter till two o'clock the next morning, when we had a few hours' calm. After which we had a breeze at N.; but here it fixed not long, before it veered to the E., and after that to the S. At length, on the 27th at eight o'clock in the morning, we took our departure from Cape Palliser, which, at this time, bore W., seven or eight leagues distant. We had a fine gale, and I steered E. by N.

We had no sooner lost sight of the land than our two New Zealand adventurers, the sea-sickness they now experienced giving a turn to their reflections, repented heartily of the step they had taken. All the soothing encouragement we could think of, availed but little. They wept both in public and in private; and made their lamentations in a kind of song, which, as far as we could comprehend the meaning of the words, was expressive of their praises of their country and people, from which they were to be separated for ever. Thus they continued for many days, till their sea-sickness wore off, and the tumult of their minds began to subside. Then these fits of lamentation became less and less frequent, and at length entirely ceased. Their native country and their friends were, by degrees, forgot, and they appeared to be as firmly attached to us, as if they had been born amongst us.

The wind had not remained many hours at S., before it veered to S.E. and E.; and, with this, we stood to the N., till the 28th at noon. Being then in the latitude of 41° 17′, and

in longitude of 177° 17′ E., we tacked and stood to the S.E, with a gentle breeze at E.N.E. It afterwards freshened, and came about to N.E.; in which quarter it continued two days, and sometimes blew a fresh gale with squalls, accompanied with showers of rain. On the 2nd of March at noon, being in the latitude of 42° 35′ 30″, longitude 180° 8′ E., the wind shifted to north-west; afterward to south-west; and between this point and north it continued to blow, sometimes a strong gale with hard squalls, and at other times very moderate. With this wind we steered north-east by east and east, under all the sail we could carry, till the 11th at noon, at which time we were in the latitude of 39° 29′, longitude 196° 4′ E. The wind now veered to north-east and south-east, and I stood to the north, and to the north-east, as the wind would admit, till one o'clock in the morning on the 16th, when having a more favourable gale from the north, I tacked and stood to the east, the latitude being 33° 40′, and the longitude 198° 50′ E. We had light airs and calms by turns, till noon the next day, when the wind began to freshen at east south-east, and I again stood to the north-east. But as the wind often veered to east and east north-east, we frequently made no better than a northerly course; nay sometimes to the westward of north. But the hopes of the wind coming more southerly, or of meeting with it from the westward, a little without the tropic, as I had experienced in my former visits to this ocean, encouraged me to continue this course. Indeed it was necessary that I should run all risks, as my proceeding to the north this year, in prosecution of the principal object of the voyage, depended entirely on my making a quick passage to Otaheite, or the Society Islands.

The wind continued invariably fixed at east south-east, or seldom shifting above two points on either side. It also blew very faint, so that it was the 27th before we crossed the tropic, and then we were only in the longitude of 201° 23′ east, which was nine degrees to the westward of our intended port. In all this run we saw nothing, except now and then a tropic bird, that could induce us to think we had sailed near any land. In the latitude of 34° 20′, longitude 199°, we passed the trunk of a large tree, which was covered with barnacles, a sign that it had been long at sea. On the 29th, at ten in the morning, as we were standing to the north-east, the Discovery made the signal of seeing land. We saw it from the mast-head almost the same moment, bearing north-east by east by compass. We soon discovered it to be an island of no great extent, and stood for it till sunset, when it bore north north-east, distant about two or three leagues.

The night was spent in standing off and on, and at daybreak the next morning, I bore up for the lee or west side of the island, as neither anchorage nor landing appeared to be practicable on the south side, on account of a great surf *, which broke everywhere with violence against the shore, or against the reef that surrounded it. We presently found that the island was inhabited, and saw several people, on a point of the land we had passed, wading to the reef, where, as they found the ship leaving them quickly, they remained. But others, who soon appeared in different parts, followed her course, and sometimes several of them collected into small bodies, who made a shouting noise all together, nearly after the manner of the inhabitants of New Zealand. Between seven and eight o'clock, we were at the west north-west part of the island, and being near the shore, we could perceive with our glasses, that several of the natives, who appeared upon a sandy beach, were all armed with long spears and clubs, which they brandished in the air with signs of threatening, or, as some on board interpreted their attitudes, with invitations to land. Most of them appeared naked, except having a sort of girdle, which being brought up between the thighs, covered that part of the body. But some of them had pieces of cloth of different colours, white, striped, or checkered, which they wore as a garment thrown about their shoulders. And almost all of them had a white wrapper about their heads, not much unlike a turban; or, in some instances, like a high conical cap. We could also perceive that they were of a tawny colour, and in general of a middling stature, but robust, and inclining to corpulency.

At this time, a small canoe was launched in a great hurry from the farther end of the beach, and a man getting into it, put off, as with a view to reach the ship. On perceiving this, I brought to, that we might receive the visit; but the man's resolution failing, he soon returned

* A very ingenious and satisfactory account of the cause of the surf, is to be met with in Marsden's History of Sumatra, p. 29, 32.

toward the beach, where, after some time, another man joined him in the canoe; and then they both paddled towards us. They stopped short, however, as if afraid to approach, until Omai, who addressed them in the Otaheite language, in some measure quieted their apprehensions. They then came near enough to take some beads and nails, which were tied to a piece of wood, and thrown into the canoe. They seemed afraid to touch these things, and put the piece of wood aside without untying them. This, however, might arise from superstition; for Omai told us, that when they saw us offering them presents, they asked something for their *Eatooa*, or god. He also, perhaps improperly, put the question to them, whether they ever ate human flesh? which they answered in the negative, with a mixture of indignation and abhorrence. One of them, whose name was Mourooa, being asked how he came by a scar on his forehead, told us that it was the consequence of a wound he had got in fighting with the people of an island which lies to the north-eastward, who sometimes came to invade them. They afterward took hold of a rope. Still, however, they would not venture on board; but told Omai, who understood them pretty well, that their countrymen on shore had given them this caution, at the same time directing them to inquire from whence our ship came, and to learn the name of the captain. On our part, we inquired the name of the island, which they called *Mangya* or *Mangeea;* and sometimes added to it *Nooe, nai, naiwa.* The name of their chief, they said, was Orooaecka.

Mourooa was lusty and well made, but not very tall. His features were agreeable, and his disposition seemingly no less so; for he made several droll gesticulations, which indicated both good nature and a share of humour. He also made others which seemed of a serious kind, and repeated some words with a devout air, before he ventured to lay hold of the rope at the ship's stern, which was probably to recommend himself to the protection of some divinity. His colour was nearly of the same cast with that common to the most southern Europeans. The other man was not so handsome. Both of them had strong, straight hair, of a jet colour, tied together on the crown of the head with a bit of cloth. They wore such girdles as we had perceived about those on shore, and we found they were a substance made from the *Morus papyrifera*, in the same manner as at the other islands of this ocean. It was glazed like the sort used by the natives of the Friendly Islands; but the cloth on their heads was white, like that which is found at Otaheite. They had on a kind of sandals, made of a grassy substance interwoven, which we also observed were worn by those who stood upon the beach, and, as we supposed, intended to defend their feet against the rough coral rock. Their beards were long; and the inside of their arms, from the shoulder to the elbow, and some other parts, were punctured or tatooed, after the manner of the inhabitants of almost all the other islands in the South Sea. The lobe of their ears was pierced, or rather slit, and to such a length, that one of them stuck there a knife and some beads, which he had received from us; and the same person had two polished pearl shells, and a bunch of human hair, loosely twisted, hanging about his neck, which was the only ornament we observed. The canoe they came in (which was the only one we saw) was not above ten feet long, and very narrow, but both strong and neatly made. The forepart had a flat board fastened over it, and projecting out, to prevent the sea getting in on plunging, like the small *Evaas* at Otaheite; but it had an upright stern, about five feet high, like some in New Zealand, and the upper end of this stern-post was forked. The lower part of the canoe was of white wood, but the upper was black, and their paddles, made of wood of the same colour, not above three feet long, broad at one end, and blunted. They paddled either

HEAD OF MAN OF MANGEEA.

end of the canoe forward indifferently, and only turned about their faces to paddle the contrary way.

We now stood off and on; and as soon as the ships were in a proper station, about ten o'clock I ordered two boats, one of them from the Discovery, to sound the coast, and to endeavour to find a landing-place. With this view, I went in one of them myself, taking with me such articles to give the natives as I thought might serve to gain their good will. I had no sooner put off from the ship than the canoe with the two men, which had left us not long before, paddled towards my boat; and, having come alongside, Mouroua stepped into her without being asked, and without a moment's hesitation. Omai, who was with me, was ordered to inquire of him where we could land, and he directed us to two different places: but I saw, with regret, that the attempt could not be made at either place, unless at the risk of having our boats filled with water, or even staved to pieces. Nor were we more fortunate in our search for anchorage; for we could find no bottom till within a cable's length of the breakers. There we met with from forty to twenty fathoms depth, over sharp coral rocks; so that anchoring would have been attended with much more danger than landing.

While we were thus employed in reconnoitring the shore, great numbers of the natives thronged down upon the reef, all armed as above mentioned. Mouroua, who was now in my boat, probably thinking that this warlike appearance hindered us from landing, ordered them to retire back. As many of them complied, I judged he must be a person of some consequence among them: indeed, if we understood him right, he was the king's brother. So great was the curiosity of several of them, that they took to the water, and swimming off to the boats, came on board them without reserve. Nay, we found it difficult to keep them out, and still more difficult to prevent their carrying off everything they could lay their hands upon. At length, when they perceived that we were returning to the ships, they all left us, except our original visitor Mouroua. He, though not without evident signs of fear, kept his place in my boat, and accompanied me on board the ship.

The cattle, and other new objects that presented themselves to him there, did not strike him with so much surprise as one might have expected. Perhaps his mind was too much taken up about his own safety to allow him to attend to other things. It is certain that he seemed very uneasy; and the ship, on our getting on board, happening to be standing off shore, this circumstance made him the more so. I could get but little new information from him; and, therefore, after he had made a short stay, I ordered a boat to carry him in toward the land. As soon as he got out of the cabin, he happened to stumble over one of the goats: his curiosity now overcoming his fear, he stopped, looked at it, and asked Omai what bird this was; and not receiving an immediate answer from him, he repeated the question to some of the people upon deck. The boat having conveyed him pretty near to the surf, he leaped into the sea and swam ashore. He had no sooner landed, than the multitude of his countrymen gathered round him, as if with an eager curiosity to learn from him what he had seen; and in this situation they remained when we lost sight of them. As soon as the boat returned, we hoisted her in, and made sail from the land to the northward.

Thus were we obliged to leave unvisited this fine island, which seemed capable of supplying all our wants. It lies in the latitude of 21° 57′ S., and in the longitude of 201° 53′ E. Such parts of the coast as fell under our observation are guarded by a reef of coral rock, on the outside of which the sea is of an unfathomable depth. It is full five leagues in circuit, and of a moderate and pretty equal height, though in clear weather it may be certainly seen at the distance of ten leagues; for we had not lost sight of it at night when we had run above seven leagues, and the weather was cloudy. In the middle it rises into little hills, from whence there is a gentle descent to the shore, which at the south-west part is steep, though not above ten or twelve feet high; and has several excavations, made by the beating of the waves against a brownish sandstone of which it is composed. The descent here is covered with trees of a deep green colour, very thick, but not high, which seem all of one sort, unless nearest the shore, where there are great numbers of that species of *dracæna* found in the woods of New Zealand, which are also scattered in some other places. On the north-west part, the shore, as we mentioned above, ends in a sandy beach; beyond which the land is broken down into small chasms or gullies, and has a broad border of trees resembling tall

willows; which, from its regularity, might be supposed a work of art, did not its extent forbid us to think so. Farther up on the ascent, the trees were of the deep green mentioned before. Some of us supposed these to be the *rima*, intermixed with low cocoa palms, and a few of some other sorts. They seemed not so thick as on the south-west part, and higher; which appearance might be owing to our nearer approach to the shore. On the little hills were some trees of a taller sort, thinly scattered; but the other parts of them were either bare and of a reddish colour, or covered with something like fern. Upon the whole, the island has a pretty aspect, and might be made a beautiful spot by cultivation.

As the inhabitants seemed to be both numerous and well fed, such articles of provision as the island produces must be in great plenty. It might, however, be a matter of curiosity to know, particularly, their method of subsistence; for our friend Mouroa told us that they had no animals, as hogs and dogs, both which, however, they had heard of; but acknowledged they had plantains, bread-fruit, and taro. The only birds we saw, were some white egg-birds, terns, and noddies, and one white heron on the shore.

The language of the inhabitants of Mangeea is a dialect of that spoken at Otaheite; though their pronunciation, as that of the New Zealanders, be more guttural. Some of their words, of which two or three are perhaps peculiar to this island, are here subjoined, as taken by Mr. Anderson, from Omai, who had learnt them in his conversations with Mouroa. The Otaheite words, where there is any resemblance, are placed opposite.

ENGLISH.	MANGEEA.	OTAHEITE.	ENGLISH.	MANGEEA.	OTAHEITE.
A cocoa-nut	Eakkaree	Aree.	A fight, or battle	Etamagee	Tamaee.
Bread-fruit	Kooroo	Ooroo.	A woman	Waheine	Waheine.
A canoe	Ewakka	Evaa.	A daughter	Maheine	Maheine.
Friend	Naoo, mou.		The sun	Heetaia matooa.	
A man	Taata, or Tangata	Taata.	I	Ou	Wou.
Cloth, or cloth-plant	Taia, taia aoutee	Eoute.	The shore	Euta	Euta.
Good	Mata	Myty.	What is that?	Ehataicee?	Owytaiceoa?
A club	Pooroohee.		There	Oo.	
Yes	Aee	Ai.	A chief	Ereekee	Eree.
No	Aoure	Aoure.	Great, or powerful	Manna (an adjunct to the last).	
A spear	Heyhey.		To kiss	Ooma.	

The natives of Mangeea seem to resemble those of Otaheite and the Marquesas in the beauty of their persons, more than any other nation I have seen in these seas; having a smooth skin, and not being muscular. Their general disposition also corresponds, as far as we had opportunities of judging, with that which distinguishes the first-mentioned people. For they are not only cheerful, but, as Mouroa showed us, are acquainted with all the lascivious gesticulations which the Otaheiteans practise in their dances. It may also be supposed, that their method of living is similar. For, though the nature of the country prevented our seeing many of their habitations, we observed one house near the beach, which much resembled, in its mode of construction, those of Otaheite. It was pleasantly situated in a grove of trees, and appeared to be about thirty feet long, and seven or eight high, with an open end, which represented an ellipse divided transversely. Before it was spread something white on a few bushes; which we conjectured to be a fishing-net, and, to appearance, of a very delicate texture.

They salute strangers much after the manner of the New Zealanders, by joining noses; adding, however, the additional ceremony of taking the hand of the person to whom they are paying civilities, and rubbing it with a degree of force upon their nose and mouth *.

* The inhabitants of the Palaos, New Philippine, or rather Caroline Islands, at the distance of almost fifteen hundred leagues from Mangeea, have the same mode of salutation. "Leur civilité, et la marque de leur respect, consiste à prendre la main ou le pied de celui à qui ils veulent faire honneur, et s'en frotter doucement tout le visage."—"Lettres Edifiantes et Curieuses," tom. xv p. 208. Edit. 1781.

CHAPTER II.—THE DISCOVERY OF AN ISLAND CALLED WATEEOO.—ITS COASTS EXAMINED.—VISITS FROM THE NATIVES ON BOARD THE SHIPS.—MESSRS. GORE, BURNEY, AND ANDERSON, WITH OMAI, SENT ON SHORE.—MR. ANDERSON'S NARRATIVE OF THEIR RECEPTION.—OMAI'S EXPEDIENT TO PREVENT THEIR BEING DETAINED.—HIS MEETING WITH SOME OF HIS COUNTRYMEN, AND THEIR DISTRESSFUL VOYAGE.—FARTHER ACCOUNT OF WATEEOO, AND OF ITS INHABITANTS.

After leaving Mangeea, on the afternoon of the 30th, we continued our course northward all that night, and till noon on the 31st; when we again saw land, in the direction of N.E. by N., distant eight or ten leagues. Next morning, at eight o'clock, we had got abreast of its north end within four leagues of it, but to leeward; and could now pronounce it to be an island, nearly of the same appearance and extent with that we had so lately left. At the same time, another island, but much smaller, was seen right ahead. We could have soon reached this; but the largest one had the preference, as most likely to furnish a supply of food for the cattle, of which we began to be in great want. With this view I determined to work up to it; but as there was but little wind, and that little was unfavourable, we were still two leagues to leeward at eight o'clock the following morning. Soon after, I sent two armed boats from the Resolution, and one from the Discovery, under the command of Lieutenant Gore, to look for anchoring-ground, and a landing-place. In the meantime, we plied up under the island with the ships.

Just as the boats were putting off, we observed several single canoes coming from the shore. They went first to the Discovery, she being the nearest ship. It was not long after, when three of these canoes came alongside of the Resolution, each conducted by one man. They are long and narrow, and supported by outriggers. The stern is elevated about three or four feet, something like a ship's stern-post. The head is flat above, but prow-like below, and turns down at the extremity, like the end of a violin. Some knives, beads, and other trifles were conveyed to our visitors; and they gave us a few cocoa-nuts, upon our asking for them. But they did not part with them by way of exchange for what they had received from us. For they seemed to have no idea of bartering; nor did they appear to estimate any of our presents at a high rate. With a little persuasion, one of them made his canoe fast to the ship, and came on board; and the other two, encouraged by his example, soon followed him. Their whole behaviour marked that they were quite at their ease, and felt no sort of apprehension of our detaining, or using them ill. After their departure, another canoe arrived, conducted by a man who brought a bunch of plantains as a present to me; asking for me by name, having learnt it from Omai, who was sent before us in the boat with Mr. Gore. In return for this civility, I gave him an axe and a piece of red cloth; and he paddled back to the shore well satisfied. I afterward understood from Omai, that this present had been sent from the king, or principal chief of the island.

Not long after, a double canoe, in which were twelve men, came toward us. As they drew near the ship, they recited some words in concert, by way of chorus *, one of their number first standing up, and giving the word before each repetition. When they had finished their solemn chant, they came alongside, and asked for the chief. As soon as I showed myself, a pig and a few cocoa-nuts were conveyed up into the ship and the principal person in the canoe made me an additional present of a piece of matting, as soon as he and his companions got on board. Our visitors were conducted into the cabin, and to other parts of the ship. Some objects seemed to strike them with a degree of surprise; but nothing fixed their attention for a moment. They were afraid to come near the cows and horses; nor did they form the least conception of their nature. But the sheep and goats

* Something like this ceremony was performed by the inhabitants of the Marquesas, when Captain Cook visited them in 1774. It is curious to observe, at what immense distances this mode of receiving strangers prevails.—Padillo, who sailed from Manilla in 1710, on a voyage to discover the Palaos Islands, was thus received there. The writer of the relation of his voyage says, "Aussitôt qu'ils approchèrent de notre bord, ils se mirent à chanter. Ils régloient la cadence, en frappant des mains sur leurs cuisses."—"Lettres Edifiantes et Curieuses," tom. xv. p. 323.

did not surpass the limits of their ideas; for they gave us to understand that they knew them to be birds. It will appear rather incredible, that human ignorance could ever make so strange a mistake; there not being the most distant similitude between a sheep or goat, and any winged animal. But these people seemed to know nothing of the existence of any other land animals, besides hogs, dogs, and birds. Our sheep and goats, they could see were very different creatures from the two first, and therefore they inferred, that they must belong to the latter class, in which they knew there is a considerable variety of species. I made a present to my new friend of what I thought might be most acceptable to him; but, on his going away, he seemed rather disappointed than pleased. I afterward understood that he was very desirous of obtaining a dog, of which animal this island could not boast, though its inhabitants knew that the race existed in other islands of their ocean. Captain Clerke had received the like present, with the same view, from another man, who met with from him the like disappointment.

The people in these canoes were in general of a middling size, and not unlike those of Mangeea; though several were of a blacker cast than any we saw there. Their hair was tied on the crown of the head, or flowing loose about the shoulders; and though in some it was of a frizzling disposition, yet, for the most part, that, as well as the straight sort, was long. Their features were various, and some of the young men rather handsome. Like those of Mangeea, they had girdles of glazed cloth, or fine matting, the ends of which, being brought betwixt their thighs, covered the adjoining parts. Ornaments, composed of a sort of broad grass, stained with red, and strung with berries of the nightshade, were worn about their necks. Their ears were bored, but not slit; and they were punctured upon the legs, from the knee to the heel, which made them appear as if they wore a kind of boots. They also resembled the inhabitants of Mangeea in the length of their beards, and, like them, wore a sort of sandals upon their feet. Their behaviour was frank and cheerful, with a great deal of good-nature.

At three o'clock in the afternoon, Mr. Gore returned with the boat, and informed me, that he had examined all the west side of the island, without finding a place where a boat could land, or the ships could anchor, the shore being everywhere bounded by a steep coral rock, against which the sea broke in a dreadful surf. But as the natives seemed very friendly, and to express a degree of disappointment when they saw that our people failed in their attempts to land, Mr. Gore was of opinion, that by means of Omai, who could best explain our request, they might be prevailed upon to bring off to the boats, beyond the surf, such articles as we most wanted; in particular, the stems of plantain-trees, which make good food for the cattle. Having little or no wind, the delay of a day or two was not of any moment; and therefore I determined to try the experiment, and got everything ready against the next morning. Soon after daybreak, we observed some canoes coming off to the ships, and one of them directed its course to the Resolution. In it was a hog, with some plantains and cocoa-nuts, for which the people, who brought them, demanded a dog from us, and refused every other thing that we offered in exchange. One of our gentlemen on board happened to have a dog and a bitch, which were great nuisances in the ship, and might have been disposed of on this occasion for a purpose of real utility, by propagating a race of so useful an animal in this island. But their owner had no such views in making them the companions of his voyage. However, to gratify these people, Omai parted with a favourite dog he had brought from England; and with this acquisition they departed highly satisfied.

About ten o'clock I despatched Mr. Gore with three boats, two from the Resolution and one from the Discovery, to try the experiment he had proposed. And, as I could confide in his diligence and ability, I left it entirely to himself, to act as from circumstances he should judge to be most proper. Two of the natives who had been on board accompanied him; and Omai went with him in his boat as an interpreter. The ships being a full league from the island when the boats put off, and having but little wind, it was noon before we could work up to it. We then saw our three boats riding at their grapplings, just without the surf, and a prodigious number of the natives on the shore abreast of them. By this we concluded that Mr. Gore and others of our people had landed, and our impatience to know

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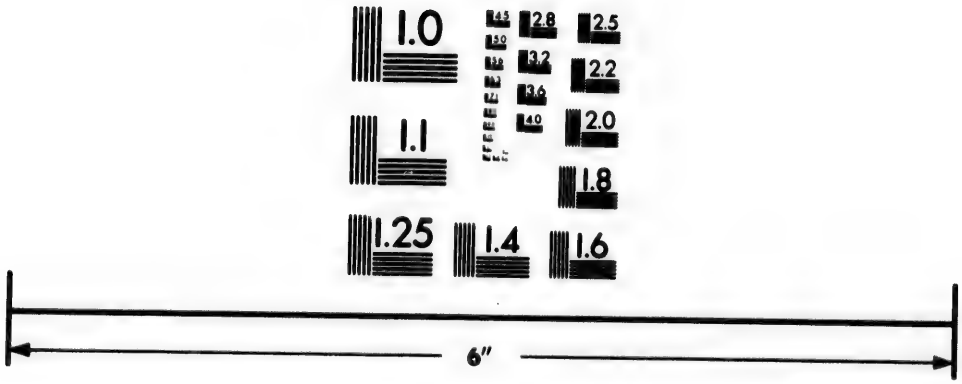

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the event may be easily conceived. In order to observe their motions, and to be ready to give them such assistance as they might want, and our respective situations would admit of, I kept as near the shore as was prudent. I was sensible, however, that the reef was as effectual a barrier between us and our friends who had landed, and put them as much beyond the reach of our protection, as if half the circumference of the globe had intervened. But the islanders, it was probable, did not know this so well as we did. Some of them now and then came off to the ships in their canoes with a few cocoa-nuts, which they exchanged for whatever was offered to them, without seeming to give the preference to any particular article.

These occasional visits served to lessen my solicitude about our people who had landed. Though we could get no information from our visitors; yet their venturing on board seemed to imply, at least, that their countrymen on shore had not made an improper use of the confidence put in them. At length, a little before sun-set, we had the satisfaction of seeing the boats put off. When they got on board, I found that Mr. Gore himself, Omai, Mr. Anderson, and Mr. Burney, were the only persons who had landed. The transactions of the day were now fully reported to me by Mr. Gore; but Mr. Anderson's account of them being very particular, and including some remarks on the island and its inhabitants, I shall give it a place here nearly in his own words.

"We rowed toward a small sandy beach, upon which, and upon the adjacent rocks, a great number of the natives had assembled, and came to an anchor within a hundred yards of the reef, which extends about as far, or a little farther from the shore. Several of the natives swam off, bringing cocoa-nuts; and Omai, with their countrymen, whom we had with us in the boats, made them sensible of our wish to land. But their attention was taken up for a little time by the dog which had been carried from the ship, and was just brought on shore, round whom they flocked with great eagerness. Soon after, two canoes came off; and, to create a greater confidence in the islanders, we determined to go unarmed, and run the hazard of being treated well or ill.

"Mr. Burney, the first lieutenant of the Discovery, and I went in one canoe a little time before the other; and our conductors, watching attentively the motions of the surf, landed us safely upon the reef. An islander took hold of each of us, obviously with an intention to support us in walking over the rugged rocks to the beach, where several of the others met us, holding the green boughs of a species of Mimosa in their hands, and saluted us by applying their noses to ours. We were conducted from the beach by our guides, amidst a great crowd of people, who flocked with very eager curiosity to look at us, and would have prevented our proceeding, had not some men, who seemed to have authority, dealt blows with little distinction amongst them to keep them off. We were then led up an avenue of cocoa-palms, and soon came to a number of men arranged in two rows, armed with clubs, which they held on their shoulders much in the manner we rest a musket. After walking a little way amongst these, we found a person who seemed a chief, sitting on the ground cross-legged, cooling himself with a sort of triangular fan, made from a leaf of the cocoa-palm, with a polished handle of black wood fixed to one corner. In his ears were large bunches of beautiful red feathers which pointed forward. But he had no other mark or ornament to distinguish him from the rest of the people, though they all obeyed him with the greatest alacrity. He either naturally had, or at this time put on, a serious but not severe countenance; and we were desired to salute him as he sat by some people who seemed of consequence. We proceeded still amongst the men armed with clubs, and came to a second chief, who sat fanning himself, and ornamented as the first. He was remarkable for his size and uncommon corpulence, though to appearance not above thirty years of age. In the same manner we were conducted to a third chief, who seemed older than the two former, and, though not so fat as the second, was of a large size. He also was sitting, and adorned with red feathers; and after saluting him as we had done the others, he desired us both to sit down, which we were very willing to do, being pretty well fatigued with walking up, and with the excessive heat we felt amongst the vast crowd that surrounded us.

"In a few minutes the people were ordered to separate; and we saw, at the distance of thirty yards, about twenty young women, ornamented as the chiefs with red feathers,

engaged in a dance, which they performed to a slow and serious air sung by them all. We got up and went forward to see them; and though we must have been strange objects to them, they continued their dance without paying the least attention to us. They seemed to be directed by a man who served as a prompter, and mentioned each motion they were to make. But they never changed the spot as we do in dancing; and though their feet were not at rest, this exercise consisted more in moving the fingers very nimbly, at the same time holding their hands in a prone position near the face, and now and then also clapping them together *. Their motions and song were performed in such exact concert, that it should seem they had been taught with great care; and probably they were selected for this ceremony, as few of those whom we saw in the crowd equalled them in beauty. In general they were rather stout than slender, with black hair flowing in ringlets down the neck, and of an olive complexion. Their features were rather fuller than what we allow to perfect beauties, and much alike; but their eyes were of a deep black, and each countenance expressed a degree of complacency and modesty peculiar to the sex in every part of the world, but perhaps more conspicuous here, where Nature presented us with her productions in the fullest perfection, unbiassed in sentiment by custom, or unrestrained in manner by art. Their shape and limbs were elegantly formed; for, as their dress consisted only of a piece of glazed cloth fastened about the waist, and scarcely reaching so low as the knees, in many we had an opportunity of observing every part. This dance was not finished when we heard a noise as if some horses had been galloping toward us; and, on looking aside, we saw the people armed with clubs, who had been desired, as we supposed, to entertain us with the sight of their manner of fighting. This they now did, one party pursuing another who fled.

"As we supposed the ceremony of being introduced to the chiefs was at an end, we began to look about for Mr. Gore and Omai; and though the crowd would hardly suffer us to move, we at length found them coming up, as much incommoded by the number of people as we had been, and introduced in the same manner to the three chiefs, whose names were Otteroo, Taroa, and Fatouweera. Each of these expected a present; and Mr. Gore gave them such things as he had brought with him from the ship for that purpose. After this, making use of Omai as his interpreter, he informed the chiefs with what intention we had come on shore; but was given to understand, that he must wait till the next day, and then he should have what was wanted.

"They now seemed to take some pains to separate us from each other; and every one of us had his circle to surround and gaze at him. For my own part, I was at one time above an hour apart from my friends; and when I told the chief, with whom I sat, that I wanted to speak to Omai, he peremptorily refused my request. At the same time I found the people began to steal several trifling things which I had in my pocket; and when I took the liberty of complaining to the chief of this treatment, he justified it. From these circumstances, I now entertained apprehensions, that they might have formed the design of detaining us amongst them. They did not, indeed, seem to be of a disposition so savage, as to make us anxious for the safety of our persons; but it was, nevertheless, vexing to think we had hazarded being detained by their curiosity. In this situation I asked for something to eat; and they readily brought me some cocoa-nuts, bread-fruit, and a sort of sour pudding, which was presented by a woman. And on my complaining much of the heat, occasioned by the crowd, the chief himself condescended to fan me, and gave me a small piece of cloth, which he had round his waist. Mr. Burney happened to come to the place where I was; I mentioned my suspicions to him, and, to put it to the test, whether they were well-founded, we attempted to get to the beach. But we were stopped when about half way by some men, who told us that we must go back to the place which we had left. On coming up, we found Omai entertaining the same apprehensions. But he had, as he fancied, an additional reason for being afraid, for he had observed that they had dug a hole in the ground for an oven, which they were now heating; and he could assign no other reason for this, than that

* The dances of the inhabitants of the Caroline Islands have a great resemblance to those here described. See *Lettres Edif. et Curieuses*, tom. xv p. 315. See also, in the same volume, p. 207, what is said of the singing and dancing of the inhabitants of the Palaos Islands, which belong to the same group.

they meant to roast and eat us, as is practised by the inhabitants of New Zealand. Nay, he went so far as to ask them the question; at which they were greatly surprised, asking in return whether that was a custom with us? Mr. Burney and I were rather angry that they should be thus suspected by him, there having as yet been no appearances in their conduct towards us of their being capable of such brutality.

"In this manner we were detained the greatest part of the day, being sometimes together, and sometimes separated; but always in a crowd; who, not satisfied with gazing at us, frequently desired us to uncover parts of our skin, the sight of which commonly produced a general murmur of admiration. At the same time, they did not omit these opportunities of rifling our pockets; and at last one of them snatched a small bayonet from Mr. Gore, which hung in its sheath by his side. This was represented to the chief, who pretended to send some person in search of it. But in all probability, he countenanced the theft; for soon after, Omai had a dagger stolen from his side in the same manner, though he did not miss it immediately. Whether they observed any signs of uneasiness in us, or that they voluntarily repeated their emblems of friendship when we expressed a desire to go, I cannot tell; but, at this time, they brought some green boughs, and sticking their ends in the ground, desired we might hold them as we sat. Upon our urging again the business we came upon, they gave us to understand that we must stay and eat with them; and a pig which we saw soon after lying near the oven, which they had prepared and heated, removed Omai's apprehensions of being put into it himself, and made us think it might be intended for our repast. The chief also promised to send some people to procure food for the cattle, but it was not till pretty late in the afternoon, that we saw them return with a few plantain-trees, which they carried to our boats.

"In the mean time, Mr. Burney and I attempted again to go to the beach, but when we arrived, found ourselves watched by people, who, to appearance, had been placed there for this purpose. For when I tried to wade in upon the reef, one of them took hold of my clothes and dragged me back. I picked up some small pieces of coral, which they required me to throw down again; and on my refusal, they made no scruple to take them forcibly from me. I had gathered some small plants, but these also I could not be permitted to retain; and they took a fan from Mr. Burney, which he had received as a present on coming ashore. Omai said we had done wrong in taking up any thing, for it was not the custom here to permit freedoms of that kind to strangers, till they had in some measure naturalized them to the country, by entertaining them with festivity for two or three days. Finding that the only method of procuring better treatment was to yield implicit obedience to their will, we went up again to the place we had left, and they now promised that we should have a canoe to carry us off to our boats, after we had eaten of a repast which had been prepared for us.

"Accordingly, the second chief, to whom we had been introduced in the morning, having seated himself upon a low broad stool of blackish hard wood, tolerably polished, and directing the multitude to make a pretty large ring, made us sit down by him. A considerable number of cocoa-nuts were now brought; and shortly after, a long green basket with a sufficient quantity of baked plantains to have served a dozen persons. A piece of the young hog that had been dressed, was then set before each of us, of which we were desired to eat. Our appetites, however, had failed from the fatigue of the day; and though we did eat a little to please them, it was without satisfaction to ourselves. It being now near sunset, we told them it was time to go on board. This they allowed; and sent down to the beach the remainder of the victuals that had been dressed, to be carried with us to the ships. But before we set out, Omai was treated with a drink he had been used to in his own country; which, we observed, was made here as at other islands in the South Sea, by chewing the root of a sort of pepper. We found a canoe ready to put us off to our boats; which the natives did with the same caution as when we landed. But even here their thievish disposition did not leave them; for a person of some consequence among them, who came with us, took an opportunity, just as they were pushing the canoe into the surf, to snatch a bag out of her which I had, with the greatest difficulty, preserved all the day, there being in it a small pocket-pistol which I was unwilling to part with. Perceiving him, I called out, expressing as much displeasure as I could; on which he thought proper to return, and swim

with the bag to the canoe, but denied he had stolen it, though detected in the very act. They put us on board our boats, with the cocoa-nuts, plantains, and other provisions which they had brought; and we rowed to the ships very well pleased that we had at last got out of the hands of our troublesome masters.

"We regretted much, that our restrained situation gave us so little opportunity of making observations on the country. For, during the whole day, we were seldom a hundred yards from the place where we were introduced to the chiefs on landing; and, consequently, were confined to the surrounding objects. The first thing that presented itself worthy of our notice was the number of people, which must have been at least two thousand. For those who welcomed us on the shore bore no proportion to the multitude we found amongst the trees, on proceeding a little way up. We could also observe that, except a few, those we had hitherto seen on board were of the lower class; for a great number of those we now met with, had a superior dignity in their air, and were of a much whiter cast. In general they had the hair tied on the crown of the head, long, black, and of a most luxuriant growth. Many of the young men were perfect models in shape, of a complexion as delicate as that of the women, and, to appearance, of a disposition as amiable. Others who were more advanced in years, were corpulent; and all had a remarkable smoothness of the skin. Their general dress was a piece of cloth or mat wrapped about the waist, and covering the parts which modesty conceals. But some had pieces of mats most curiously varied with black and white, made into a sort of jacket without sleeves; and others wore conical caps of cocoa-nut core, neatly interwoven with small beads made of a shelly substance. Their ears were pierced; and in them they hung bits of the membranous part of some plant, or stuck there an odoriferous flower, which seemed to be a species of *gardenia*. Some who were of a superior class, and also the chiefs, had two little balls with a common base, made from the bone of some animal, which was hung round the neck, with a great many folds of small cord. And after the ceremony of introduction to the chiefs was over, they then appeared without their red feathers; which are certainly considered here as a particular mark of distinction, for none but themselves and the young women who danced assumed them.

"Some of the men were punctured all over the sides and back in an uncommon manner; and some of the women had the same ornament on their legs. But this method was confined to those who seemed to be of a superior rank; and the men, in that case, were also generally distinguished by their size and corpulence, unless very young. The women of an advanced age had their hair cropped short; and many were cut in oblique lines all over the fore part of the body; and some of the wounds, which formed rhomboidal figures, had been so lately inflicted, that the coagulated blood still remained in them. The wife of one of the chiefs appeared with her child, laid in a piece of red cloth which had been presented to her husband, and seemed to carry it with great tenderness, suckling it much after the manner of our women. Another chief introduced his daughter, who was young and beautiful, but appeared with all the timidity natural to the sex, though she gazed on us with a kind of anxious concern that seemed to struggle with her fear, and to express her astonishment at so unusual a sight. Others advanced with more firmness, and, indeed, were less reserved than we expected, but behaved with a becoming modesty. We did not observe any personal deformities amongst either sex, except in a few who had scars of broad superficial ulcers remaining on the face and other parts. In proportion to the number of people assembled, there appeared not many old men or women; which may easily be accounted for, by supposing that such as were in an advanced period of life might neither have the inclination nor the ability to come from the more distant parts of the island. On the other hand, the children were numerous; and both these and the men climbed the trees to look at us when we were hid by the surrounding crowd.

"About a third part of the men were armed with clubs and spears; and, probably, these were only the persons who had come from a distance, as many of them had small baskets, mats, and other things, fastened to the ends of their weapons. The clubs were generally about six feet long, made of a hard black wood, lance-shaped at the end, but much broader, with the edge nicely scolloped, and the whole neatly polished. Others of them were narrower at the point, much shorter and plain; and some were even so small as to be used

with one hand. The spears were made of the same wood, simply pointed; and, in general, above twelve feet long; though some were so short, that they seemed intended to be thrown as darts.

"The place where we were all the day was under the shade of various trees, in which they preserved their canoes from the sun. About eight or ten of them were here, all double ones; that is, two single ones fastened together (as is usual throughout the whole extent of the Pacific Ocean), by rafters lashed across. They were about twenty feet long, about four feet deep, and the sides rounded with a plank raised upon them, which was fastened strongly by means of withes. Two of these canoes were most curiously stained or painted all over with black, in numberless small figures, as squares, triangles, &c., and excelled by far any thing of that kind I had ever seen at any other island in this ocean. Our friends here, indeed, seemed to have exerted more skill in doing this than in puncturing their own bodies. The paddles were about four feet long, nearly elliptical, but broader at the upper end than the middle. Near the same place was a hut or shed about thirty feet long, and nine or ten high, in which, perhaps, these boats are built, but at this time it was empty.

"The greatest number of the trees around us were cocoa-palms; some sorts of *hibiscus;* a species of *euphorbia;* and, toward the sea, abundance of the same kind of trees we had seen at Mangeea Nooe Nainaiwa; and which seemed to surround the shores of this island in the same manner. They are tall and slender, not much unlike a cypress; but with bunches of long, round, articulated leaves. The natives call them *etoa.* On the ground we saw some grass; a species of convolvulus; and a good deal of *treacle-mustard.* There are also, doubtless, other fruit-trees and useful plants which we did not see. For, besides several sorts of plantains, they brought, at different times, roots which they call *taro* (the *coccos* of other countries); a bread-fruit; and a basket of roasted nuts, of a kidney-shape, in taste like a chesnut, but coarser. What the soil of the island may be further inland, we could not tell. But, toward the sea, it is nothing more than a bank of coral, ten or twelve feet high, steep and rugged; except where there are small sandy beaches, at some clefts where the ascent is gradual. The coral, though it has, probably, been exposed to the weather for many centuries, has undergone no farther change than becoming black on the surface; which, from its irregularity, is not much unlike large masses of a burnt substance. But on breaking some pieces off, we found that, at the depth of two or three inches, it was just as fresh as the pieces that had been lately thrown upon the beach by the waves. The reef, or rock, that lines the shore entirely, runs to different breadths into the sea, where it ends, all at once, and becomes like a high steep wall. It is nearly even with the surface of the water, and of a brown or brick colour; but the texture is rather porous, yet sufficient to withstand the washing of the surf, which continually breaks upon it."

Though the landing of our gentlemen proved the means of enriching my journal with the foregoing particulars, the principal object I had in view was, in a great measure, unattained; for the day was spent without getting any one thing from the island worth mentioning. The natives, however, were gratified with a sight they never before had; and probably, will never have again. And mere curiosity seems to have been their chief motive for keeping the gentlemen under such restraint, and for using every art to prolong their continuance amongst them.

It has been mentioned that Omai was sent upon this expedition; and perhaps, his being Mr. Gore's interpreter was not the only service he performed this day. He was asked by the natives a great many questions concerning us, our ships, our country, and the sort of arms we used; and, according to the account he gave me, his answers were not a little upon the marvellous. As, for instance, he told them that our country had ships as large as their island, on board which were instruments of war (describing our guns), of such dimensions, that several people might sit within them; and that one of them was sufficient to crush the whole island at one shot. This led them to inquire of him what sort of guns we actually had in our two ships. He said, that though they were but small, in comparison with those he had just described, yet, with such as they were, we could, with the greatest ease, and at the distance the ships were from the shore, destroy the island, and kill every soul in it. They persevered in their inquiries, to know by what means this could be done; and Omai

explained the matter as well as he could. He happened luckily to have a few cartridges in his pocket. These he produced; the balls and the gunpowder which was to set them in motion were submitted to inspection; and to supply the defects of his description, an appeal was made to the senses of the spectators. It has been mentioned above, that one of the chiefs had ordered the multitude to form themselves into a circle. This furnished Omai with a convenient stage for his exhibition. In the centre of this amphitheatre, the inconsiderable quantity of gunpowder, collected from his cartridges, was properly disposed upon the ground, and, by means of a bit of burning wood from the oven, where dinner was dressing, set on fire. The sudden blast and loud report, the mingled flame and smoke, that instantly succeeded, now filled the whole assembly with astonishment; they no longer doubted the tremendous power of our weapons, and gave full credit to all that Omai had said. If it had not been for the terrible ideas they conceived of the guns of our ships, from this specimen of their mode of operation, it was thought that they would have detained the gentlemen all night. For Omai assured them, that if he and his companions did not return on board the same day, they might expect that I would fire upon the island. And as we stood in nearer the land in the evening than we had done any time before, of which position of the ships they were observed to take great notice, they, probably, thought we were meditating this formidable attack, and therefore suffered their guests to depart, under the expectation, however, of seeing them again on shore next morning. But I was too sensible of the risk they had already run, to think of a repetition of the experiment.

This day, it seems, was destined to give Omai more occasions than one of being brought forward to bear a principal part in its transactions. The island, though never before visited by Europeans, actually happened to have other strangers residing in it; and it was entirely owing to Omai's being one of Mr. Gore's attendants that this curious circumstance came to our knowledge. Scarcely had he been landed upon the beach, when he found amongst the crowd there assembled three of his own countrymen, natives of the Society Islands. At the distance of about two hundred leagues from those islands, an immense unknown ocean intervening, with such wretched sea-boats as their inhabitants are known to make use of, and fit only for a passage where sight of land is scarcely ever lost, such a meeting, at such a place, so accidentally visited by us, may well be looked upon as one of those unexpected situations with which the writers of feigned adventures love to surprise their readers, and which, when they really happen in common life, deserve to be recorded for their singularity.

It may easily be guessed with what mutual surprise and satisfaction Omai and his countrymen engaged in conversation. Their story, as related by them, is an affecting one. About twenty persons in number, of both sexes, had embarked on board a canoe at Otaheite, to cross over to the neighbouring island Ulietea. A violent contrary wind arising, they could neither reach the latter nor get back to the former. Their intended passage being a very short one, their stock of provisions was scanty and soon exhausted; the hardships they suffered, while driven along by the storm, they knew not whither, are not to be conceived; they passed many days without having anything to eat or drink; their numbers gradually diminished, worn out by famine and fatigue; four men only survived, when the canoe overset, and then the perdition of this small remnant seemed inevitable. However, they kept hanging by the side of their vessel during some of the last days, till Providence brought them in sight of the people of this island, who immediately sent out canoes, took them off their wreck, and brought them ashore. Of the four who were thus saved, one was since dead; the other three, who lived to have this opportunity of giving an account of their almost miraculous transplantation, spoke highly of the kind treatment they here met with; and so well satisfied were they with their situation, that they refused the offer made to them by our gentlemen, at Omai's request, of giving them a passage on board our ships, to restore them to their native islands. The similarity of manners and language had more than naturalised them to this spot; and the fresh connexions which they had here formed, and which it would have been painful to have broken off, after such a length of time, sufficiently account for their declining to revisit the places of their birth. They had arrived upon this island at least twelve years ago. For I learn from Mr. Anderson that he found they knew nothing of Captain Wallis's visit to Otaheite in 1765, nor of several other memorable occurrences,

such as the conquest of Ulietea by those of Bolabola, which had preceded the arrival of the Europeans. To Mr. Anderson I am also indebted for their names, Orououte, Otirreroa, and Tavee; the first, born at Matavai in Otaheite; the second, at Ulietea; and the third, at Huaheine.

The landing of our gentlemen on this island, though they failed in the object of it, cannot but be considered as a very fortunate circumstance. It has proved, as we have seen, the means of bringing to our knowledge a matter of fact, not only very curious, but very instructive. The application of the above narrative is obvious. It will serve to explain, better than a thousand conjectures of speculative reasoners, how the detached parts of the earth, and, in particular, how the islands of the South Sea, may have been first peopled; especially those that lie remote from any inhabited continent, or from each other.*

This island is called Wateeoo by the natives. It lies in the latitude of 20° 1′ S., and in the longitude 201° 45′ E., and is about six leagues in circumference. It is a beautiful spot, with a surface composed of hills and plains, and covered with verdure of many hues. Our gentlemen found the soil where they passed the day to be light and sandy; but farther up the country a different sort perhaps prevails, as we saw from the ship, by the help of our glasses, a reddish cast upon the rising grounds. There the inhabitants have their houses, for we could perceive two or three which were long and spacious. Its produce, with the addition of hogs, we found to be the same as at the last island we had visited, which the people of this, to whom we pointed out its position, called Owhavarouah; a name so different from Mangeea Nooe Nainaiwa, which we learned from its own inhabitants, that it is highly probable Owhavarouah is another island.

From the circumstances already mentioned, it appears, that Wateeoo can be of little use to any ship that wants refreshment, unless in a case of the most absolute necessity. The natives, knowing now the value of some of our commodities, might be induced to bring off fruits and hogs to a ship standing off and on, or to boats lying off the reef, as ours did. It is doubtful, however, if any fresh water could be procured. For, though some was brought in cocoa-nut shells to the gentlemen, they were told that it was at a considerable distance; and probably it is only to be met with in some stagnant pool, as no running stream was anywhere seen.

According to Omai's report of what he learned in conversation with his three countrymen, the manners of these islanders, their method of treating strangers, and their general habits of life, are much like those that prevail at Otaheite, and its neighbouring isles. Their religious ceremonies and opinions are also nearly the same. For upon seeing one man, who was painted all over of a deep black colour, and inquiring the reason, our gentlemen were told that he had lately been paying the last good offices to a deceased friend; and they found that it was upon similar occasions the women cut themselves, as already mentioned. From every

* Such accidents as this, here related, probably happen frequently in the Pacific Ocean. In 1696, two canoes, having on board thirty persons of both sexes, were driven by contrary winds and tempestuous weather on the isle of Samal, one of the Philippines, after being tossed about at sea seventy days, and having performed a voyage from an island called by them Amorsot, 300 leagues to the east of Samal. Five of the number who had embarked died of the hardships suffered during this extraordinary passage. See a particular account of them, and of the islands they belonged to, in "Lettres Edifiantes et Curieuses," tom. xv., from p. 196 to p. 215. In the same volume, from p. 262 to p. 320, we have the relation of a similar adventure, in 1721, when two canoes, one containing twenty-four, and the other six persons, men, women, and children, were driven from an island they called Farroilep, northward to the isle of Guam, or Guahan, one of the Ladrones or Mariannes. But these had not sailed so far as their countrymen, who reached Samal as above, and they had been at sea only twenty days. There seems to be no reason to doubt the general authenticity of these two relations. The information contained in the letters of the Jesuits, about these islands, now known under the name of the Carolines, and discovered to the Spaniards by the arrival of the canoes at Samal and Guam, has been adopted by all our later writers. See President de Brosse's "Voyages aux Terres Australes," tom. ii., from p. 443 to p. 490. See also the "Modern Universal History."—[Many other well-authenticated instances in which the frail canoes of the natives of the South Sea Islands have been drifted many hundred miles across the ocean have been recorded by voyagers, or preserved in the traditions of the natives. It would occupy too much space to particularise them here, but a remark of Mr. Ellis upon them ("Polynesian Researches," vol. i., p. 126, 12mo edit.) is worthy of attention, in relation to the question of the original source of the general population of Polynesia. He states, that "it is a striking fact, that every such voyage related in the accounts of voyagers, preserved in the traditions of the natives, or of recent occurrence, has invariably been from east to west, directly opposite to that in which it must have been had the population been altogether derived from the Malayan archipelago."—Ed.]

circumstance, indeed, it is indubitable, that the natives of Wateeoo sprang, originally, from the same stock, which hath spread itself so wonderfully all over the immense extent of the South Sea. One would suppose, however, that they put in their claim to a more illustrious extraction, for Omai assured us that they dignified their island with the appellation of *Wenooa no te Eatooa*, that is, a land of gods; esteeming themselves a sort of divinities, and possessed with the spirit of the Eatooa. This wild enthusiastic notion Omai seemed much to approve of, telling us there were instances of its being entertained at Otaheite, but that it was universally prevalent amongst the inhabitants of Mataia, or Osnaburg Island. The language spoken at Wateeoo was equally well understood by Omai and by our two New Zealanders. What its peculiarities may be when compared with the other dialects, I am not able to point out; for though Mr. Anderson had taken care to note down a specimen of it, the natives, who made no distinction of the objects of their theft, stole the memorandum-book.

CHAPTER III.—WEENOOA-ETTE, OR OTAKOOTAIA, VISITED.—ACCOUNT OF THAT ISLAND, AND OF ITS PRODUCE.—HERVEY'S ISLAND, OR TEROUGGE MOU ATTOOA, FOUND TO BE INHABITED.—TRANSACTIONS WITH THE NATIVES.—THEIR PERSONS, DRESS, LANGUAGE, CANOES.—FRUITLESS ATTEMPT TO LAND THERE.—REASONS FOR BEARING AWAY FOR THE FRIENDLY ISLANDS.—PALMERSTON'S ISLAND TOUCHED AT.—DESCRIPTION OF THE TWO PLACES WHERE THE BOATS LANDED.—REFRESHMENTS OBTAINED THERE.—CONJECTURES ON THE FORMATION OF SUCH LOW ISLANDS.—ARRIVAL AT THE FRIENDLY ISLANDS.

Light airs and calms having prevailed, by turns, all the night of the 3rd, the easterly swell had carried the ships some distance from Wateeoo, before daybreak. But as I had failed in my object of procuring, at that place, some effectual supply, I saw no reason for staying there any longer. I therefore quitted it, without regret, and steered for the neighbouring island, which, as has been mentioned, we discovered three days before. With a gentle breeze at east, we got up with it before ten o'clock in the morning, and I immediately despatched Mr. Gore, with two boats, to endeavour to land, and get some food for our cattle. As there seemed to be no inhabitants here to obstruct our taking away whatever we might think proper, I was confident of his being able to make amends for our late disappointment, if the landing could be effected. There was a reef here surrounding the land, as at Wateeoo, and a considerable surf breaking against the rocks; notwithstanding which, our boats no sooner reached the lee, or west side of the island, but they ventured in, and Mr. Gore and his party got safe on shore. I could, from the ship, see that they had succeeded so far; and I immediately sent a small boat to know what farther assistance was wanting. She did not return till three o'clock in the afternoon, having waited to take in a lading of what useful produce the island afforded. As soon as she was cleared, she was sent again for another cargo; the jolly-boat was also despatched, and Mr. Gore was ordered to be on board, with all the boats, before night; which was complied with.

The supply obtained here consisted of about a hundred cocoa-nuts for each ship; and besides this refreshment for ourselves, we got for our cattle some grass, and a quantity of the leaves and branches of young cocoa-trees, and of the *wharra* tree, as it is called at Otaheite, the *pandanus* of the East Indies. This latter being of a soft, spongy, juicy nature, the cattle ate it very well, when cut into small pieces; so that it might be said, without any deviation from truth, that we fed them upon billet wood.

This island lies in the latitude of 19° 51′ S., and the longitude of 201° 37′ E., about three or four leagues from Wateeoo, the inhabitants of which called it Otakootaia; and sometimes they spoke of it under the appellation of *Wenooa-ette*, which signifies "little island." Mr. Anderson, who was on shore with our party, and walked round it, guessed that it could not be much more than three miles in circuit. From him I also learned the following particulars. The beach within the reef is composed of a white coral sand; above which, the land within does not rise above six or seven feet, and is covered with a light reddish soil, but is entirely destitute of water. The only common trees found there were cocoa-palms, of which there

were several clusters; and vast numbers of the *wharra*. There were, likewise, the *Callophyllum*, *Suriana*, *Guettarda*, a species of *Tournefortia*, and *Tabernæ montanæ*, with a few other shrubs; and some of the *etoa* tree seen at Wateeoo. A sort of bindweed overran the vacant spaces; except in some places, where was found a considerable quantity of treacle-mustard, a species of spurge, with a few other small plants, and the *Morinda citrifolia;* the fruit of which is eaten by the natives of Otaheite in times of scarcity. Omai, who had landed with the party, dressed some of it for their dinner; but it proved very indifferent.

The only bird seen amongst the trees, was a beautiful cuckoo, of a chesnut brown, variegated with black, which was shot. But, upon the shore, were some egg-birds; a small sort of curlew; blue and white herons; and great numbers of noddies; which last, at this time, laid their eggs, a little farther up, on the ground, and often rested on the *wharra* tree. One of our people caught a lizard of a most forbidding aspect, though small, running up a tree; and many, of another sort, were seen. The bushes, toward the sea, were frequented by infinite numbers of a sort of moth, elegantly speckled with red, black, and white. There were also several other sorts of moths, as well as some pretty butterflies; and a few other insects.

Though there were, at this time, no fixed inhabitants upon the island, indubitable marks remained of its being, at least occasionally, frequented. In particular, a few empty huts were found. There were also several large stones erected, like monuments, under the shade of some trees; and several spaces inclosed with smaller ones, where, probably, the dead had been buried. And, in one place, a great many cockle-shells, of a particular sort, finely grooved, and larger than the first, were to be seen; from which it was reasonable to conjecture, that the island had been visited by persons who feed partly on shell-fish. In one of the huts, Mr. Gore left a hatchet and some nails, to the full value of what we took away.

As soon as the boats were hoisted in, I made sail again to the northward, with a light air of wind easterly; intending to try our fortune at Hervey's Island, which was discovered in 1773, during my last voyage. Although it was not above fifteen leagues distant, yet we did not get sight of it till daybreak in the morning of the 6th, when it bore west-south-west, at the distance of about three leagues. As we drew near it, at eight o'clock, we observed several canoes put off from the shore; and they came directly towards the ships. This was a sight that, indeed, surprised me, as no signs of inhabitants were seen when the island was first discovered, which might be owing to a pretty brisk wind that then blew, and prevented their canoes venturing out, as the ships passed to leeward; whereas now we were to windward. As we still kept on toward the island, six or seven of the canoes, all double ones, soon came near us. There were from three to six men in each of them. They stopped at the distance of about a stone's-throw from the ship; and it was some time before Omai could prevail upon them to come alongside; but no entreaties could induce any of them to venture on board. Indeed, their disorderly and clamorous behaviour by no means indicated a disposition to trust us, or treat us well. We afterward learned that they had attempted to take some oars out of the Discovery's boat, that lay alongside, and struck a man who endeavoured to prevent them. They also cut away, with a shell, a net with meat, which hung over that ship's stern, and absolutely refused to restore it; though we, afterward, purchased it from them. Those who were about our ship behaved in the same daring manner; for they made a sort of hook, of a long stick, with which they endeavoured openly to rob us of several things; and, at last, actually got a frock belonging to one of our people, that was towing overboard. At the same time, they immediately showed a knowledge of bartering, and sold some fish they had (amongst which was an extraordinary flounder, spotted like porphyry; and a cream-coloured eel, spotted with black), for small nails, of which they were immoderately fond, and called them *goore*. But, indeed, they caught, with the greatest avidity, bits of paper, or anything else that was thrown to them; and if what was thrown fell into the sea, they made no scruple to swim after it.

These people seemed to differ as much in person, as in disposition, from the natives of Wateeoo; though the distance between the two islands is not very great. Their colour was of a deeper cast; and several had a fierce, rugged aspect, resembling the natives of New

Zealand; but some were fairer. They had strong black hair, which, in general, they wore either hanging loose about the shoulders, or tied in a bunch on the crown of the head. Some, however, had it cropped pretty short; and, in two or three of them, it was of a brown or reddish colour. Their only covering was a narrow piece of mat, wrapped several times round the lower part of the body, and which passed between the thighs; but a fine cap of red feathers was seen lying in one of the canoes. The shell of a pearl-oyster polished, and hung about the neck, was the only ornamental fashion that we observed amongst them; for not one of them had adopted that mode of ornament, so generally prevalent amongst the natives of this Ocean, of puncturing, or *tatooing* their bodies. Though singular in this, we had the most unequivocal proofs of their being of the same common race. Their language approached still nearer to the dialect of Otaheite, than that of Wateeoo, or Mangeea. Like the inhabitants of these two islands, they inquired from whence our ships came; and whither bound; who was our chief; the number of our men on board; and even the ship's name. And they very readily answered such questions as we proposed to them. Amongst other things, they told us they had seen two great ships, like ours, before; but that they had not spoken with them as they sailed past. There can be no doubt, that these were the Resolution and Adventure. We learned from them, that the name of their island is Terouggemou Atooa; and that they were subject to Teerevatooeah, king of Wateeoo *. According to the account that they gave, their articles of food are cocoa-nuts, fish, and turtle; the island not producing plantains, or bread-fruit; and being destitute of hogs and dogs. Their canoes, of which near thirty were at one time in sight, are pretty large and well built. In the construction of the stern, they bear some resemblance to those of Wateeoo; and the head projects out nearly in the same manner; but the extremity is turned up instead of down.

Having but very little wind, it was one o'clock before we drew near the north-west part of the island; the only part where there seemed to be any probability of finding anchorage for our ships, or a landing-place for our boats. In this position, I sent Lieutenant King, with two armed boats, to sound and reconnoitre the coast, while we stood off and on with the ships. The instant the boats were hoisted out, our visitors in the canoes, who had remained alongside all the while, bartering their little trifles, suspended their traffic, and pushing for the shore as fast as they could, came near us no more. At three o'clock, the boats returned; and Mr. King informed me, "That there was no anchorage for the ships; and that the boats could only land on the outer edge of the reef, which lay about a quarter of a mile from the dry land. He said, that a number of the natives came down upon the reef, armed with long pikes and clubs, as if they intended to oppose his landing. And yet when he drew near enough, they threw some cocoa-nuts to our people, and invited them to come on shore; though, at the very same time, he observed, that the women were very busy bringing down a fresh supply of spears and darts. But, as he had no motive to land, he did not give them an opportunity to use them."

Having received this report, I considered, that, as the ships could not be brought to an anchor, we should find that the attempt to procure grass here would occasion much delay, as well as be attended with some danger. Besides, we were equally in want of water; and though the inhabitants had told us that there was water on their island, yet we neither knew in what quantity, nor from what distance we might be obliged to fetch it. And, after all, supposing no other obstruction, we were sure that to get over the reef would be an operation equally difficult and tedious. Being thus disappointed at all the islands we had met with since our leaving New Zealand, and the unfavourable winds, and other unforeseen circumstances, having unavoidably retarded our progress so much, it was now impossible to think of doing anything this year, in the high latitudes of the northern hemisphere, from which we were still at so great a distance, though the season for our operations there was already begun. In this situation, it was absolutely necessary to pursue such measures as were most likely to preserve the cattle we had on board, in the first place; and, in the next place (which was still a more capital object), to save the stores and provisions of the ships, that we might

* The reader will observe, that this name bears little affinity to any one of the names of the three chiefs of Wateeoo, as preserved by Mr. Anderson.

be better enabled to prosecute our northern discoveries, which could not now commence till a year later than was originally intended.

If I had been so fortunate as to have procured a supply of water, and of grass, at any of the islands we had lately visited, it was my purpose to have stood back to the south, till I had met with a westerly wind. But the certain consequence of doing this without such a supply, would have been the loss of all the cattle, before we could possibly reach Otaheite, without gaining any one advantage with regard to the great object of our voyage. I therefore determined to bear away for the Friendly Islands, where I was sure of meeting with abundance of everything I wanted, and it being necessary to run in the night as well as in the day, I ordered Captain Clerke to keep about a league ahead of the Resolution. I used this precaution, because his ship could best claw off the land, and it was very possible we might fall in with some in our passage.

The longitude of Hervey's Island, when first discovered, deduced from Otaheite, by the time-keeper, was found to be 201° 6′ E., and now, by the same time-keeper, deduced from Queen Charlotte's Sound, 200° 56′ E. Hence I conclude, that the error of the time-keeper, at this time, did not exceed twelve miles in longitude.

When we bore away, I steered west by south, with a fine breeze easterly. I proposed to proceed first to Middleburgh, or Eooa, thinking, if the wind continued favourable, that we had food enough on board for the cattle, to last till we should reach that island. But about noon next day, those faint breezes, that had attended and retarded us so long, again returned, and I found it necessary to haul more to the north, to get into the latitude of Palmerston's and Savage Islands, discovered in 1774, during my last voyage, that if necessity required it, we might have recourse to them. This day, in order to save our water, I ordered the still to be kept at work, from six o'clock in the morning to four in the afternoon, during which time we procured from thirteen to sixteen gallons of fresh water. There has been lately made some improvement, as they are pleased to call it, of this machine, which, in my opinion, is much for the worse.

These light breezes continued till the 10th, when we had for some hours the wind blowing fresh from the north, and north-north-west, being then in the latitude of 18° 38′, and longitude 198° 24′ E. In the afternoon, we had some thunder squalls from the south, attended with heavy rain, of which water we collected enough to fill five puncheons. After these squalls had blown over, the wind came round to the north-east and north-west; being very unsettled both in strength and in position, till about noon the next day, when it fixed at north-west and north-north-west, and blew a fresh breeze with fair weather. Thus were we persecuted with a wind in our teeth whichever way we directed our course, and we had the additional mortification to find here those very winds which we had reason to expect 8° or 10° farther south. They came too late; for I durst not trust their continuance, and the event proved that I judged right. At length, at daybreak, in the morning of the 13th, we saw Palmerston Island, bearing west by south, distant about five leagues. However, we did not get up with it till eight o'clock the next morning. I then sent four boats, three from the Resolution, and one from the Discovery, with an officer in each, to search the coast for the most convenient landing-place. For now we were under an absolute necessity of procuring from this island some food for the cattle, otherwise we must have lost them.

What is comprehended under the name of Palmerston's Island is a group of small islets, of which there are, in the whole, nine or ten, lying in a circular direction, and connected together by a reef of coral rocks. The boats first examined the south-easternmost of the islets which compose this group, and failing there, ran down to the second, where we had the satisfaction to see them land. I then bore down with the ships till abreast of the place, and there we kept standing off and on; for no bottom was to be found to anchor upon, which was not of much consequence, as the party who had landed from our boats were the only human beings upon the island. About one o'clock one of the boats came on board, laden with scurvy-grass and young cocoa-nut trees, which at this time was a feast for the cattle. The same boat brought a message from Mr. Gore, who commanded the party, informing me that there was plenty of such produce upon the island, as also of the *wharra* tree, and some cocoa-nuts. This determined me to get a good supply of these articles before

I quitted this station; and before evening I went ashore in a small boat, accompanied by Captain Clerke.

We found everybody hard at work, and the landing-place to be in a small creek, formed by the reef, of something more than a boat's length in every direction, and covered from the force of the sea by rocks projecting out on each side of it. The island is scarcely a mile in circuit, and not above three feet higher than the level of the sea. It appeared to be composed entirely of a coral sand, with a small mixture of blackish mould, produced from rotten vegetables. Notwithstanding this poor soil, it is covered with trees and bushes of the same kind as at Wenooa-ette, though with less variety; and amongst these are some cocoa-palms. Upon the trees or bushes that front the sea, or even farther in, we found a great number of men-of-war birds, tropic-birds, and two sorts of boobies, which at this time were laying their eggs, and so tame, that they suffered us to take them off with our hands. Their nests were only a few sticks loosely put together, and the tropic-birds laid their eggs on the ground, under the trees. These differ much from the common sort, being entirely of a most splendid white, slightly tinged with red, and having the two long tail-feathers of a deep crimson or blood colour. Of each sort our people killed a considerable number, and though not the most delicate food, they were acceptable enough to us, who had been long confined on a salt diet, and who, consequently, could not but be glad of the most indifferent variety. We met with vast numbers of red crabs creeping about everywhere amongst the trees, and we caught several fish that had been left in holes upon the reef, when the sea retired.

At one part of the reef which looks into or bounds the lake that is within, there was a large bed of coral, almost even with the surface, which afforded, perhaps, one of the most enchanting prospects that nature has anywhere produced. Its base was fixed to the shore, but reached so far in that it could not be seen; so that it seemed to be suspended in the water, which deepened so suddenly, that at the distance of a few yards, there might be seven or eight fathoms. The sea was, at this time, quite unruffled; and the sun, shining bright, exposed the various sorts of coral, in the most beautiful order; some parts branching into the water with great luxuriance; others lying collected in round balls, and in various other figures; all which were greatly heightened by spangles of the richest colours, that glowed from a number of large clams, which were everywhere interspersed. But the appearance of these was still inferior to that of the multitude of fishes that glided gently along, seemingly with the most perfect security. The colours of the different sorts were the most beautiful that can be imagined; the yellow, blue, red, black, &c., far exceeding anything that art can produce. Their various forms, also, contributed to increase the richness of this submarine grotto, which could not be surveyed without a pleasing transport, mixed, however, with regret, that a work so stupendously elegant should be concealed in a place where mankind could seldom have an opportunity of rendering the praises justly due to so enchanting a scene.

There were no traces of inhabitants having ever been here; if we except a small piece of a canoe that was found upon the beach, which, probably, may have drifted from some other island. But what is pretty extraordinary, we saw several small brown rats on this spot; a circumstance, perhaps, difficult to account for, unless we allow that they were imported in the canoe of which we saw the remains. After the boats were laden, I returned on board, leaving Mr. Gore, with a party, to pass the night on shore, in order to be ready to go to work early the next morning. That day, being the 15th, was accordingly spent, as the preceding one had been, in collecting and bringing on board food for the cattle, consisting chiefly of palm-cabbage, young cocoa-nut trees, and the tender branches of the wharra-tree. Having got a sufficient supply of these by sunset, I ordered everybody on board. But having little or no wind, I determined to wait, and to employ the next day, by endeavouring to get some cocoa-nuts for our people, from the next island to leeward, where we could observe that those trees were in much greater abundance, than upon that where we had already landed, and where only the wants of our cattle had been relieved.

With this view, I kept standing off and on, all night; and, in the morning, between eight and nine o'clock, I went with the boats to the west side of the island, and landed with

little difficulty. I immediately set the people with me to work, to gather cocoa-nuts, which we found in great abundance. But to get them to our boats was a tedious operation; for we were obliged to carry them at least half a mile over the reef, up to the middle in water. Omai, who was with me, caught, with a scoop net, in a very short time, as much fish as served the whole party on shore for dinner, besides sending some to both ships. Here were also great abundance of birds, particularly men-of-war and tropic-birds; so that we fared sumptuously. And it is but doing justice to Omai to say, that, in these excursions to the uninhabited islands, he was of the greatest use. For he not only caught the fish, but dressed these, and the birds we killed, in an oven, with heated stones, after the fashion of his country, with a dexterity and good-humour that did him great credit. The boats made two trips before night well laden; with the last I returned on board, leaving Mr. Williamson, my third lieutenant, with a party of men, to prepare another lading for the boats, which I proposed to send next morning. I accordingly despatched them at seven o'clock, and they returned laden by noon. No time was lost in sending them back for another cargo; and they carried orders for everybody to be on board by sunset. This being complied with, we hoisted in the boats, and made sail to the westward, with a light air of wind from the north.

We found this islet near a half larger than the other, and almost entirely covered with cocoa-palms; the greatest part of which abounded with excellent nuts, having often both old and young on the same tree. They were, indeed, too thick in many places to grow with freedom. The other productions were, in general, the same as at the first islet. Two pieces of board, one of which was rudely carved, with an elliptical paddle, were found on the beach. Probably, these had belonged to the same canoe, the remains of which were seen on the other beach, as the two islets are not above half a mile apart. A young turtle had also been lately thrown ashore here, as it was still full of maggots. There were fewer crabs than at the last place; but we found some scorpions, a few other insects, and a greater number of fish upon the reefs. Amongst these were some large eels, beautifully spotted, which, when followed, would raise themselves out of the water, and endeavour, with an open mouth, to bite their pursuers. The other sorts were chiefly parrot-fish, snappers, and a brown spotted rock-fish, about the size of a haddock, so tame, that, instead of swimming away, it would remain fixed, and gaze at us. Had we been in absolute want, a sufficient supply might have been had; for thousands of the clams already mentioned stuck upon the reef, some of which weighed two or three pounds. There were, besides, some other sorts of shell-fish, particularly the large periwinkle. When the tide flowed, several sharks came in over the reef, some of which our people killed; but they rendered it rather dangerous to walk in the water at that time. The party who were left on shore with Mr. Williamson were a good deal pestered (as Mr. Gore's had been) with mosquitoes in the night. Some of them, in their excursions, shot two curlews, exactly like those of England, and saw some plovers or sand-pipers upon the shore; but in the wood, no other bird beside one or two of the cuckoos that were seen at Wenooa-ette.

Upon the whole, we did not spend our time unprofitably at this islet; for we got there about twelve hundred cocoa-nuts, which were equally divided amongst the whole crew; and were, doubtless, of great use to them, both on account of the juice and of the kernel. A ship, therefore, passing this way, if the weather be moderate, may expect to succeed as we did. But there is no water upon either of the islets where we landed. Were that article to be had, and a passage could be got into the lake, as we may call it, surrounded by the reef, where a ship could anchor, I should prefer this to any of the inhabited islands, if the only want were refreshment; for the quantity of fish that might be procured would be sufficient; and the people might roam about unmolested by the petulance of any inhabitants. The nine or ten low islets comprehended under the name of Palmerston's Island, may be reckoned the heads or summits of the reef of coral rock that connects them together, covered only with a thin coat of sand, yet clothed, as already observed, with trees and plants; most of which are of the same sorts that are found on the low grounds of the high islands of this ocean.

There are different opinions amongst ingenious theorists concerning the formation of such

low islands as Palmerston's. Some will have it, that in remote times these little separate heads or islets were joined, and formed one continued and more elevated tract of land, which the sea, in the revolution of ages, has washed away, leaving only the higher grounds, which, in time, also, will, according to this theory, share the same fate. Another conjecture is, that they have been thrown up by earthquakes, and are the effect of internal convulsions of the globe. A third opinion, and which appears to me as the most probable one, maintains that they are formed from shoals, or coral banks, and of consequence increasing. Without mentioning the several arguments made use of in support of each of these systems, I shall only describe such parts of Palmerston's Island as fell under my own observation when I landed upon it.

The foundation is, everywhere, a coral rock; the soil is coral sand, with which the decayed vegetables have, but in a few places, intermixed, so as to form anything like mould. From this a very strong presumption may be drawn, that these little spots of land are not of very ancient date, nor the remains of larger islands now buried in the ocean. For, upon either of these suppositions, more mould must have been formed, or some part of the original soil would have remained. Another circumstance confirmed this doctrine of the increase of these islets. We found upon them, far beyond the present reach of the sea, even in the most violent storms, elevated coral rocks, which, on examination, appeared to have been perforated in the same manner that the rocks are that now compose the outer edge of the reef. This evidently shows that the sea had formerly reached so far; and some of these perforated rocks were almost in the centre of the land.

But the strongest proof of the increase, and from the cause we have assigned, was the gentle gradation observable in the plants round the skirts of the islands; from within a few inches of high-water mark, to the edge of the wood. In many places, the divisions of the plants, of different growths, were very distinguishable, especially on the lee, or west side. This I apprehend to have been the operation of extraordinary high tides, occasioned by violent, accidental gales from the westward; which have heaped up the sand beyond the reach of common tides. The regular and gentle operation of these latter, again, throw up sand enough to form a barrier against the next extraordinary high tide, or storm, so as to prevent its reaching as far as the former had done, and destroying the plants that may have begun to vegetate from cocoa-nuts, roots, and seed brought thither by birds, or thrown up by the sea. This, doubtless, happens very frequently; for we found many cocoa-nuts, and some other things, just sprouting up, only a few inches beyond where the sea reaches at present, in places where, it was evident, they could not have had their origin from those, farther in, already arrived at their full growth. At the same time, the increase of vegetables will add fast to the height of this new-created land; as the fallen leaves and broken branches are, in such a climate, soon converted into a true black mould, or soil*.

Perhaps there is another cause, which, if allowed, will accelerate the increase of these islands as much as any other, and will also account for the sea having receded from those elevated rocks before mentioned. This is, the spreading of the coral bank, or reef, into the sea; which, in my opinion, is continually, though imperceptibly, affected. The waves receding, as the reef grows in breadth and height, leave a dry rock behind, ready for the reception of the broken coral and sand, and every other deposit necessary for the formation of land fit for the vegetation of plants. In this manner, there is little doubt, that, in time, the whole reef will become one island; and, I think, it will extend gradually inward, either from the increase of the islets already formed, or from the formation of new ones, upon the

* Mr. Anderson, in his journal, mentions the following particulars, relative to Palmerston's Island, which strongly confirm Captain Cook's opinion about its formation. "On the last of the two islets, where we landed, the trees being in great numbers, had already formed, by their rotten parts, little risings or eminences, which, in time, from the same cause, may become small hills. Whereas, on the first islet, the trees being less numerous, no such thing had as yet happened. Nevertheless, on that little spot, the manner of formation was more plainly pointed out. For, adjoining to it, was a small isle, which had, doubtless, been very lately formed; as it was not, as yet, covered with any trees, but had a great many shrubs, some of which were growing among pieces of coral, that the sea had thrown up. There was still a more sure proof of this method of formation a little farther on, where two patches of sand, about fifty yards long, and a foot or eighteen inches high, lay upon the reef, but not, as yet, furnished with a single bush or tree."

beds of coral, within the inclosed lake, if once they increase so as to rise above the level of the sea*.

After leaving Palmerston's Island, I steered west, with a view to make the best of my way to Annamooka. We still continued to have variable winds, frequently between the north and west, with squalls, some thunder, and much rain. During these showers, which were generally very copious, we saved a considerable quantity of water; and finding that we could get a greater supply by the rain, in one hour, than we could get by distillation in a month, I laid aside the still, as a thing attended with more trouble than profit. The heat, which had been great for about a month, became now much more disagreeable in this close rainy weather; and, from the moisture attending it, threatened soon to be noxious; as the ships could not be kept dry, nor the skuttles open, for the sea. However, it is remarkable enough, that though the only refreshment we had received, since leaving the Cape of Good Hope, was that at New Zealand, there was not, as yet, a single person on board sick from the constant use of salt food, or vicissitude of climate.

In the night between the 24th and 25th we passed Savage Island, which I had discovered in 1774; and on the 28th, at ten o'clock in the morning, we got sight of the islands which lie to the eastward of Annamooka, bearing north by west, about four or five leagues distant. I steered to the south of these islands, and then hauled up for Annamooka; which, at four in the afternoon, bore north-west by north, Fallafajeea south-west by south, and Komango north by west, distant about five miles. The weather being squally, with rain, I anchored, at the approach of night, in fifteen fathoms deep water, over a bottom of coral, sand, and shells; Komango bearing north-west, about two leagues distant.

CHAPTER IV.—INTERCOURSE WITH THE NATIVES OF KOMANGO, AND OTHER ISLANDS.—ARRIVAL AT ANNAMOOKA.—TRANSACTIONS THERE.—FEENOU, A PRINCIPAL CHIEF, FROM TONGATABOO, COMES ON A VISIT.—THE MANNER OF HIS RECEPTION IN THE ISLAND, AND ON BOARD.—INSTANCES OF THE PILFERING DISPOSITION OF THE NATIVES.—SOME ACCOUNT OF ANNAMOOKA.—THE PASSAGE FROM IT TO HAPAEE.

Soon after we had anchored, two canoes, the one with four, and the other with three men, paddled towards us, and came alongside without the least hesitation. They brought some cocoa-nuts, bread-fruit, plantains, and sugar-cane, which they bartered with us for nails. One of the men came on board; and when these canoes had left us, another visited us; but did not stay long, as night was approaching. Komango, the island nearest to us, was at least five miles off; which shows the hazard these people would run, in order to possess a few of our most trifling articles. Besides this supply from the shore, we caught this evening, with hooks and lines, a considerable quantity of fish. Next morning, at four o'clock, I sent Lieutenant King, with two boats, to Komango, to procure refreshments; and, at five,

* Mr. Darwin has offered an explanation of the formation of coral reefs, much more satisfactory than any which has been hitherto attempted. For a full detail of the facts and reasoning by which he supports his theory, we must refer our readers to his very interesting paper, read before the Geological Society, May 1837, and reprinted in the third volume of the Surveying Voyage of the Adventure and the Beagle, p. 554, *et seq.*; we cannot here do more than briefly notice the conclusions which he draws from the observations he made whilst accompanying Captain Fitzroy in his circumnavigation of the globe. The coral insect never works at a greater depth than twenty fathoms, and dies if exposed to the sun and air. The range of its labours then are confined between that depth and the line of low water at neap tides. But the coral reefs sink at once on the side next the ocean to a depth often unfathomable, and invariably very profound, and on the inner side are frequently found almost equally abrupt. Mr. Darwin supposes that these reefs, whether forming Lagoon islands as at the Palmerston Islands, encircling bands as at Tahiti, or barriers as on the north-east coast of New Holland, are occasioned by the gradual sinking of the mainland, during which process the coral insect still builds upward. In the Lagoon islands the land has totally disappeared, but the accumulation of broken fragments and sand on the top of the reef, together with the vegetation which takes place there from seeds cast up by the sea, gradually form a circlet of islands, while the labours of the more delicate coral insect help to fill up the lagoons, and the more vigorous species, who only flourish in the surf, repair the ravages of the never-ceasing waves. In the encircled islands, and in barrier reefs, the distance between the mainland and the reef marks the process of decadence of the former; in stationary coasts the coral is found at precisely that distance from the shore which is most favourable for its growth; while in other cases, coral rock elevated above high-water mark shows that the land there has been raised beyond its former level.—Ed.

made the signal to weigh, in order to ply up to Annamooka, the wind being unfavourable at north-west.

It was no sooner daylight, than we were visited by six or seven canoes from different islands, bringing with them, besides fruits and roots, two pigs, several fowls, some large wood-pigeons, small rails, and large violet-coloured coots. All these they exchanged with us for beads, nails, hatchets, &c. They had also other articles of commerce; such as pieces of their cloth, fish-hooks, small baskets, musical reeds, and some clubs, spears, and bows. But I ordered that no curiosities should be purchased, till the ships should be supplied with provisions, and leave given for that purpose. Knowing, also, from experience, that if all our people might trade with the natives according to their own caprice, perpetual quarrels would ensue, I ordered that particular persons should manage the traffic both on board and on shore, prohibiting all others to interfere. Before mid-day, Mr. King's boat returned with seven hogs, some fowls, a quantity of fruit and roots for ourselves, and some grass for the cattle. His party was very civilly treated at Komango. The inhabitants did not seem to be numerous; and their huts, which stood close to each other, within a plantain walk, were but indifferent. Not far from them, was a pretty large pond of fresh water, tolerably good; but there was not any appearance of a stream. With Mr. King, came on board the chief of the island, named Tooboulangee; and another, whose name was Taipa. They brought with them a hog as a present to me, and promised more the next day.

As soon as the boats were aboard, I stood for Annamooka; and the wind being scant, I intended to go between Annamooka-ette * and the breakers to the south-east of it. But, on drawing near, we met with very irregular soundings, varying every cast, ten or twelve fathoms. This obliged me to give up the design, and to go to the southward of all; which carried us to leeward, and made it necessary to spend the night under sail. It was very dark; and we had the wind, from every direction, accompanied with heavy showers of rain. So that, at daylight the next morning, we found ourselves much farther off than we had been the evening before; and the little wind that now blew was right in our teeth. We continued to ply, all day, to very little purpose; and, in the evening, anchored in thirty-nine fathoms water; the bottom, coral rocks and broken shells; the west point of Annamooka bearing E.N.E., four miles distant. Tooboulangee and Taipa kept their promise, and brought off to me some hogs. Several others were also procured by bartering, from different canoes that followed us; and as much fruit as we could well manage. It was remarkable, that, during the whole day, our visitors from the islands would hardly part with any of their commodities to anybody but me. Captain Clerke did not get above one or two hogs.

At four o'clock next morning, I ordered a boat to be hoisted out, and sent the master to sound the south-west side of Annamooka; where there appeared to be a harbour, formed by the island on the north-east, and by small islets and shoals, to the south-west and south-east. In the mean time the ships were got under sail, and wrought up to the island. When the master returned, he reported, that he had sounded between Great and Little Annamooka, where he found ten and twelve fathoms depth of water, the bottom coral sand; that the place was very well sheltered from all winds; but that there was no fresh water to be found, except at some distance inland; and that, even there, little of it was to be got, and that little not good. For this reason only, and it was a very sufficient one, I determined to anchor on the north side of the island, where, during my last voyage, I had found a place fit both for watering and landing.

It was not above a league distant; and yet we did not reach it till five o'clock in the afternoon, being considerably retarded by the great number of canoes that continually crowded round the ships, bringing to us abundant supplies of the produce of their island. Amongst these canoes, there were some double ones, with a large sail, that carried between forty and fifty men each. These sailed round us apparently with the same ease as if we had been at anchor. There were several women in the canoes, who were, perhaps, incited by curiosity to visit us; though, at the same time, they bartered as eagerly as the men, and used the paddle with equal labour and dexterity. I came to an anchor in eighteen

* That is, Little Annamooka.

fathoms water, the bottom coarse coral sand; the island extending from east to south-west; and the west point of the westernmost cove south-east, about three quarters of a mile distant. Thus I resumed the very same station which I had occupied when I visited Annamooka three years before; and, probably, almost in the same place where Tasman, the first discoverer of this, and some of the neighbouring islands, anchored in 1643*.

The following day, while preparations were making for watering, I went ashore, in the forenoon, accompanied by Captain Clerke, and some of the officers, to fix on a place where the observatories might be set up, and a guard be stationed; the natives having readily given us leave. They also accommodated us with a boat-house, to serve as a tent, and showed us every other mark of civility. Toobou, the chief of the island, conducted me and Omai to his house. We found it situated on a pleasant spot, in the centre of his plantation. A fine grass plot surrounded it, which, he gave us to understand, was for the purpose of cleaning their feet, before they went within doors. I had not before observed such an instance of attention to cleanliness at any of the places I had visited in this ocean; but afterward found that it was very common at the Friendly Islands. The floor of Toobou's house was covered with mats; and no carpet in the most elegant English drawing-room could be kept neater. While we were on shore, we procured a few hogs, and some fruit, by bartering; and, before we got on board again, the ships were crowded with the natives. Few of them coming empty-handed, every necessary refreshment was now in the greatest plenty. I landed again in the afternoon, with a party of marines; and, at the same time, the horses, and such of the

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cattle as were in a weakly state, were sent on shore. Everything being settled to my satisfaction, I returned to the ship at sunset, leaving the command upon the island to Mr. King. Taipa, who was now become our fast friend, and who seemed to be the only active person about us, in order to be near our party in the night, as well as the day, had a house brought on men's shoulders a full quarter of a mile, and placed close to the shed which our party occupied.

Next day our various operations on shore began. Some were employed in making hay for the cattle; others, in filling our water-casks at the neighbouring stagnant pool; and

* See Tasman's account of this island, in Mr. Dalrymple's valuable Collection of Voyages to the Pacific Ocean, vol. ii. p. 79, 80. The few particulars mentioned by Tasman agree remarkably with Captain Cook's more extended relation.

a third party in cutting wood. The greatest plenty of this last article being abreast of the ships, and in a situation the most convenient for getting it on board, it was natural to make choice of this. But the trees here, which our people erroneously supposed to be manchineel, but were a species of pepper, called *faitanoo* by the natives, yielded a juice of a milky colour, of so corrosive a nature, that it raised blisters on the skin, and injured the eyes of our workmen. They were, therefore, obliged to desist at this place, and remove to the cove, in which our guard was stationed, and where we embarked our water. Other wood, more suitable to our purposes, was there furnished to us by the natives. These were not the only employments we were engaged in, for Messrs. King and Bayly began this day to observe equal altitudes of the sun, in order to get the rate of the time-keepers. In the evening, before the natives retired from our post, Taipa harangued them for some time. We could only guess at the subject; and judged, that he was instructing them how to behave toward us, and encouraging them to bring the produce of the island to market. We experienced the good effects of his eloquence, in the plentiful supply of provisions which, next day, we received.

Nothing worth notice happened on the 4th and 5th, except that, on the former of these days, the Discovery lost her small bower anchor, the cable being cut in two by the rocks. This misfortune made it necessary to examine the cables of the Resolution, which were found to be unhurt. On the 6th we were visited by a great chief from Tongataboo, whose name was Feenou, and whom Taipa was pleased to introduce to us as king of all the Friendly Isles. I was now told, that on my arrival, a canoe had been despatched to Tongataboo with the news; in consequence of which, this chief immediately passed over to Annamooka. The officer on shore informed me, that when he first arrived, all the natives were ordered out to meet him, and paid their obeisance by bowing their heads as low as his feet, the soles of which they also touched with each hand, first with the palm, and then with the back part. There could be little room to suspect that a person, received with so much respect, could be anything less than the king.

In the afternoon, I went to pay this great man a visit, having first received a present of two fish from him, brought on board by one of his servants. As soon as I landed, he came up to me. He appeared to be about thirty years of age, tall but thin, and had more of the European features than any I had yet seen here. When the first salutation was over, I asked if he was the king; for, notwithstanding what I had been told, finding he was not the man whom I remembered to have seen under that character during my former voyage, I began to entertain doubts. Taipa officiously answered for him, and enumerated no less than one hundred and fifty-three islands, of which, he said, Feenou was the sovereign. After a short stay, our new visitor, and five or six of his attendants, accompanied me on board. I gave suitable presents to them all, and entertained them in such a manner as I thought would be most agreeable.

In the evening, I attended them on shore in my boat, into which the chief ordered three hogs to be put, as a return for the presents he had received from me. I was now informed of an accident which had just happened, the relation of which will convey some idea of the extent of the authority exercised here over the common people. While Feenou was on board my ship, an inferior chief, for what reason our people on shore did not know, ordered all the natives to retire from the post we occupied. Some of them having ventured to return, he took up a large stick and beat them most unmercifully. He struck one man, on the side of the face, with so much violence, that the blood gushed out of his mouth and nostrils; and, after lying some time motionless, he was at last removed from the place in convulsions. The person who had inflicted the blow, being told that he had killed the man, only laughed at it; and it was evident that he was not in the least sorry for what had happened. We heard, afterward, that the poor sufferer recovered. The Discovery having found again her small bower anchor, shifted her berth on the 7th; but not before her best bower cable had shared the fate of the other. This day, I had the company of Feenou at dinner; and also the next day, when he was attended by Taipa, Toobou, and some other chiefs. It was remarkable, that none but Taipa was allowed to sit at table with him, or even to eat in his presence. I own that I considered Feenou as a very convenient guest, on account of this etiquette. For,

before his arrival, I had generally a larger company than I could well find room for, and my table overflowed with crowds of both sexes. For it is not the custom at the Friendly Islands, as it is at Otaheite, to deny to their females the privilege of eating in company with the men.

The first day of our arrival at Annamooka, one of the natives had stolen out of the ship a large junk axe. I now applied to Feenou to exert his authority to get it restored to me; and so implicitly was he obeyed, that it was brought on board while we were at dinner. These people gave us very frequent opportunities of remarking what expert thieves they were. Even some of their chiefs did not think this profession beneath them. On the 9th, one of them was detected carrying out of the ship, concealed under his clothes, the bolt belonging to the spun-yarn winch, for which I sentenced him to receive a dozen lashes, and kept him confined till he paid a hog for his liberty. After this we were not troubled with thieves of rank. Their servants, or slaves however, were still employed in this dirty work; and upon them a flogging seemed to make no greater impression than it would have done upon the mainmast. When any of them happened to be caught in the act, their masters, far from interceding for them, would often advise us to kill them. As this was a punishment we did not choose to inflict, they generally escaped without any punishment at all; for they appeared to us to be equally insensible of the shame and of the pain of corporal chastisement. Captain Clerke at last hit upon a mode of treatment which we thought had some effect. He p t them under the hands of the barber, and completely shaved their heads; thus pointing them out as objects of ridicule to their countrymen, and enabling our people to deprive them of future opportunities for a repetition of their rogueries, by keeping them at a distance.

Feenou was so fond of associating with us, that he dined on board every day, though sometimes he did not partake of our fare. On the 10th, some of his servants brought a mess which had been dressed for him on shore. It consisted of fish, soup, and yams. Instead of common water to make the soup, cocoa-nut liquor had been made use of, in which the fish had been boiled or stewed, probably in a wooden vessel with hot stones · but it was carried on board in a plantain leaf. I tasted of the mess, and found it so good, that I afterwards had some fish dressed in the same way. Though my cook succeeded tolerably well, he could produce nothing equal to the dish he imitated.

Finding that we had quite exhausted the island of almost every article of food that it afforded, I employed the 11th in moving off from the shore the horses, observatories, and other things that we had landed, as also the party of marines who had mounted guard at our station, intending to sail as soon as the Discovery should have recovered her best bower anchor. Feenou understanding that I meant to proceed directly to Tongataboo, importuned me strongly to alter this plan, to which he expressed as much aversion as if he had some particular interest to promote by diverting me from it. In preference to it, he warmly recommended an island, or rather a group of islands, called Hapaee, lying to the north-east. There he assured us we could be supplied plentifully with every refreshment in the easiest manner; and to add weight to his advice, he engaged to attend us thither in person. He carried his point with me; and Hapaee was made choice of for our next station. As it had never been visited by any European ships, the examination of it became an object with me. The 12th and the 13th were spent in attempting the recovery of Captain Clerke's anchor, which, after much trouble, was happily accomplished; and on the 14th in the morning we got under sail, and left Annamooka.

This island is somewhat higher than the other small isles that surround it; but still it cannot be admitted to the rank of those of a moderate height, such as Mangeea and Wateeoo. The shore, at that part where our ships lay, is composed of a steep, rugged coral rock, nine or ten feet high, except where there are two sandy beaches, which have a reef of the same sort of rock extending across their entrance to the shore, and defending them from the sea. The salt-water lake that is in the centre of the island is about a mile and a half broad; and round it the land rises like a bank, with a gradual ascent. But we could not trace its having any communication with the sea; and yet the land that runs across to it from the largest sandy beach being flat and low, and the soil sandy, it is most likely that it may have formerly

communicated that way. The soil on the rising parts of the island, and especially toward the sea, is either of a reddish clayey disposition, or a black loose mould; but there is nowhere any stream of fresh water.

The island is very well cultivated, except in a few places; and there are some others which, though they appear to lie waste, are only left to recover the strength exhausted by constant culture; for we frequently saw the natives at work upon these spots to plant them again. The plantations consist chiefly of yams and plantains. Many of them are very extensive, and often inclosed with neat fences of reed, disposed obliquely across each other, about six feet high. Within these we often saw other fences of less compass surrounding the houses of the principal people. The bread-fruit and cocoa-nut trees are interspersed with little order, but chiefly near the habitations of the natives; and the other parts of the island, especially toward the sea, and about the sides of the lake, are covered with trees and bushes of a most luxuriant growth; the last place having a great many mangroves, and the first a vast number of the *faitanoo* trees already mentioned. There seem to be no rocks or stones of any kind about the island that are not coral, except in one place to the right of the sandy beach, where there is a rock twenty or thirty feet high, of a calcareous stone of a yellowish colour, and a very close texture. But even about that place, which is the highest part of the land, are large pieces of the same coral rock that composes the shore.

Besides walking frequently up into the country, which we were permitted to do without interruption, we sometimes amused ourselves in shooting wild ducks, not unlike the widgeon, which are very numerous upon the salt lake and the pool where we got our water. In these excursions we found the inhabitants had often deserted their houses to come down to the trading place, without entertaining any suspicion that strangers rambling about would take away or destroy anything that belonged to them. But though, from this circumstance, it might be supposed that the greater part of the natives were sometimes collected at the beach, it was impossible to form any accurate computation of their number, as the continual resort of visitors from other islands mixing with them might easily mislead one. However, as there was never to appearance above a thousand persons collected at one time, it would perhaps be sufficient to allow double that number for the whole island.

To the north and north-east of Annamooka, and in the direct track to Hapaee, whither we were now bound, the sea is sprinkled with a great number of small isles. Amidst the shoals and rocks adjoining to this group, I could not be assured that there was a free or safe passage for such large ships as ours, though the natives sailed through the intervals in their canoes. For this substantial reason, when we weighed anchor from Annamooka, I thought it necessary to go to the westward of the above islands, and steered north-north-west, towards Kao and Toofoa, the two most westerly islands in sight, and remarkable for their great height. Feenou and his attendants remained on board the Resolution till near noon, when he went into the large sailing canoe which had brought him from Tongataboo, and stood in amongst the cluster of islands above mentioned, of which we were now almost abreast, and a tide or current from the westward had set us, since our sailing in the morning, much over toward them.

They lie scattered at unequal distances, and are in general nearly as high as Annamooka, but only from two or three miles to half a mile in length, and some of them scarcely so much. They have either steep rocky shores like Annamooka, or reddish cliffs; but some have sandy beaches extending almost their whole length. Most of them are entirely clothed with trees, amongst which are many cocoa-palms, and each forms a prospect like a beautiful garden placed in the sea. To heighten this, the serene weather we now had contributed very much; and the whole might supply the imagination with an idea of some fairy land realised. It should seem, that some of them at least may have been formed as we supposed Palmerston's Island to have been; for there is one which as yet is entirely sand, and another on which there is only one bush or tree.

At four o'clock in the afternoon, being the length of Kotoo, the westernmost of the above cluster of small islands, we steered to the north, leaving Toofoa and Kao on our larboard, keeping along the west side of a reef of rocks which lie to the westward of Kotoo, till we came to their northern extremity, round which we hauled in for the island. It was our

intention to have anchored for the night, but it came upon us before we could find a place in less than fifty-five fathoms water; and rather than come to in this depth, I chose to spend the night under sail. We had in the afternoon been within two leagues of Toofoa, the smoke of which we saw several times in the day. The Friendly Islanders have some superstitious notions about the volcano upon it, which they call *Kollofeea*, and say it is an *Otooa*, or divinity. According to their account, it sometimes throws up very large stones; and they compare the crater to the size of a small islet, which has never ceased smoking in their memory, nor have they any tradition that it ever did. We sometimes saw the smoke rising from the centre of the island while we were at Annamooka, though at the distance of at least ten leagues. Toofoa, we were told, is but thinly inhabited, but the water upon it is good.

At daybreak the next morning, being then not far from Kao, which is a vast rock of a conic figure, we steered to the east for the passage between the islands Footooha and Hafaiva, with a gentle breeze at south-east. About ten o'clock, Feenou came on board, and remained with us all day. He brought with him two hogs and a quantity of fruit; and, in the course of the day, several canoes from the different islands round us came to barter quantities of the latter article, which was very acceptable, as our stock was nearly expended. At noon, our latitude was 19° 49′ 45′ S., and we had made seven miles of longitude from Annamooka; Toofoa bore north, 88° W.; Kao, north, 71° W.; Footooha, north, 89° W.; and Hafaiva, south, 12° W.

After passing Footooha, we met with a reef of rocks, and, as there was but little wind, it cost us some trouble to keep clear of them. This reef lies between Footooha and Neeneeva, which is a small low isle in the direction of east-north-east from Footooha, at the distance of seven or eight miles. Footooha is a small island of middling height, and bounded all round by a steep rock. It lies south 67° E., distant six leagues from Kao, and three leagues from Kotoo, in the direction of north 33° E. Being past the reef of rocks just mentioned, we hauled up for Neeneeva, in hopes of finding anchorage, but were again disappointed, and obliged to spend the night in making short boards: for, although we had land in every direction, the sea was unfathomable. In the course of this night we could plainly see flames issuing from the volcano upon Toofoa, though to no great height.

At daybreak in the morning of the 16th, with a gentle breeze at south-east, we steered north-east for Hapaee, which was now in sight, and we could judge it to be low land from the trees only appearing above the water. About nine o'clock, we could see it plainly forming three islands nearly of an equal size; and soon after, a fourth to the southward of these, as large as the others. Each seemed to be about six or seven miles long, and of a similar height and appearance. The northernmost of them is called Haanno, the next Foa, the third Lefooga, and the southernmost Hoolaiva; but all four are included by the natives under the general name Hapaee.

The wind scanting upon us, we could not fetch the land, so that we were forced to ply to windward. In doing this we once passed over some coral rocks, on which we had only six fathoms water; but the moment we were over them, found no ground with eighty fathoms of line. At this time, the isles of Hapaee bore from north, 50° E., to south, 9° W. We got up with the northernmost of these isles by sunset, and there found ourselves in the very same distress for want of anchorage that we had experienced the two preceding evenings; so that we had another night to spend under sail, with land and breakers in every direction. Toward the evening, Feenou, who had been on board all day, went forward to Hapaee, and took Omai in the canoe with him. He did not forget our disagreeable situation, and kept up a good fire all night, by way of a land-mark.

As soon as the daylight returned, being then close in with Foa, we saw it was joined to Haanno by a reef running even with the surface of the sea, from the one island to the other. I now despatched a boat to look for anchorage. A proper place was soon found, and we came-to abreast of a reef, being that which joins Lefooga to Foa (in the same manner that Foa is joined to Haanno), having twenty-four fathoms depth of water, the bottom coral sand. In this station, the northern point of Hapaee, or the north end of Haanno, bore north, 16° E. The southern point of Hapaee, or the south end of Hoolaiva, south, 29° W.; and the north end of Lefooga, south, 65° E. Two ledges of rocks lay without us; the one bearing south,

50° W.; and the other west by north one-half north, distant two or three miles. We lay before a creek in the reef, which made it convenient landing at all times, and we were not above three quarters of a mile from the shore.

CHAPTER V.—ARRIVAL OF THE SHIPS AT HAPAEE, AND FRIENDLY RECEPTION THERE.—PRESENTS AND SOLEMNITIES ON THE OCCASION.—SINGLE COMBATS WITH CLUBS.—WRESTLING AND BOXING MATCHES.—FEMALE COMBATANTS.—MARINES EXERCISED.—A DANCE PERFORMED BY MEN.—FIREWORKS EXHIBITED.—THE NIGHT ENTERTAINMENTS OF SINGING AND DANCING PARTICULARLY DESCRIBED.

By the time we had anchored, the ships were filled with the natives, and surrounded by a multitude of canoes, filled also with them. They brought from the shore hogs, fowls, fruit, and roots, which they exchanged for hatchets, knives, nails, beads, and cloth. Feenou and Omai having come on board after it was light, in order to introduce me to the people of the island, I soon accompanied them on shore for that purpose, landing at the north part of Lefooga, a little to the right of the ship's station.

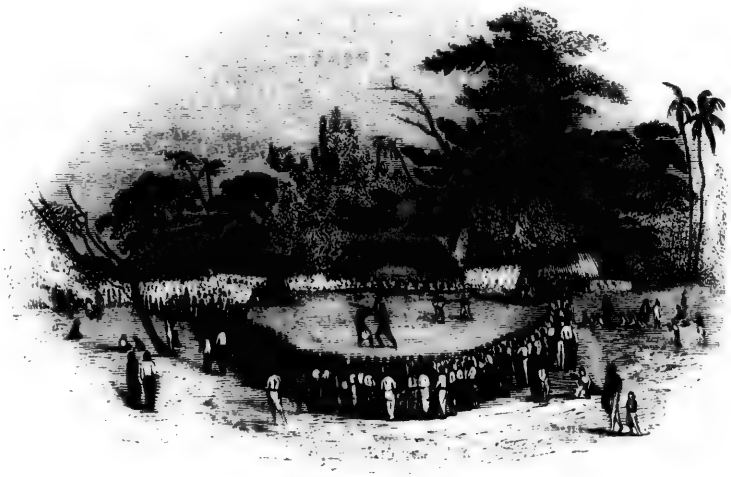
The chief conducted me to a house, or rather a hut, situated close to the sea-beach, which I had seen brought thither but a few minutes before for our reception. In this Feenou, Omai, and myself were seated. The other chiefs and the multitude composed a circle on the outside, fronting us, and they also sat down. I was then asked, how long I intended to stay? On my saying five days, Taipa was ordered to come and sit by me, and proclaim this to the people. He then harangued them in a speech mostly dictated by Feenou. The purport of it, as I learned from Omai, was, that they were all, both old and young, to look upon me as a friend, who intended to remain with them a few days; that during my stay they must not steal anything, nor molest me any other way; and that it was expected they should bring hogs, fowls, fruits, &c. to the ships, where they would receive in exchange for them, such and such things, which he enumerated. Soon after Taipa had finished this address to the assembly, Feenou left us. Taipa then took occasion to signify to me, that it was necessary I should make a present to the chief of the island, whose name was Earoupa. I was not unprepared for this, and gave him such articles as far exceeded his expectation. My liberality to him brought upon me demands of the same kind from two chiefs of other isles who were present, and from Taipa himself. When Feenou returned, which was immediately after I had made the last of these presents, he pretended to be angry with Taipa for suffering me to give away so much; but I looked upon this as a mere finesse, being confident that he acted in concert with the others. He now took his seat again, and ordered Earoupa to sit by him, and to harangue the people as Taipa had done, and to the same purpose; dictating, as before, the heads of the speech.

These ceremonies being performed, the chief, at my request, conducted me to three stagnant pools of fresh water, as he was pleased to call it; and, indeed, in one of these the water was tolerable, and the situation not inconvenient for filling our casks. After viewing the watering-place, we returned to our former station, where I found a baked hog and some yams, smoking hot, ready to be carried on board for my dinner. I invited Feenou and his friends to partake of it, and we embarked for the ship; but none but himself sat down with us at the table. After dinner I conducted them on shore, and before I returned on board, the chief gave me a fine large turtle and a quantity of yams. Our supply of provisions was copious, for, in the course of the day, we got by barter alongside the ship about twenty small hogs, beside fruit and roots. I was told that, on my first landing in the morning, a man came off to the ships and ordered every one of the natives to go on shore. Probably this was done with a view to have the whole body of inhabitants present at the ceremony of my reception, for when that was over, multitudes of them returned again to the ships.

Next morning early, Feenou and Omai, who scarcely ever quitted the chief, and now slept on shore, came on board. The object of the visit was to require my presence upon the island. After some time I accompanied them, and upon landing was conducted to the same

place where I had been seated the day before, and where I saw a large concourse of people already assembled. I guessed that something more than ordinary was in agitation, but could not tell what, nor could Omai inform me. I had not been long seated, before near a hundred of the natives appeared in sight, and advanced laden with yams, bread-fruit, plantains, cocoa-nuts, and sugar-canes. They deposited their burdens in two heaps or piles upon our left, being the side they came from. Soon after, arrived a number of others from the right, bearing the same kind of articles; which were collected into two piles upon that side. To these were tied two pigs and six fowls, and to those upon the left six pigs and two turtles. Earoupa seated himself before the several articles upon the left, and another chief before those upon the right; they being, as I judged, the two chiefs who had collected them, by order of Feenou, who seemed to be as implicitly obeyed here as he had been at Annamooka; and, in consequence of his commanding superiority over the chiefs of Hapaee, had laid his tax upon them for the present occasion.

As soon as this munificent collection of provisions was laid down in order, and disposed to the best advantage, the bearers of it joined the multitude, who formed a large circle round the whole. Presently after a number of men entered this circle or area before us, armed with clubs, made of the green branches of the cocoa-nut-tree. These paraded about for a few minutes, and then retired, the one-half to one side, and the other half to the other side; seating themselves before the spectators. Soon after they successively entered the lists, and entertained us with single combats. One champion, rising up and stepping forward from one side, challenged those of the other side, by expressive gestures more than by words, to send one of their body to oppose him. If the challenge was accepted,



BOXING-MATCH AT HAPAEE.

which was generally the case, the two combatants put themselves in proper attitudes, and then began the engagement, which continued till one or other owned himself conquered, or till their weapons were broken. As soon as each combat was over, the victor squatted himself down facing the chief, then rose up and retired. At the same time some old men, who seemed to sit as judges, gave their plaudit in a few words; and the multitude, especially those on the side to which the victor belonged, celebrated the glory he had acquired in two or three huzzas.

This entertainment was now and then suspended for a few minutes. During these intervals,

there were both wrestling and boxing matches. The first were performed in the same manner as at Otaheite, and the second differed very little from the method practised in England. But what struck us with most surprise, was to see a couple of lusty wenches step forth and begin boxing, without the least ceremony, and with as much art as the men. This contest, however, did not last above half a minute before one of them gave it up. The conquering heroine received the same applause from the spectators, which they bestowed upon the successful combatants of the other sex. We expressed some dislike at this part of the entertainment, which, however, did not prevent two other females from entering the lists. They seemed to be girls of spirit, and would certainly have given each other a good drubbing, if two old women had not interposed to part them. All these combats were exhibited in the midst of at least three thousand people; and were conducted with the greatest good humour on all sides, though some of the champions, women as well as men, received blows, which, doubtless, they must have felt for some time after.

As soon as these diversions were ended, the chief told me that the heaps of provisions on our right hand were a present to Omai, and that those on our left hand, being about two-thirds of the whole quantity, were given to me. He added, that I might take them on board whenever it was convenient; but that there would be no occasion to set any of our people as guards over them, as I might be assured that not a single cocoa-nut would be taken away by the natives. So it proved, for I left everything behind, and returned to the ship to dinner, carrying the chief with me; and when the provisions were removed on board in the afternoon, not a single article was missing. There was as much as loaded four boats; and I could not but be struck with the munificence of Feenou; for this present far exceeded any I had ever received from any of the sovereigns of the various islands I had visited in the Pacific Ocean. I lost no time in convincing my friend that I was not insensible of his liberality; for before he quitted my ship, I bestowed upon him such of our commodities as I guessed were most valuable in his estimation. And the return I made was so much to his satisfaction, that as soon as he got on shore, he left me still indebted to him, by sending me a fresh present, consisting of two large hogs, a considerable quantity of cloth, and some yams.

Feenou had expressed a desire to see the marines go through their military exercise. As I was desirous to gratify his curiosity, I ordered them all ashore from both ships in the morning of the 20th. After they had performed various evolutions, and fired several volleys, with which the numerous body of spectators seemed well pleased, the chief entertained us, in his turn, with an exhibition which, as was acknowledged by us all, was performed with a dexterity and exactness far surpassing the specimen we had given of our military manœuvres. It was a kind of dance, so entirely different from anything I had ever seen, that I fear I can give no description that will convey any tolerable idea of it to my readers. It was performed by men, and one hundred and five persons bore their parts in it. Each of them had in his hand an instrument neatly made, shaped somewhat like a paddle, of two feet and a half in length, with a small handle and a thin blade, so that they were very light. With these instruments they made many and various flourishes, each of which was accompanied with a different attitude of the body, or a different movement. At first the performers ranged themselves in three lines; and, by various evolutions, each man changed his station in such a manner, that those who had been in the rear came into the front. Nor did they remain long in the same position, but these changes were made by pretty quick transitions. At one time they extended themselves in one line; they then formed into a semicircle; and, lastly, into two square columns. While this last movement was executing, one of them advanced, and performed an antic dance before me, with which the whole ended.

The musical instruments consisted of two drums, or rather two hollow logs of wood, from which some varied notes were produced by beating on them with two sticks. It did not, however, appear to me that the dancers were much assisted or directed by these sounds, but by a chorus of vocal music in which all the performers joined at the same time. Their song was not destitute of pleasing melody; and all their corresponding motions were executed with so much skill, that the numerous body of dancers seemed to act as if they were one

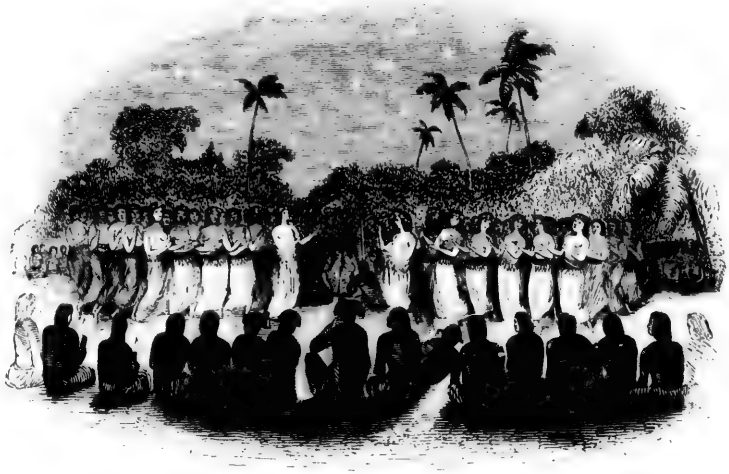
great machine. It was the opinion of every one of us, that such a performance would have met with universal applause on a European theatre; and it so far exceeded any attempt we had made to entertain them, that they seemed to pique themselves upon the superiority they had over us. As to our musical instruments, they held none of them in the least esteem, except the drum; and even that they did not think equal to their own. Our French horns, in particular, seemed to be held in great contempt; for neither here, nor at any other of the islands, would they pay the smallest attention to them. In order to give a more favourable opinion of English amusements, and to leave their minds fully impressed with the deepest sense of our superior attainments, I directed some fireworks to be got ready; and, after it was dark, played them off in the presence of Feenou, the other chiefs, and a vast concourse of their people. Some of the preparations we found damaged; but others of them were in excellent order, and succeeded so perfectly, as to answer the end I had in view. Our water and sky-rockets, in particular, pleased and astonished them beyond all conception; and the scale was now turned in our favour.

This, however, seemed only to furnish them with an additional motive to proceed to fresh exertions of their very singular dexterity; and our fireworks were no sooner ended, than a succession of dances, which Feenou had got ready for our entertainment, began. As* a prelude to them, a band of music, or chorus of eighteen men, seated themselves before us, in the centre of the circle composed by the numerous spectators, the area of which was to be the scene of the exhibitions. Four or five of this band had pieces of large bamboo, from three to five or six feet long, each managed by one man, who held it nearly in a vertical position, the upper end open, but the other end closed by one of the joints. With this close end the performers kept constantly striking the ground, though slowly, thus producing different notes, according to the different lengths of the instruments, but all of them of the hollow or base sort; to counteract which, a person kept striking quickly, and with two sticks, a piece of the same substance, split, and laid along the ground, and, by that means, furnishing a tone as acute as those produced by the others were grave. The rest of the band, as well as those who performed upon the bamboos, sung a slow and soft air, which so tempered the harsher notes of the above instruments, that no bystander, however accustomed to hear the most perfect and varied modulation of sweet sounds, could avoid confessing the vast power, and pleasing effect, of this simple harmony.

The concert having continued about a quarter of an hour, twenty women entered the circle. Most of them had, upon their heads, garlands of the crimson flowers of the China rose, or others; and many of them had ornamented their persons with leaves of trees, cut with a great deal of nicety about the edges. They made a circle round the chorus, turning their faces toward it, and began by singing a soft air, to which responses were made by the chorus in the same tone; and these were repeated alternately. All this while, the women accompanied their song with several very graceful motions of their hands toward their faces, and in other directions at the same time, making constantly a step forward, and then back again, with one foot, while the other was fixed. They then turned their faces to the assembly, sung some time, and retreated slowly in a body, to that part of the circle which was opposite the hut where the principal spectators sat. After this, one of them advanced from each side, meeting and passing each other in the front, and continuing their progress round, till they came to the rest. On which two advanced from each side, two of whom also passed each other and returned as the former; but the other two remained, and to these came one from each side, by intervals, till the whole number had again formed a circle about the chorus. Their manner of dancing was now changed to a quicker measure, in which they made a kind of half turn by leaping, and clapped their hands, and snapped their fingers, repeating some words in conjunction with the chorus. Toward the end, as the quickness of the music increased, their gestures and attitudes were varied with wonderful vigour and dexterity; and some of their motions, perhaps, would, with us, be reckoned rather indecent; though this part of the performance, most probably, was not meant to convey any wanton ideas, but merely to display the astonishing variety of their movements.

* Mr. Anderson's account of the night dances being much fuller than Captain Cook's, the reader will not be displeased that it has been adopted.

To this grand female ballet, succeeded one performed by fifteen men. Some of them were old; but their age seemed to have abated little of their agility or ardour for the dance. They were disposed in a sort of circle, divided at the front, with their faces not turned out toward the assembly, nor inward to the chorus; but one half of their circle faced forward as they had advanced, and the other half in a contrary direction. They sometimes sung slowly, in concert with the chorus; and, while thus employed, they also made several very fine motions with their hands, but different from those made by the women, at the same time



GRAND FEMALE BALLET AT HAPAEE.

inclining the body to either side alternately, by raising one leg, which was stretched outward and resting on the other; the arm of the same side being also stretched fully upward. At other times, they recited sentences in a musical tone, which were answered by the chorus; and, at intervals, increased the measure of the dance by clapping the hands, and quickening the motions of the feet, which, however, were never varied. At the end, the rapidity of the music, and of the dancing, increased so much, that it was scarcely possible to distinguish the different movements; though one might suppose the actors were now almost tired, as their performance had lasted near half an hour.

After a considerable interval, another act, as we may call it, began. Twelve men now advanced, who placed themselves in double rows fronting each other, but on opposite sides of the circle; and, on one side, a man was stationed, who, as if he had been a prompter, repeated several sentences, to which the twelve new performers, and the chorus, replied. They then sung slowly; and afterwards danced and sung more quickly, for about a quarter of an hour, after the manner of the dancers whom they had succeeded. Soon after they had finished, nine women exhibited themselves, and sat down fronting the hut where the chief was. A man then rose, and struck the first of these women on the back, with both fists joined. He proceeded, in the same manner, to the second and third; but when he came to the fourth, whether from accident or design I cannot tell, instead of the back, he struck her on the breast. Upon this, a person rose instantly from the crowd, who brought him to the ground with a blow on the head; and he was carried off without the least noise or disorder. But this did not save the other five women from so odd a discipline, or perhaps necessary ceremony; for a person succeeded him, who treated them in the same manner. Their disgrace did not end here; for when they danced, they had the mortification to find their

performance twice disapproved of, and were obliged to repeat it. This dance did not differ much from that of the first women, except in this one circumstance, that the present set sometimes raised the body upon one leg, by a sort of double motion, and then upon the other alternately, in which attitude they kept snapping their fingers; and, at the end, they repeated, with great agility, the brisk movements in which the former group of female dancers had shown themselves so expert.

In a little time, a person entered unexpectedly, and said something in a ludicrous way about the fireworks that had been exhibited, which extorted a burst of laughter from the multitude. After this, we had a dance composed of the men who attended or had followed Feenou. They formed a double circle (*i. e.* one within another) of twenty-four each, round the chorus, and began a gentle soothing song, with corresponding motions of the hands and head. This lasted a considerable time, and then changed to a much quicker measure, during which they repeated sentences, either in conjunction with the chorus, or in answer to some spoken by that band. They then retreated to the back part of the circle, as the women had done, and again advanced, on each side, in a triple row, till they formed a semicircle, which was done very slowly, by inclining the body on one leg, and advancing the other a little way, as they put it down. They accompanied this with such a soft air as they had sung at the beginning; but soon changed it to repeat sentences in a harsher tone, at the same time quickening the dance very much, till they finished with a general shout and clap of the hands. The same was repeated several times; but at last they formed a double circle, as at the beginning, danced, and repeated very quickly, and finally closed with several very dextrous transpositions of the two circles.

The entertainments of this memorable night concluded with a dance, in which the principal people present exhibited. It resembled the immediately preceding one in some respects, having the same number of performers, who began nearly in the same way; but their ending, at each interval, was different. For they increased their motions to a prodigious quickness, shaking their heads from shoulder to shoulder with such force, that a spectator, unaccustomed to the sight, would suppose that they ran a risk of dislocating their necks. This was attended with a smart clapping of the hands, and a kind of savage holla, or shriek, not unlike what is sometimes practised in the comic dances on our European theatres. They formed the triple semicircle, as the preceding dancers had done; and a person who advanced at the head on one side of the semicircle, began by repeating something in a truly musical recitative, which was delivered with an air so graceful, as might put to the blush our most applauded performers. He was answered in the same manner by the person at the head of the opposite party. This being repeated several times, the whole body on one side joined in the responses to the whole corresponding body on the opposite side, as the semicircle advanced to the front; and they finished, by singing and dancing as they had begun.

These two last dances were performed with so much spirit, and so great exactness, that they met with universal approbation. The native spectators, who no doubt were perfect judges whether the several performances were properly executed, could not withhold their applauses at some particular parts; and even a stranger, who never saw the diversion before, felt similar satisfaction, at the same instant. For though, through the whole, the most strict concert was observed, some of the gestures were so expressive, that it might be said they spoke the language that accompanied them, if we allow that there is any connexion between motion and sound. At the same time, it should be observed, that though the music of the chorus and that of the dancers corresponded, constant practice in these favourite amusements of our friends seems to have a great share in effecting the exact time they keep in their performances. For we observed, that if any of them happened accidentally to be interrupted, they never found the smallest difficulty in recovering the proper place of the dance or song. And their perfect discipline was, in no instance, more remarkable, than in the sudden transitions they so dextrously made, from the ruder exertions, and harsh sounds, to the softest airs and gentlest movements*.

* In a former note, at p. 70, it was observed, that the songs and dances of the Caroline Islanders, in the north Pacific, bear a great resemblance to those of the inhabitants of Wateeoo. The remark may now be extended to those of the Friendly Islanders, described at large in this chapter. That the reader may judge for himself, I have selected

The place where the dances were performed was an open space amongst the trees, just by the sea, with lights at small intervals placed round the inside of the circle. The concourse of people was pretty large, though not equal to the number assembled in the forenoon, when the marines exercised. At that time, some of our gentlemen guessed there might be present about five thousand persons; others thought there were more; but they who reckoned that there were fewer, probably came nearer to the truth.

CHAPTER VI.—DESCRIPTION OF LEFOOGA.—ITS CULTIVATED STATE.—ITS EXTENT.—TRANSACTIONS THERE.—A FEMALE OCULIST.—SINGULAR EXPEDIENTS FOR SHAVING OFF THE HAIR.—THE SHIPS CHANGE THEIR STATION.—A REMARKABLE MOUNT AND STONE.—DESCRIPTION OF HOOLAIVA.—ACCOUNT OF POULAHO, KING OF THE FRIENDLY ISLANDS.—RESPECTFUL MANNER IN WHICH HE IS TREATED BY HIS PEOPLE.—DEPARTURE FROM THE HAPAEE ISLANDS.—SOME ACCOUNT OF KOTOO.—RETURN OF THE SHIPS TO ANNAMOOKA.—POULAHO AND FEENOU MEET.—ARRIVAL AT TONGATABOO.

CURIOSITY on both sides being now sufficiently gratified, by the exhibition of the various entertainments I have described, I began to have time to look about me. Accordingly, next day, I took a walk into the island of Lefooga, of which I was desirous to obtain some knowledge. I found it to be in several respects superior to Annamooka. The plantations were both more numerous and more extensive. In many places, indeed, toward the sea, especially on the east side, the country is still waste, owing perhaps to the sandy soil; as it is much lower than Annamooka, and its surrounding isles. But toward the middle of the island, the soil is better; and the marks of considerable population, and of improved cultivation, were very conspicuous. For we met here with very large plantations, inclosed in such a manner that the fences running parallel to each other form fine spacious public roads, that would appear ornamental in countries where rural conveniences have been carried to the greatest perfection. We observed large spots covered with the paper-mulberry-trees; and the plantations in general were well stocked with such roots and fruits as are the natural produce of the island. To these I made some addition, by sowing the seeds of Indian corn, melons, pumpkins, and the like. At one place was a house four or five times as large as those of the common sort, with a large area of grass before it; and I take it for granted, the people resort thither on certain public occasions. Near the landing-place we saw a mount two or three feet high, covered with gravel; and on it stood four or five small huts, in which the natives told us the bodies of some of their principal people had been interred. The island is not above seven miles long, and in some places not above two or three broad. The east side of it, which is exposed to the trade-wind, has a reef running to a considerable breadth from it, on which the sea breaks with great violence. It is a continuation of this reef that joins Lefooga to Foa, which is not above half a mile distant; and at low water the natives can walk upon this reef, which is then partly dry, from the one island to the other. The shore itself is either a coral rock, six or seven feet high, or a sandy beach; but higher than the west side, which in general is not more than three or four feet from the level of the sea, with a sandy beach its whole length.

When I returned from my excursion into the country and went on board to dinner, I found a large sailing canoe fast to the ship's stern. In this canoe was Latooliboula, whom I had seen at Tongataboo, during my last voyage, and who was then supposed by us to be the king of that island. He sat in the canoe with all that gravity by which, as I have

the following particulars from Father Cantova's account. "Pendant la nuit, au clair de la lune, ils s'assemblent, de temps en temps, pour chanter et danser devant la maison de leur *Tamole*. Leurs danses se font au son de la voix, car ils n'ont point d'instrument de musique. La beauté de la danse consiste dans l'exacte uniformité des mouvemens du corps. Les hommes, séparés des femmes, se postent vis-à-vis les uns des autres; après quoi, ils remuent la tête, les bras, les mains, les pieds, en cadence. Leur tête est couverte de plumes, ou de fleurs; et l'on voit, attachées à leurs oreilles, des feuilles de palmier tissues avec assez d'art. Les femmes, de leur côté, se regardant les unes les autres, commencent un chant pathétique et langoureux, accompagnant le son de leur voix du mouvement cadencé de la tête et des bras."—*Lettres Edifiantes et Curieuses*, tom. xv. p. 314, 315.

mentioned in my journal *, he was so remarkably distinguished at that time; nor could I by any entreaties prevail upon him now to come into the ship. Many of the islanders were present, and they all call him *Arekee*, which signifies king. I had never heard any one of them give this title to Feenou, however extensive his authority over them, both here and at Annamooka, had appeared to be; which had all along inclined me to suspect that he was not the king, though his friend Taipa had taken pains to make me believe he was. Latooliboula remained under the stern till the evening, when he retired in his canoe to one of the islands. Feenou was on board my ship at the same time; but neither of these great men took the least notice of the other. Nothing material happened the next day, except that some of the natives stole a tarpaulin, and other things, from off the deck. They were soon missed and the thieves pursued, but a little too late. I applied, therefore, to Feenou, who, if he was not king, was at least vested with the highest authority here, to exert it, in order to have my things restored. He referred me to Earoupa, who put me off from time to time; and at last nothing was done.

In the morning of the 23rd, as we were going to unmoor, in order to leave the island, Feenou and his prime-minister Taipa came alongside in a sailing canoe, and informed me that they were setting out for Vavaoo, an island which, they said, lies about two days' sail to the northward of Hapaee. The object of their voyage, they would have me believe, was to get for me an additional supply of hogs, and some red-feathered caps for Omai, to carry to Otaheite, where they are in high esteem. Feenou assured me that he should be back in four or five days; and desired me not to sail till his return, when he promised he would accompany me to Tongataboo. I thought this a good opportunity to get some knowledge of Vavaoo, and proposed to him to go thither with the ships. But he seemed not to approve of the plan; and, by way of diverting me from it, told me that there was neither harbour nor anchorage about it. I, therefore, consented to wait in my present station for his return, and he immediately set out. The next day our attention was for some time taken up with a report, industriously spread about by some of the natives, that a ship like ours had arrived at Annamooka since we left it, and was now at anchor there. The propagators of the report were pleased to add, that Toobou, the chief of that island, was hastening thither to receive these new-comers; and as we knew that he had actually left us, we were the more ready to believe there might be some foundation for the story of this unexpected arrival. However, to gain some further information, I went on shore with Omai, in quest of the man who, it was said, had brought the first account of this event from Annamooka. We found him at the house of Earoupa, where Omai put such questions to him as I thought necessary; and the answers he gave were so clear and satisfactory, that I had not a doubt remaining. But just about this time, a chief of some note, whom we well knew, arrived from Annamooka, and declared that no ship was at that island, nor had been since our leaving it. The propagator of the report, finding himself detected in a falsehood, instantly withdrew, and we saw no more of him. What end the invention of this tale could answer, it was not easy to conjecture; unless we suppose it to have been artfully contrived, to get us removed from the one island to the other.

In my walk on the 25th, I happened to step into a house, where a woman was dressing the eyes of a young child, who seemed blind; the eyes being much inflamed, and a thin film spread over them. The instruments she used were two slender wooden probes, with which she had brushed the eyes so as to make them bleed. It seems worth mentioning, that the

* See Second Voyage, book ii. ch. 2. The name of this extraordinary personage is there said to be *Kohageetoo Fallangou*; which cannot, by the most skilful etymologist, be tortured into the least most distant resemblance of *Latooliboula*. It is remarkable, that Captain Cook should not take any notice of his having called the same person by two names so very different. Perhaps we may account for this by supposing one to be the name of the person, and the other the description of his title or rank. This supposition seems to be well founded, when we consider, that *Latoo*, in the language of these people, is sometimes used to signify a great chief; and Dr. Foster, in his *Observations*, p. 378, 379, and elsewhere, speaks of the sovereign of Tongataboo, under the title of their *Latoo*. This very person is called by Dr. Foster, p. 370, *Latoo-Nipooroo*; which furnishes a very striking instance of the variations of our people in writing down the same word as pronounced by the natives. However, we can easily trace the affinity between *Nipooroo* and *Liboula*, as the changes of the consonants are such as are perpetually made, upon hearing a word pronounced to which our ears have not been accustomed. Mr. Anderson here agrees with Captain Cook in writing Latooliboula.

natives of these islands should attempt an operation of this sort; though I entered the house too late, to describe exactly how this female oculist employed the wretched tools she had to work with.

I was fortunate enough to see a different operation going on in the same house, of which I can give a tolerable account. I found there another woman shaving a child's head with a shark's tooth stuck into the end of a piece of stick. I observed, that she first wet the hair with a rag dipped in water, applying her instrument to that part which she had previously soaked. The operation seemed to give no pain to the child, although the hair was taken off as close as if one of our razors had been employed. Encouraged by what I now saw, I soon after tried one of these singular instruments upon myself, and found it to be an excellent succedaneum. However, the men of these islands have recourse to another contrivance when they shave their beards. The operation is performed with two shells, one of which they place under a small part of the beard, and with the other applied above, they scrape that part off. In this manner they are able to shave very close. The process is, indeed, rather tedious, but not painful; and there are men amongst them who seem to profess this trade. It was as common while we were here, to see our sailors go ashore to have their beards scraped off, after the fashion of Hapaee, as it was to see their chiefs come on board to be shaved by our barbers.

Finding that little or nothing of the produce of the island was now brought to the ships, I resolved to change our station, and to wait Feenou's return from Vavaoo, in some other convenient anchoring-place, where refreshments might still be met with. Accordingly, in the forenoon of the 26th, we got under sail, and stood to the southward along the reef of the island; having fourteen and thirteen fathoms water, with a sandy bottom. However, we met with several detached shoals. Some of them were discovered by breakers; some by the water upon them appearing discoloured; and others by the lead. At half-past two in the afternoon, having already passed several of these shoals, and seeing more of them before us, I hauled into a bay that lies between the south end of Lefooga and the north end of Hoolaiva, and there anchored in seventeen fathoms water, the bottom a coral sand; the point of Lefooga bearing south-east by east, a mile and a half distant. The Discovery did not get to an anchor till sunset. She had touched upon one of the shoals, but backed off again without receiving any damage. As soon as we had anchored, I sent Mr. Bligh to sound the bay where we were now stationed; and myself, accompanied by Mr. Gore, landed on the southern part of Lefooga, to examine the country, and to look for fresh water; not that we now wanted a supply of this article, having filled all the casks at our late station; but I had been told, that this part of the island could afford us some, preferable to any we had got at the former watering-place. This will not be the only time I shall have occasion to remark, that these people do not know what good water is. We were conducted to two wells; but the water in both of them proved to be execrable; and the natives, our guides, assured us that they had none better.

Near the south end of the island, and on the west side, we met with an artificial mount. From the size of some trees that were growing upon it, and from other appearances, I guessed that it had been raised in remote times. I judged it to be about forty feet high, and the diameter of its summit measured fifty feet. At the bottom of this mount stood a stone, which must have been hewn out of coral rock. It was four feet broad, two and a half thick, and fourteen high; and we were told by the natives present, that not above half its length appeared above ground. They called it *Tangata Arekee**; and said that it had been set up, and the mount raised, by some of their forefathers, in memory of one of their kings; but how long since they could not tell.

Night coming on, Mr. Gore and I returned on board; and, at the same time, Mr. Bligh got back from sounding the bay, in which he found from fourteen to twenty fathoms water; the bottom for the most part sand, but not without some coral rocks. The place where we now anchored is much better sheltered than that which we had lately come from; but between the two is another anchoring station, much better than either. Lefooga and Hoolaiva are divided from each other by a reef of coral rocks, which is dry at low water;

* *Tangata*, in their language, is man; *Arekee*, king.

so that one may walk, at that time, from the one to the other without wetting a foot. Some of our gentlemen, who landed in the latter island, did not find the least mark of cultivation, or habitation upon it, except a single hut, the residence of a man employed to catch fish and turtle. It is rather extraordinary that it should be in this deserted state, communicating so immediately with Lefooga, which is so perfectly cultivated; for though the soil is quite sandy, all the trees and plants found in a natural state on the neighbouring islands, are produced here with the greatest vigour. The east side of it has a reef like Lefooga; and the west side has a bending at the north part, where there seems to be good anchorage. Uninhabited as Hoolaiva is, an artificial mount, like that at the adjoining island, has been raised upon it, as high as some of the surrounding trees.

At daybreak next morning I made the signal to weigh; and as I intended to attempt a passage to Annamooka, in my way to Tongataboo, by the south-west, amongst the intervening islands, I sent the master in a boat to sound before the ships. But before we could get under sail, the wind became unsettled; which made it unsafe to attempt a passage in this way, till we were better acquainted with it. I therefore lay fast, and made the signal for the master to return; and afterward sent him and the master of the Discovery, each in a boat, with instructions to examine the channels as far as they could, allowing themselves time to get back to the ships before the close of the day.

About noon a large sailing canoe came under our stern, in which was a person named Futtafaihe, or Poulaho, or both; who, as the natives then on board told us, was king of Tongataboo, and of all the neighbouring islands that we had seen or heard of. It was a matter of surprise to me to have a stranger introduced under this character, which I had so much reason to believe really belonged to another. But they persisted in their account of the supreme dignity of this new visitor; and now, for the first time, they owned to me that Feenou was not the king, but only a subordinate chief, though of great power, as he was often sent from Tongataboo to the other islands on warlike expeditions, or to decide differences. It being my interest as well as my inclination to pay court to all the great men, without making inquiry into the validity of their assumed titles, I invited Poulaho on board, as I understood he was very desirous to come. He could not be an unwelcome guest; for he brought with him, as a present to me, two good fat hogs, though not so fat as himself. If weight of body could give weight in rank or power, he was certainly the most eminent man in that respect we had seen; for, though not very tall, he was very unwieldy, and almost shapeless with corpulence. He seemed to be about forty years of age, had straight hair, and his features differed a good deal from those of the bulk of his people. I found him to be a sedate, sensible man. He viewed the ship and the several new objects with uncommon attention; and asked many pertinent questions, one of which was, what could induce us to visit these islands? After he had satisfied his curiosity in looking at the cattle, and other novelties which he met with upon deck, I desired him to walk down into the cabin. To this some of his attendants objected, saying, that if he were to accept of that invitation, it must happen that people would walk over his head, which could not be permitted. I directed my interpreter Omai to tell them, that I would obviate their objection, by giving orders that no one should presume to walk upon that part of the deck which was over the cabin. Whether this expedient would have satisfied them was far from appearing; but the chief himself, less scrupulous in this respect than his attendants, waved all ceremony, and walked down without any stipulation. He now appeared to be as solicitous himself, as his people were, to convince us that he was king, and not Feenou, who had passed with us as such, for he soon perceived that we had some doubts about it; which doubts Omai was not very desirous of removing. The closest connexion had been formed between him and Feenou, in testimony of which they had exchanged names; and, therefore, he was not a little chagrined that another person now put in his claim to the honours which his friend had hitherto enjoyed.

Poulaho sat down with us to dinner; but he ate little and drank less. When we arose from the table, he desired me to accompany him ashore. Omai was asked to be of the party; but he was too faithfully attached to Feenou to show any attention to his competitor, and therefore excused himself. I attended the chief in my own boat, having first made

presents to him of such articles as I could observe he valued much, and were even beyond his expectation to receive. I was not disappointed in my view of thus securing his friendship; for the moment the boat reached the beach, and before he quitted her, he ordered two more hogs to be brought and delivered to my people to be conveyed on board. He was then carried out of the boat by some of his own people upon a board resembling a hand-barrow, and went and seated himself in a small house near the shore, which seemed to have been erected there for his accommodation. He placed me at his side; and his attendants, who were not numerous, seated themselves in a semicircle before us on the outside of the house. Behind the chief, or rather on one side, sat an old woman with a sort of fan in her hand, whose office it was to prevent his being pestered with the flies.

The several articles which his people had got by trading on board the ships were now displayed before him. He looked over them all with attention, inquired what they had given in exchange, and seemed pleased with the bargains they had made. At length he ordered everything to be restored to the respective owners, except a glass bowl, with which he was so much pleased that he reserved it for himself. The persons who brought these things to him first squatted themselves down before him, then they deposited their several purchases, and immediately rose up and retired. The same respectful ceremony was observed in taking them away; and not one of them presumed to speak to him standing. I staid till several of his attendants left him, first paying him obeisance, by bowing the head down to the sole of his foot, and touching or tapping the same with the upper and under side of the fingers of both hands. Others who were not in the circle came, as it seemed, on purpose, and paid him this mark of respect, and then retired without speaking a word. I was quite charmed with the decorum that was observed. I had no where seen the like, not even amongst more civilised nations.

I found the master returned from his expedition when I got on board. He informed me, that, as far as he had proceeded, there was anchorage and a passage for the ships; but that towards the south and south-east he saw a number of small isles, shoals, and breakers. Judging from this report that my attempting a passage that way would be attended with some risk, I now dropped all thoughts of it, thinking it better to return toward Annamooka by the same route, which we had so lately experienced to be a safe one. Having come to this resolution, I should have sailed next morning, if the wind had not been too far southerly, and, at the same time, very unsettled. Poulaho, the king, as I shall now call him, came on board betimes, and brought as a present to me, one of their caps, made, or at least covered, with red feathers. These caps were much sought after by us, for we knew they would be highly valued at Otaheite. But though very large prices were offered, not one was ever brought for sale; which showed that they were no less valuable in the estimation of the people here; nor was there a person in either ship that could make himself the proprietor of one, except myself, Captain Clerke, and Omai. These caps, or rather bonnets, are composed of the tail feathers of the tropic bird, with the red feathers of the parroquets wrought upon them, or jointly with them. They are made so as to tie upon the forehead without any crown, and have the form of a semicircle, whose radius is eighteen or twenty inches. The chief stayed on board till the evening, when he left us; but his brother, whose name was also Futtafaihe, and one or two or more of his attendants, continued in the ship all night.

At daybreak the next morning, I weighed with a fine breeze at east-north-east, and stood to the westward, with a view to return to Annamooka, by the track we had already experienced. We were followed by several sailing canoes, in one of which was the king. As soon as he got on board the Resolution he inquired for his brother, and the others who had remained with us all night. It now appeared that they had staid without his leave; for he gave them, in a very few words, such a reprimand as brought tears from their eyes; and yet they were men not less than thirty years of age. He was, however, soon reconciled to their making a longer stay; for, on quitting us, he left his brother and five of his attendants on board. We had also the company of a chief just then arrived from Tongataboo, whose name was Toobouceitoa. The moment he arrived, he sent his canoe away, and declared that he and five more who came with him would sleep on board; so that I had now

my cabin filled with visitors. This, indeed, was some inconvenience; but I bore with it more willingly, as they brought plenty of provisions with them as presents to me, for which they always had suitable returns.

About one o'clock in the afternoon, the easterly wind was succeeded by a fresh breeze at south-south-east. Our course now being south-south-west, or more southerly, we were obliged to ply to windward, and did but just fetch the north side of Footooha by eight o'clock, where we spent the night, making short boards. The next morning, we plied up to Lofanga, where, according to the information of our friends, there was anchorage. It was one o'clock, in the afternoon, before we got soundings, under the lee or north-west side, in forty fathoms water, near half a mile from the shore; but the bank was steep, and the bottom rocky, and a chain of breakers lay to leeward. All these circumstances being against us, I stretched away for Kotoo, with the expectation of finding better anchoring ground under that island. But so much time had been spent in plying up to Lofanga, that it was dark before we reached the other; and, finding no place to anchor in, the night was spent as the preceding one.

At daybreak on the 31st, I stood for the channel which is between Kotoo, and the reef of rocks that lie to the westward of it; but on drawing near, I found the wind too scant to lead us through. I, therefore, bore up on the outside of the reef, and stretched to the south-west, till near noon, when perceiving that we made no progress to windward, and being apprehensive of losing the islands, with so many of the natives on board, I tacked and stood back, intending to wait till some more favourable opportunity. We did but just fetch in with Fotooha, between which and Kotoo we spent the night, under reefed topsails and foresail. The wind blew fresh, and by squalls, with rain; and we were not without apprehensions of danger. I kept the deck till midnight, when I left it to the master, with such directions as, I thought, would keep the ships clear of the shoals and rocks that lay round us. But, after making a trip to the north, and standing back again to the south, our ship, by a small shift of the wind, fetched farther to the windward than was expected. By this means she was very near running full upon a low sandy isle, called Pootoo Pootooa, surrounded with breakers. It happened very fortunately that the people had just been ordered upon the deck, to put the ship about, and the most of them were at their stations; so that the necessary movements were not only executed with judgment, but also with alertness; and this alone saved us from destruction. The Discovery being astern, was out of danger. Such hazardous situations are the unavoidable companions of the man who goes upon a voyage of discovery.

This circumstance frightened our passengers so much, that they expressed a strong desire to get ashore. Accordingly, as soon as daylight returned, I hoisted out a boat, and ordered the officer who commanded her, after landing them at Kotoo, to sound along the reef that spits off from that island, for anchorage. For I was full as much tired as they could be, with beating about amongst the surrounding isles and shoals, and determined to get to an anchor somewhere or other if possible. While the boat was absent, we attempted to turn the ships through the channel, between the sandy isle and the reef of Kotoo, in expectation of finding a moderate depth of water behind them to anchor in. But, meeting with a tide or current against us, we were obliged to desist, and anchor in fifty fathoms water, with the sandy isle bearing east by north, one mile distant.

We lay here till the 4th. While in this station we were, several times, visited by the king, by Toboueitoa, and by people from the neighbouring islands, who came off to trade with us, though the wind blew very fresh most of the time. The master was now sent to sound the channels between the islands that lie to the eastward; and I landed on Kotoo, to examine it, in the forenoon of the 2nd.

This island is scarcely accessible by boats, on account of coral reefs that surround it. It is not more than a mile and half, or two miles long; and not so broad. The north-west end of it is low, like the islands of Hapaee; but it rises suddenly in the middle, and terminates in reddish clayey cliffs, at the south-east end, about thirty feet high. The soil, in that quarter, is of the same sort as in the cliffs; but, in the other parts, it is a loose, black mould. It produces the same fruits and roots which we found at the other islands; is

tolerably cultivated, but thinly inhabited. While I was walking all over it, our people were employed in cutting some grass for the cattle; and we planted some melon seeds, with which the natives seemed much pleased, and inclosed them with branches. On our return to the boat, we passed by two or three ponds of dirty water, which was more or less brackish in each of them; and saw one of their burying-places, which was much neater than those that were met with at Hapaee.

On the 4th, at seven in the morning, we weighed; and, with a fresh gale at east-south-east, stood away for Annamooka, where we anchored, next morning, nearly in the same station which we had so lately occupied. I went on shore soon after, and found the inhabitants very busy in their plantations, digging up yams to bring to market; and, in the course of the day, about two hundred of them had assembled on the beach, and traded with as much eagerness as during our late visit. Their stock appeared to have been recruited much, though we had returned so soon; but, instead of bread-fruit, which was the only article we could purchase on our first arrival, nothing was to be seen now but yams, and a few plantains. This shows the quick succession of the seasons, at least of the different vegetables produced here, at the several times of the year. It appeared also that they had been very busy, while we were absent, in cultivating; for we now saw several large plantain fields, in places which we had so lately seen lying waste. The yams were now in the greatest perfection; and we procured a good quantity, in exchange for pieces of iron. These people in the absence of Toobou, whom we left behind us, at Kotoo, with Poulaho and the other chiefs, seemed to be under little subordination. For we could not perceive, this day, that one man assumed more authority than another. Before I returned on board, I visited the several places where I had sown melon seeds, and had the mortification to find that most of them were destroyed by a small ant; but some pine-apple plants, which I had also left, were in a thriving state.

About noon next day, Feenou arrived from Vavaoo. He told us that several canoes, laden with hogs, and other provisions, which had sailed with him from that island, had been lost, owing to the late blowing weather; and that everybody on board them had perished. This melancholy tale did not seem to affect any of his countrymen who heard it; and as to ourselves, we were by this time too well acquainted with his character to give much credit to such a story. The truth, probably, was, that he had not been able to procure at Vavaoo the supplies which he expected; or, if he got any there, that he had left them at Hapaee, which lay in his way back, and where he could not but receive intelligence that Poulaho had been with us, who therefore, he knew, would, as his superior, have all the merit and reward of procuring them, though he had not any share of the trouble. The invention of this loss at sea was, however, well imagined; for there had lately been very blowing weather; insomuch, that the king and other chiefs, who had followed us from Hapaee to Kotoo, had been left there, not caring to venture to sea when we did; but desired I might wait for them at Annamooka, which was the reason of my anchoring there, this second time, and of my not proceeding directly to Tongataboo.

The following morning, Poulaho, and the other chiefs who had been wind-bound with him, arrived. I happened at this time to be ashore in company with Feenou, who now seemed to be sensible of the impropriety of his conduct, in assuming a character that did not belong to him. For he not only acknowledged Poulaho to be king of Tongataboo, and the other isles; but affected to insist much on it, which, no doubt, was with a view to make amends for his former presumption. I left him to visit this greater man, whom I found sitting with a few people before him. But, every one hastening to pay court to him, the circle increased pretty fast. I was very desirous of observing Feenou's behaviour on this occasion, and had the most convincing proof of his superiority; for he placed him amongst the rest that sat before Poulaho, as attendants on his majesty. He seemed at first rather abashed, as some of us were present who had been used to see him act a different part; but he soon recovered himself. Some little conversation passed between these two chiefs which none of us understood; nor were we satisfied with Omai's interpretation of it. We were, however, by this time sufficiently undeceived as to Feenou's rank. Both he and Poulaho went on board with me to dinner; but only the latter sat at table. Feenou, having made

his obeisance in the usual way, saluting his sovereign's foot with his head and hands, retired out of the cabin *. The king had before told us, that this would happen; and it now appeared that Feenou could not even eat or drink in his royal presence.

At eight o'clock next morning we weighed and steered for Tongataboo, having a gentle breeze at north-east. About fourteen or fifteen sailing vessels belonging to the natives set out with us, but every one of them outran the ships considerably. Feenou was to have taken his passage in the Resolution, but preferred his own canoe; and put two men on board to conduct us to the best anchorage. We steered south by west by compass. At five in the afternoon we saw two small islands bearing west, about four leagues distant. Our pilots called the one Hoonga Hapaee, and the other Hoonga Tonga. They lie in the latitude of 20° 36′; and ten or eleven leagues from the west point of Annamooka, in the direction of south, 46° west. According to the account of the islanders on board, only five men reside upon Hoonga Hapaee; and Hoonga Tonga is uninhabited; but both of them abound with sea-fowl.

We continued the same course till two o'clock next morning, when, seeing some lights ahead, and not knowing whether they were on shore or on board the canoes, we hauled the wind, and made a short trip each way till daybreak. We then resumed our course to the south by west; and presently after saw several small islands before us, and Eooa and Tongataboo beyond them. We had at this time twenty-five fathoms water, over a bottom of broken coral and sand. The depth gradually decreased as we drew near the isles above mentioned, which lie ranged along the north-east side of Tongataboo. By the direction of our pilots we steered for the middle of it, and for the widest space between the small isles which we were to pass, having our boats ahead employed in sounding. We were insensibly drawn upon a large flat, upon which lay innumerable coral rocks of different depths, below the surface of the water. Notwithstanding all our care and attention to keep the ship clear of them, we could not prevent her from striking on one of these rocks: nor did the Discovery, though behind us, escape any better. Fortunately, neither of the ships stuck fast, nor received any damage. We could not get back without increasing the danger, as we had come in almost before the wind; nor could we cast anchor, but with the certainty of having our cables instantly cut in two by the rocks. We had no other resource but to proceed. To this, indeed, we were encouraged, not only by being told, but by seeing, that there was deeper water between us and the shore. However, that we might be better informed, the moment we found a spot where we could drop the anchor clear of rocks, we came to, and sent the masters with the boats to sound.

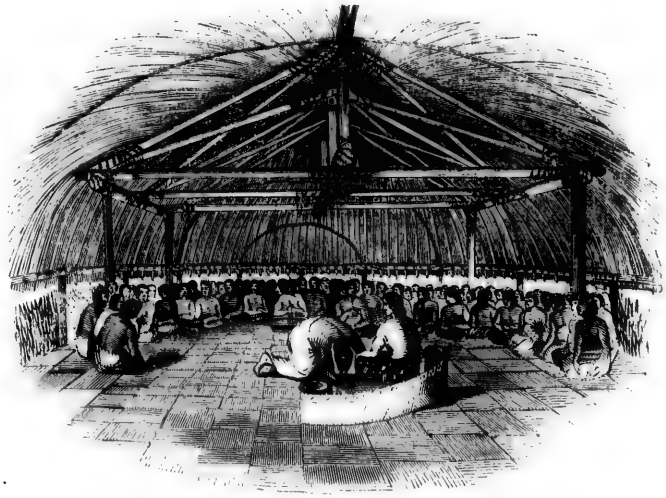
Soon after we had anchored, which was about noon, several of the inhabitants of Tongataboo came off in their canoes to the ships. These, as well as our pilots, assured us that we should find deep water farther in, and a bottom free from rocks. They were not mistaken; for about four o'clock the boats made the signal for having found good anchorage. Upon this we weighed, and stood in till dark, and then anchored in nine fathoms, having a fine, clear, sandy bottom. During the night we had some showers of rain; but toward the morning, the wind shifted to the south and south-east, and brought on fair weather. At daybreak we weighed, and working in to the shore, met with no obstructions but such as were visible and easily avoided. While we were plying up to the harbour, to which the natives directed us, the king kept sailing round us in his canoe. There were at the same time a great many small canoes about the ships: two of these, which could not get out of the way of his royal vessel, he ran quite over, with as little concern as if they had been bits of wood. Amongst many others who came on board the Resolution, was Otago, who had

* Marks of profound respect, very similar to those paid by natives of the Friendly Islands to their sovereign, are also paid to the principal chiefs, or *Tamoles*, of the Caroline Islands, as appears from Father Cantova's account, here transcribed. "Lorsqu'un *Tamole* donne audience, il paroit assis sur une table élevée: les peuples s'inclinent devant lui jusqu'à terre; et du plus loin qu'ils arrivent, ils marchent, le corps tout courbé, et la tête presqu'entre les génoux, jusqu'à ce qu'ils soient auprès de sa personne; alors ils s'asséyent à plate-terre; et, les yeux baissés, ils reçoivent ses ordres avec le plus profond respect. Quand le *Tamole* les congédie, ils se retirent, en se courbant de la même manière que quand ils sont venus, et ne se relèvent que lorsqu'ils sont hors de sa présence. Ses paroles sont autant d'oracles qu'on révère; on rend à ses ordres une obéissance aveugle; enfin, on lui baise les mains et les pieds quand on lui demande quelque grace."—"Lettres Edifiantes et Curieuses," tom. xv. p. 312, 313.

been so useful to me when I visited Tongataboo during my last voyage; and one Toobou, who at that time had attached himself to Captain Furneaux. Each of them brought a hog and some yams, as a testimony of his friendship; and I was not wanting on my part in making a suitable return. At length, about two in the afternoon, we arrived at our intended station. It was a very snug place, formed by the shore of Tongataboo on the south-east, and two small islands on the east and north-east. Here we anchored in ten fathoms water, over a bottom of oozy sand, distant from the shore one-third of a mile.

CHAPTER VII.—FRIENDLY RECEPTION AT TONGATABOO.—MANNER OF DISTRIBUTING A BAKED HOG AND KAVA TO POULAHO'S ATTENDANTS.—THE OBSERVATORY, &C. ERECTED.—THE VILLAGE WHERE THE CHIEFS RESIDE, AND THE ADJOINING COUNTRY, DESCRIBED.—INTERVIEWS WITH MAREEWAGEE AND TOOBOU, AND THE KING'S SON.—A GRAND HAIVA, OR ENTERTAINMENT OF SONGS AND DANCES, GIVEN BY MAREEWAGEE.—EXHIBITION OF FIREWORKS.—MANNER OF WRESTLING AND BOXING.—DISTRIBUTION OF THE CATTLE.—THEFTS COMMITTED BY THE NATIVES.—POULAHO, AND THE OTHER CHIEFS, CONFINED ON THAT ACCOUNT.—POULAHO'S PRESENT, AND HAIVA.

SOON after we had anchored, having first dined, I landed, accompanied by Omai and some of the officers. We found the king waiting for us upon the beach: he immediately conducted us to a small neat house, situated a little within the skirts of the woods, with a fine large area before it. This house, he told me, was at my service during our stay at the island; and a better situation we could not wish for. We had not been long in the house, before a pretty large circle of the natives were assembled before us, and seated upon the area. A



POULAHO DRINKING KAVA.

root of the *kava* plant being brought and laid down before the king, he ordered it to be split into pieces, and distributed to several people of both sexes, who began the operation of chewing it; and a bowl of their favourite liquor was soon prepared. In the mean time, a baked hog and two baskets of baked yams were produced, and afterward divided into ten portions. These portions were then given to certain people present; but how many were to share in each, I could not tell. One of them, I observed, was bestowed upon the king's brother; and

one remained undisposed of, which I judged was for the king himself, as it was a choice bit. The liquor was next served out; but Poulaho seemed to give no directions about it. The first cup was brought to him, which he ordered to be given to one who sat near him. The second was also brought to him, and this he kept. The third was given to me; but their manner of brewing having quenched my thirst, it became Omai's property. The rest of the liquor was distributed to different people by direction of the man who had the management of it. One of the cups being carried to the king's brother, he retired with this, and with his mess of victuals. Some others also quitted the circle with their portions; and the reason was, they could neither eat nor drink in the royal presence; but there were others present, of a much inferior rank, of both sexes, who did both. Soon after, most of them withdrew, carrying with them what they had not ate of their share of the feast. I observed, that not a fourth part of the company had tasted either the victuals or the drink; those who partook of the former, I supposed to be of the king's household. The servants who distributed the baked meat and the *kava* always delivered it out of their hand sitting, not only to the king, but to every other person. It is worthy of remark, though this was the first time of our landing, and a great many people were present who had never seen us before, yet no one was troublesome, but the greatest good order was preserved throughout the whole assembly.

Before I returned on board, I went in search of a watering-place, and was conducted to some ponds, or rather holes, containing fresh water, as they were pleased to call it. The contents of one of these, indeed, were tolerable; but it was at some distance inland, and the supply to be got from it was very inconsiderable. Being informed that the little island of Pangimodoo, near which the ships lay, could better furnish this necessary article, I went over to it next morning, and was so fortunate as to find there a small pool that had rather fresher water than any we had met with amongst these islands. The pool being very dirty, I ordered it to be cleaned; and here it was that we watered the ships.

As I intended to make some stay at Tongataboo, we pitched a tent, in the forenoon, just by the house which Poulaho had assigned for our use. The horses, cattle, and sheep were afterward landed, and a party of marines, with their officer, stationed there as a guard. The observatory was then set up, at a small distance from the other tent; and Mr. King resided on shore, to attend the observations, and to superintend the several operations necessary to be conducted there. For the sails were carried thither, to be repaired; a party was employed in cutting wood for fuel, and plank for the use of the ships; and the gunners of both ships were ordered to remain upon the spot, to conduct the traffic with the natives, who thronged from every part of the island with hogs, yams, cocoa-nuts, and other articles of their produce. In a short time our land-post was like a fair, and the ships were so crowded with visitors that we had hardly room to stir upon the decks.

Feenou had taken up his residence in our neighbourhood; but he was no longer the leading man. However, we still found him to be a person of consequence; and we had daily proofs of his opulence and liberality, by the continuance of his valuable presents. But the king was equally attentive in this respect; for scarcely a day passed without receiving from him some considerable donation. We now heard, that there were other great men of the island whom we had not as yet seen. Otago and Toobou, in particular, mentioned a person named Mareewagee, who, they said, was of the first consequence in the place, and held in great veneration; nay, if Omai did not misunderstand them, superior even to Poulaho, to whom he was related; but, being old, lived in retirement, and therefore would not visit us. Some of the natives even hinted that he was too great a man to confer that honour upon us. This account exciting my curiosity, I this day mentioned to Poulaho that I was very desirous of waiting upon Mareewagee, and he readily agreed to accompany me to the place of his residence the next morning.

Accordingly, we set out pretty early in the pinnace; and Captain Clerke joined me in one of his own boats. We proceeded round, that is, to the eastward of the little isles that form the harbour, and then turning to the south, according to Poulaho's directions, entered a spacious bay or inlet, up which we rowed about a league, and landed amidst a considerable number of people, who received us with a sort of acclamation, not unlike our huzzaing. They immediately separated, to let Poulaho pass, who took us into a small inclosure, and

shifted the piece of cloth he wore, for a new piece, neatly folded, that was carried by a young man. An old woman assisted in dressing him, and put a mat over his cloth, as we supposed, to prevent its being dirtied when he sat down. On our now asking him where Mareewagee was, to our great surprise, he said, he had gone from the place to the ship, just before we arrived. However, he desired us to walk with him to a *malaee*, or house of public resort, which stood about half a mile up the country; but when we came to a large area before it, he sat down in the path, and desired us to walk up to the house. We did so, and seated ourselves in front, while the crowd that followed us filled up the rest of the space. After sitting a little while, we repeated our inquiries, by means of Omai, whether we were to see Mareewagee? But receiving no satisfactory information, and suspecting that the old chief was purposely concealed from us, we went back to our boats, much piqued at our disappointment; and when I got on board, I found that no such person had been there. It afterwards appeared, that, in this affair, we had laboured under some gross mistakes, and that our interpreter Omai had either been misinformed, or, which is more likely, had misunderstood what was told him about the great man, on whose account we had made this excursion.

The place we went to was a village, most delightfully situated on the bank of the inlet, where all or most of the principal persons of the island reside; each having his house in the midst of a small plantation, with lesser houses, and offices for servants. These plantations are neatly fenced round; and, for the most part, have only one entrance. This is by a door, fastened on the inside by a prop of wood; so that a person has to knock before he can get admittance. Public roads and narrow lanes lie between each plantation; so that no one trespasseth upon another. Great part of some of these inclosures is laid out in grass-plots, and planted with such things as seem more for ornament than use; but hardly any where without the *kava* plant, from which they make their favourite liquor. Every article of the vegetable produce of the island, abounded in others of these plantations; but these, I observed, are not the residence of people of the first rank. There are some large houses near the public roads, with spacious smooth grass-plots before them, and uninclosed. These, I was told, belonged to the king; and probably they are the places where their public assemblies are held. It was to one of these houses, as I have already mentioned, that we were conducted, soon after our landing at this place.

About noon, the next day, this Mareewagee, of whom we had heard so much, actually came to the neighbourhood of our post on shore; and with him a very considerable number of people of all ranks. I was informed, that he had taken this trouble on purpose to give me an opportunity of waiting upon him; having, probably, heard of the displeasure I had shown, on my disappointment the day before. In the afternoon, a party of us, accompanied by Feenou, landed to pay him a visit. We found a person sitting under a large tree, near the shore, a little to the right of the tent. A piece of cloth, at least forty yards long, was spread before him, round which a great number of people of both sexes were seated. It was natural to suppose that this was the great man; but we were undeceived by Feenou; who informed us that another, who sat on a piece of mat, a little way from this chief, to the right hand, was Mareewagee, and he introduced us to him, who received us very kindly, and desired us to sit down by him. The person who sat under the tree, fronting us, was called Toobou; and when I have occasion to speak of him afterwards, I shall call him old Toobou, to distinguish him from his namesake, Captain Furneaux's friend. Both he and Mareewagee had a venerable appearance. The latter is a slender man, and from his appearance, seems to be considerably above threescore years of age. The former is rather corpulent, and almost blind with a disorder of his eyes; though not so old. Not expecting to meet with two chiefs, on this occasion, I had only brought on shore a present for one. This I now found myself under a necessity of dividing between them; but it happened to be pretty considerable, and both of them seemed satisfied. After this, we entertained them for about an hour with the performance of two French horns and a drum. But they seemed most pleased with the firing off a pistol, which Captain Clerke had in his pocket. Before I took my leave, the large piece of cloth was rolled up, and, with a few cocoa-nuts, presented to me.

The next morning, old Toobou returned my visit on board the ship. He also visited Captain Clerke; and if the present we made to him the evening before was scanty, the

deficiency was now made up. During this time, Mareewagee visited our people ashore; and Mr. King showed to him everything we had there. He viewed the cattle with great admiration; and the cross-cut saw fixed his attention for some time. Toward noon, Poulaho returned from the place where we had left him two days before, and brought with him his son, a youth about twelve years of age. I had his company at dinner; but the son, though present, was not allowed to sit down with him. It was very convenient to have him for my guest. For when he was present, which was generally the case while we staid here, every other native was excluded from the table, and but few of them would remain in the cabin. Whereas, if by chance it happened that neither he nor Feenou were on board, the inferior chiefs would be very importunate to be of our dining-party, or to be admitted into the cabin at that time; and then we were so crowded, that we could not sit down to a meal with any satisfaction. The king was very soon reconciled to our manner of cookery. But still, I believe he dined thus frequently with me more for the sake of what we gave him to drink, than what we set before him to eat. For he had taken a liking to our wine, could empty his bottle as well as most men, and was as cheerful over it. He now fixed his residence at the house, or *malaee*, by our tent; and there he entertained our people this evening with a dance. To the surprise of everybody, the unwieldy Poulaho endeavoured to vie with others in that active amusement.

In the morning of the 15th, I received a message from old Toobou that he wanted to see me ashore. Accordingly, Omai and I went to wait upon him. We found him, like an ancient patriarch, seated under the shade of a tree, with a large piece of a cloth made in the island, spread out at full length before him, and a number of respectable-looking people sitting round it. He desired us to place ourselves by him; and then he told Omai that the cloth, together with a piece of red feathers, and about a dozen cocoa-nuts, were his present to me. I thanked him for the favour, and desired he would go on board with me, as I had nothing on shore to give him in return. Omai now left me, being sent for by Poulaho; and, soon after, Feenou came and acquainted me that young Fattafaihe, Poulaho's son, desired to see me. I obeyed the summons, and found the prince and Omai sitting under a large canopy of the finer sort of cloth, with a piece of the coarser sort spread under them and before them, that was seventy-six yards long, and seven and a half broad. On one side was a large old boar, and on the other side a heap of cocoa-nuts. A number of people were seated round the cloth; and, amongst them, I observed Mareewagee and others of the first rank. I was desired to sit down by the prince, and then Omai informed me that he had been instructed by the king to tell me, that as he and I were friends, he hoped that his son might be joined in this friendship; and that, as a token of my consent, I would accept of his present. I very readily agreed to the proposal; and it being now dinner-time, I invited them all on board.

Accordingly, the young prince, Mareewagee, old Toobou, three or four inferior chiefs, and two respectable old ladies of the first rank, accompanied me. Mareewagee was dressed in a new piece of cloth, on the skirts of which were fixed six pretty large patches of red feathers. This dress seemed to have been made on purpose for this visit; for, as soon as he got on board, he put it off, and presented it to me; having, I guess, heard that it would be acceptable on account of the feathers. Every one of my visitors received from me such presents as I had reason to believe they were highly satisfied with. When dinner came upon table, not one of them would sit down or eat a bit of anything that was served up. On expressing my surprise at this, they were all *taboo*, as they said; which word has a very comprehensive meaning; but, in general, signifies that a thing is forbidden. Why they were laid under such restraints at present was not explained. Dinner being over, and having gratified their curiosity by showing to them every part of the ship, I then conducted them ashore. As soon as the boat reached the beach, Feenou and some others instantly stepped out. Young Fattafaihe following them, was called back by Mareewagee, who now paid the heir-apparent the same obeisance, and in the same manner that I had seen it paid to the king. And when old Toobou, and one of the old ladies had shown him the same marks of respect, he was suffered to land. This ceremony being over, the old people stepped from my boat into a canoe, that was waiting to carry them to their place of abode.

I was not sorry to be present on this occasion, as I was thus furnished with the most unequivocal proofs of the supreme dignity of Poulaho and his son over the other principal chiefs. Indeed, by this time I had acquired some certain information about the relative situations of the several great men, whose names have been so often mentioned. I now knew that Mareewagee and old Toobou were brothers. Both of them were men of great property in the island, and seemed to be in high estimation with the people; the former, in particular, had the very honourable appellation given to him, by everybody, of *Motooa Tonga;* that is to say, Father of Tonga, or of his country. The nature of his relationship to the king was also no longer a secret to us; for we now understood that he was his father-in-law, Poulaho having married one of his daughters, by whom he had this son; so that Mareewagee was the prince's grandfather. Poulaho's appearance having satisfied us that we had been under a mistake in considering Feenou as the sovereign of these islands, we had been at first much puzzled about his real rank; but that was by this time ascertained. Feenou was one of Mareewagee's sons; and Toobouéitoa was another.

On my landing, I found the king in the house adjoining to our tent, along with our people who resided on shore. The moment I got to him, he bestowed upon me a present of a large hog and a quantity of yams. About the dusk of the evening a number of men came, and having sat down in a round group, began to sing in concert with the music of bamboo drums, which were placed in the centre *. There were three long ones and two short. With these they struck the ground end-ways as before described. There were two others which lay on the ground, side by side, and one of them was split or shivered; on these a man kept beating with two small sticks. They sung three songs while I staid, and I was told, that after I left them the entertainment lasted till ten o'clock. They burned the leaves of the *wharra* palm for a light; which is the only thing I ever saw them make use of for this purpose.

While I was passing the day in attendance on these great men, Mr. Anderson, with some others, made an excursion into the country, which furnished him with the following remarks:—"To the westward of the tent, the country is totally uncultivated for near two miles, though quite covered with trees and bushes in a natural state, growing with the greatest vigour. Beyond this is a pretty large plain, on which are some cocoa-trees, and a few small plantations that appear to have been lately made; and seemingly on ground that has never been cultivated before. Near the creek which runs to the westward of the tent the land is quite flat, and partly overflowed by the sea every tide. When that retires, the surface is seen to be composed of coral rock, with holes of yellowish mud scattered up and down; and toward the edges, where it is a little firmer, are innumerable little openings, from which issue as many small crabs of two or three different sorts, which swarm upon the spot as flies upon a carcass; but are so nimble that, on being approached, they disappear in an instant, and baffle even the natives to catch any of them. At this place is a work of art, which shows that these people are capable of some design and perseverance when they mean to accomplish anything. This work begins, on one side, as a narrow causeway, which, becoming gradually broader, rises with a gentle ascent to the height of ten feet, where it is five paces broad, and the whole length seventy-four paces. Joined to this is a sort of circus, whose diameter is thirty paces, and not above a foot or two higher than the causeway that joins it, with some trees planted in the middle. On the opposite side, another causeway of the same sort descends; but this is not above forty paces long, and is partly in ruin. The whole is built with large coral stones, with earth on the surface, which is quite overgrown with low trees and shrubs; and, from its decaying in several places, seems to be of no modern date. Whatever may have been its use formerly, it seems to be of none now; and all that we could learn of it from the natives was, that it belonged to Poulaho, and is called *Etchee*."

On the 16th, in the morning, after visiting the several works now carrying on ashore,

* The same sort of evening concert is performed round the house of the chief, or *Tamole*, at the Caroline Islands. "Le *Tamole* ne s'endort qu'au bruit d'un concert de musique que forme une troupe de jeunes gens, qui s'assemblent le soir, autour de sa maison, et qui chantent, à leur manière," certaines poësies."—"Lettres Edifiantes et Curieuses," tom. xv. p. 314.

Mr. Gore and I took a walk into the country; in the course of which nothing remarkable appeared, but our having opportunities of seeing the whole process of making cloth, which is the principal manufacture of these islands, as well as of many others in this ocean. In the narrative of my first voyage *, a minute description is given of this operation as performed at Otaheite; but the process here differing in some particulars, it may be worth while to give the following account of it.

The manufacturers, who are females, take the slender stalks or trunks of the paper-mulberry, which they cultivate for that purpose, and which seldom grows more than six or seven feet in height, and about four fingers in thickness. From these they strip the bark, and scrape off the outer rind with a muscle-shell. The bark is then rolled up to take off the convexity which it had round the stalk, and macerated in water for some time (they say a night). After this it is laid across the trunk of a small tree squared, and beaten with a square wooden instrument about a foot long, full of coarse grooves on all sides; but sometimes with one that is plain. According to the size of the bark, a piece is soon produced; but the operation is often repeated by another hand, or it is folded several times and beat longer, which seems rather intended to close than to divide its texture. When this is sufficiently effected, it is spread out to dry; the pieces being from four to six or more feet in length, and half as broad. They are then given to another person who joins the pieces, by smearing part of them over with the viscous juice of a berry called *to-oo*, which serves as a glue. Having been thus lengthened, they are laid over a large piece of wood, with a kind of stamp made of a fibrous substance pretty closely interwoven, placed beneath. They then take a bit of cloth and dip it in a juice expressed from the bark of a tree called *kokka*, which they rub briskly upon the piece that is making. This at once leaves a dull brown colour, and a dry gloss upon its surface; the stamp, at the same time, making a slight impression, that answers no other purpose that I could see but to make the several pieces that are glued together stick a little more firmly. In this manner they proceed, joining and staining by degrees, till they produce a piece of cloth of such length and breadth as they want; generally leaving a border of a foot broad at the sides, and longer at the ends, unstained. Throughout the whole, if any parts of the original pieces are too thin, or have holes, which is often the case, they glue spare bits upon them, till they become of an equal thickness. When they want to produce a black colour, they mix the soot procured from an oily nut called *dooedooe*, with the juice of the *kokka*, in different quantities, according to the proposed depth of the tinge. They say that the black sort of cloth, which is commonly most glazed, makes a cold dress, but the other a warm one; and, to obtain strength in both, they are always careful to join the small pieces lengthwise, which makes it impossible to tear the cloth in any direction but one.

On our return from the country we met with Feenou, and took him and another young chief on board to dinner. When our fare was set upon the table, neither of them would eat a bit, saying that they were *taboo avy*. But, after inquiring how the victuals had been dressed, having found that no *avy* (water) had been used in cooking a pig and some yams, they both sat down and made a very hearty meal; and, on being assured that there was no water in the wine, they drank of it also. From this we conjectured that, on some account or another, they were, at this time, forbidden to use water; or, which was more probable, they did not like the water we made use of, it being taken up out of one of their bathing-places. This was not the only time of our meeting with people that were *taboo avy;* but for what reason we never could tell with any degree of certainty.

Next day, the 17th, was fixed upon by Marcewagee for giving a grand *haiva* or entertainment, to which we were all invited. For this purpose, a large space had been cleared before the temporary hut of this chief, near our post, as an area where the performances were to be exhibited. In the morning great multitudes of the natives came in from the country, every one carrying a pole about six feet long upon his shoulder; and at each end of every pole a yam was suspended. These yams and poles were deposited on each side of the area, so as to form two large heaps, decorated with different sorts of small fish, and piled up to the greatest advantage. They were Marcewagee's present to Captain Clerke

* See vol. i. p. 90.

and me; and it was hard to say whether the wood for fuel or the yams for food were of most value to us. As for the fish, they might serve to please the sight, but were very offensive to the smell, part of them having been kept two or three days to be presented to us on this occasion.

Everything being thus prepared, about eleven o'clock they began to exhibit various dances, which they call *mai*. The music * consisted at first of seventy men as a chorus, who sat down; and amidst them were placed three instruments which we called drums, though very unlike them. They are large cylindrical pieces of wood, or trunks of trees from three to four feet long, some twice as thick as an ordinary-sized man, and some smaller, hollowed entirely out, but close at both ends, and open only by a chink about three inches broad, running almost the whole length of the drums; by which opening, the rest of the wood is certainly hollowed, though the operation must be difficult. This instrument is called *naffa;* and with the chink turned toward them, they sit and beat strongly upon it with two cylindrical pieces of hard wood about a foot long, and as thick as the wrist; by which means they produce a rude, though loud and powerful sound. They vary the strength and rate of their beating at different parts of the dance; and also change the tones by beating in the middle, or near the end of their drum.

The first dance consisted of four ranks, of twenty-four men each, holding in their hands a little thin, light, wooden instrument, above two feet long, and in shape not unlike a small oblong paddle. With these, which are called *pagge*, they made a great many different motions; such as pointing them toward the ground on one side, at the same time inclining their bodies that way, from which they were shifted to the opposite side in the same manner; then passing them quickly from one hand to the other, and twirling them about very dexterously; with a variety of other manœuvres, all which were accompanied by corresponding attitudes of the body. Their motions were at first slow, but quickened as the drums beat faster; and they recited sentences in a musical tone the whole time, which were answered by the chorus; but at the end of a short space they all joined, and finished with a shout.

After ceasing about two or three minutes, they began as before, and continued, with short intervals, above a quarter of an hour; when the rear rank dividing, shifted themselves very slowly round each end, and meeting in the front, formed the first rank; the whole number continuing to recite the sentences as before. The other ranks did the same successively, till that which at first was the front, became the rear; and the evolution continued, in the same manner, till the last rank regained its first situation. They then began a much quicker dance (though slow at first), and sang for about ten minutes, when the whole body divided into two parts, retreated a little, and then approached, forming a sort of circular figure, which finished the dance; the drums being removed, and the chorus going off the field at the same time.

The second dance had only two drums, with forty men for a chorus; and the dancers, or rather actors, consisted of two ranks, the foremost having seventeen, and the other fifteen persons. Feenou was at their head, or in the middle of the front rank, which is the principal place in these cases. They danced and recited sentences, with some very short intervals, for about half an hour, sometimes quickly, sometimes more slowly, but with such a degree of exactness, as if all the motions were made by one man, which did them great credit. Near the close, the back rank divided, came round, and took the place of the front, which again resumed its situation, as in the first dance; and when they finished, the drums and chorus, as before, went off.

Three drums (which, at least, took two, and sometimes three men to carry them) were now brought in; and seventy men sat down as a chorus to the third dance. This consisted of two ranks, of sixteen persons each, with young Toobou at their head, who was richly ornamented with a sort of garment covered with red feathers. These danced, sung, and twirled the *pagge*, as before; but in general, much quicker, and performed so well, that they had the constant applauses of the spectators. A motion that met with particular

* Mr. Anderson's description of the entertainments of this day being much fuller than Captain Cook's, it has been adopted, as on a former occasion.

approbation, was one in which they held the face aside, as if ashamed, and the *pagge* before it. The back rank closed before the front one, and that again resumed its place, as in the two former dances; but then they began again, formed a triple row, divided, retreated to each end of the area, and left the greatest part of the ground clear. At that instant, two men entered very hastily, and exercised the clubs which they use in battle. They did this, by first twirling them in their hands, and making circular strokes before them with great force and quickness; but so skilfully managed, that, though standing quite close, they never interfered. They shifted their clubs from hand to hand, with great dexterity; and after continuing a little time, kneeled, and made different motions, tossing the clubs up in the air, which they caught as they fell, and then went off as hastily as they entered. Their heads were covered with pieces of white cloth, tied at the crown (almost like a night-cap) with a wreath of foliage round the forehead; but they had only very small pieces of white cloth tied about their waists; probably, that they might be cool, and free from every incumbrance or weight. A person with a spear, dressed like the former, then came in, and in the same hasty manner; looking about eagerly, as if in search of somebody to throw it at. He then ran hastily to one side of the crowd in the front, and put himself in a threatening attitude, as if he meant to strike with his spear at one of them, bending the knee a little, and trembling, as it were with rage. He continued in this manner only a few seconds, when he moved to the other side, and having stood in the same posture there, for the same short time, retreated from the ground, as fast as when he made his appearance. The dancers, who had divided into two parties, kept repeating something slowly all this while; and now advanced, and joined again, ending with universal applause. It should seem, that this dance was considered as one of their capital performances, if we might judge from some of the principal people being engaged in it. For one of the drums was beat by Futtafaihe, the brother of Poulaho, another by Feenou, and the third, which did not belong to the chorus, by Mareewagee himself, at the entrance of his hut.

The last dance had forty men, and two drums, as a chorus. It consisted of sixty men, who had not danced before, disposed in three rows, having twenty-four in front. But, before they began, we were entertained with a pretty long preliminary harangue, in which the whole body made responses to a single person who spoke. They recited sentences (perhaps verses) alternately with the chorus, and made many motions with the *pagge*, in a very brisk mode, which were all applauded with *mareeai!* and *fyfogge!* words expressing two different degrees of praise. They divided into two bodies, with their backs to each other; formed again, shifted their ranks as in the other dances; divided and retreated, making room for two champions, who exercised their clubs as before; and after them two others: the dancers, all the time, reciting slowly in turn with the chorus; after which they advanced, and finished.

These dances, if they can properly be called so, lasted from eleven till near three o'clock: and though they were doubtless intended particularly either in honour of us, or to shew a specimen of their dexterity, vast numbers of their own people attended as spectators. Their numbers could not be computed exactly, on account of the inequality of the ground; but, by reckoning the inner circle, and the number in depth, which was between twenty and thirty in many places, we supposed that there must be near four thousand. At the same time, there were round the trading place at the tent, and straggling about, at least as many more; and some of us computed, that, at this time, there were not less than ten or twelve thousand people in our neighbourhood; that is, within the compass of a quarter of a mile; drawn together, for the most part, by mere curiosity. It is with regret I mention, that we could not understand what was spoken, while we were able to see what was acted in these amusements. This, doubtless, would have afforded us much information as to the genius and customs of these people. It was observable, that, though the spectators always approved of the various motions, when well made, a great share of the pleasure they received seemed to arise from the sentimental part, or what the performers delivered in their speeches. However, the mere acting part, independently of the sentences repeated, was well worth our notice, both with respect to the extensive plan on which it was executed, and to the various motions, as well as the exact unity, with which they were

performed. But neither pencil nor pen can describe the numerous actions and motions, the singularity of which was not greater, than was the ease and gracefulness with which they were performed.

At night we were entertained with the *lomai*, or night dances, on a space before Feenou's temporary habitation. They lasted about three hours; in which time we had about twelve of them performed, much after the same manner as those at Hapaee. But in two that were performed by women, a number of men came and formed a circle within theirs. And, in another, consisting of twenty-four men, there were a number of motions with the hands, that we had not seen before, and were highly applauded. The music was also once changed, in the course of the night; and in one of the dances, Feenou appeared at the head of fifty men who had performed at Hapaee, and he was well dressed with linen, a large piece of gauze, and some little pictures hung round his neck. But it was evident, after the diversions were closed, that we had put these poor people, or rather that they had put themselves, to much inconvenience. For being drawn together on this uninhabited part of their island, numbers of them were obliged to lie down and sleep under the bushes, by the side of a tree, or of a canoe; nay, many either lay down in the open air, which they are not fond of, or walked about all the night.

The whole of this entertainment was conducted with far better order, than could have been expected in so large an assembly. Amongst such a multitude, there must be a number of ill-disposed people; and we hourly experienced it. All our care and attention did not prevent their plundering us, in every quarter; and that, in the most daring and insolent manner. There was hardly anything that they did not attempt to steal; and yet, as the crowd was always so great, I would not allow the sentries to fire, lest the innocent should suffer for the guilty. They once, at noon-day, ventured to aim at taking an anchor from off the Discovery's bows; and they would certainly have succeeded, if the flook had not hooked one of the chain-plates in lowering down the ship's side, from which they could not disengage it by hand; and tackles were things they were unacquainted with. The only act of violence they were guilty of, was the breaking the shoulder-bone of one of our goats, so that she died soon after. This loss fell upon themselves, as she was one of those that I intended to leave upon the island; but of this, the person who did it, was ignorant. Early in the morning of the 18th, an incident happened, that strongly marked one of their customs. A man got out of a canoe into the quarter gallery of the Resolution, and stole from thence a pewter basin. He was discovered, pursued, and brought alongside the ship. On this occasion, three old women, who were in the canoe, made loud lamentations over the prisoner, beating their breasts and faces in a most violent manner, with the inside of their fists; and all this was done without shedding a tear. This mode of expressing grief is what occasions the mark which almost all this people bear on the face, over the cheek-bones. The repeated blows which they inflict upon this part, abrade the skin, and make even the blood flow out in a considerable quantity; and when the wounds are recent, they look as if a hollow circle had been burnt in. On many occasions, they actually cut this part of the face with an instrument; in the same manner as the people of Otaheite cut their heads.

This day, I bestowed on Mareewagee some presents, in return for those we had received from him the day before; and as the entertainments which he had then exhibited for our amusement, called upon us to make some exhibition in our way, I ordered the party of marines to go through their exercise, on the spot where his dances had been performed; and, in the evening, played off some fire-works at the same place. Poulaho, with all the principal chiefs, and a great number of people, of all denominations, were present. The platoon firing, which was executed tolerably well, seemed to give them pleasure; but they were lost in astonishment when they beheld our water-rockets. They paid but little attention to the fife and drum, or French horns, that played during the intervals. The king sat behind everybody, because no one is allowed to sit behind him; and that his view might not be obstructed, nobody sat immediately before him; but a lane, as it were, was made by the people from him, quite down to the space allotted for the fire-works.

In expectation of this evening show, the circle of natives about our tent being pretty large,

they were engaged, the greatest part of the afternoon, in boxing and wrestling; the first of which exercises they call *fangatooa*, and the second *foohoo*. When any of them chooses to wrestle, he gets up from one side of the ring, and crosses the ground in a sort of measured pace, clapping smartly on the elbow-joint of one arm, which is bent, and produces a hollow sound; that is reckoned the challenge. If no person comes out from the opposite side to engage him, he returns, in the same manner, and sits down; but sometimes stands clapping in the midst of the ground, to provoke some one to come out. If an opponent appear, they come together with marks of the greatest good-nature, generally smiling, and taking time to adjust the piece of cloth which is fastened round the waist. They then lay hold of each other by this girdle, with a hand on each side; and he who succeeds in drawing his antagonist to him, immediately tries to lift him upon his breast, and throw him upon his back; and if he be able to turn round with him two or three times, in that position, before he throws him, his dexterity never fails of procuring plaudits from the spectators. If they be more equally matched, they close soon, and endeavour to throw each other by entwining their legs, or lifting each other from the ground; in which struggles they show a prodigious exertion of strength, every muscle, as it were, being ready to burst with straining. When one is thrown, he immediately quits the field, but the victor sits down for a few seconds, then gets up, and goes to the side he came from, who proclaim the victory aloud, in a sentence delivered slowly, and in a musical cadence. After sitting a short space, he rises again and challenges; when sometimes several antagonists make their appearance; but he has the privilege of choosing which of them he pleases to wrestle with; and has likewise the preference of challenging again, if he should throw his adversary, until he himself be vanquished; and then the opposite side sing the song of victory in favour of their champion. It also often happens, that five or six rise from each side, and challenge together; in which case, it is common to see three or four couple engaged on the field at once. But it is astonishing to see what temper they preserve in this exercise; for we observed no instances of their leaving the spot with the least displeasure in their countenances. When they find that they are so equally matched as not to be likely to throw each other, they leave off by mutual consent. And if the fall of one is not fair, or if it does not appear very clearly who has had the advantage, both sides sing the victory, and then they engage again. But no person, who has been vanquished, can engage with his conqueror a second time.

The boxers advance side-ways, changing the side at every pace, with one arm stretched fully out before, the other behind; and holding a piece of cord in one hand, which they wrap firmly about it, when they find an antagonist, or else have done so before they enter. This, I imagine, they do, to prevent a dislocation of the hand or fingers. Their blows are directed chiefly to the head; but sometimes to the sides; and are dealt out with great activity. They shift sides, and box equally well with both hands. But one of their favourite and most dexterous blows, is, to turn round on their heel, just as they have struck their antagonist, and to give him another very smart one with the other hand backward. The boxing-matches seldom last long; and the parties either leave off together, or one acknowledges his being beat. But they never sing the song of victory in these cases, unless one strikes his adversary to the ground; which shows, that, of the two, wrestling is their most approved diversion. Not only boys engage, in both the exercises, but frequently little girls box very obstinately for a short time. In all which cases, it doth not appear that they ever consider it as the smallest disgrace to be vanquished; and the person overcome sits down, with as much indifference, as if he had never entered the lists. Some of our people ventured to contend with them in both exercises, but were always worsted; except in a few instances, where it appeared, that the fear they were in of offending us contributed more to the victory, than the superiority of the person they engaged.

The cattle, which we had brought, and which were all on shore, however carefully guarded, I was sensible, ran no small risk, when I considered the thievish disposition of many of the natives, and their dexterity in appropriating to themselves, by stealth, what they saw no prospect of obtaining by fair means. For this reason, I thought it prudent to declare my intention of leaving behind me some of our animals; and even to make a distribution of them previously to my departure. With this view, in the evening of the 19th,

I assembled all the chiefs before our house, and my intended presents to them were marked out. To Poulaho, the king, I gave a young English bull and cow; to Mareewagee, a Cape ram, and two ewes; and to Feenou, a horse and a mare. As my design, to make such a distribution, had been made known the day before, most of the people in the neighbourhood were then present, I instructed Omai to tell them, that there were no such animals within many months' sail of their island; that we had brought them, for their use, from that immense distance, at a vast trouble and expense; that, therefore, they must be careful not to kill any of them till they had multiplied to a numerous race; and, lastly, that they and their children ought to remember, that they had received them from the men of *Britane*. He also explained to them their several uses, and what else was necessary for them to know, or rather as far as he knew; for Omai was not very well versed in such things himself. As I intended that the above presents should remain with the other cattle, till we were ready to sail, I desired each of the chiefs to send a man or two to look after their respective animals, along with my people, in order that they might be better acquainted with them, and with the manner of treating them. The king and Feenou did so; but neither Mareewagee, nor any other person for him, took the least notice of the sheep afterwards; nor did old Toobou attend at this meeting, though he was invited, and was in the neighbourhood. I had meant to give him the goats, viz. a ram and two ewes; which, as he was so indifferent about them, I added to the king's share.

It soon appeared, that some were dissatisfied with this allotment of our animals; for early next morning, one of our kids and two turkey-cocks were missing. I could not be so simple as to suppose, that this was merely an accidental loss; and I was determined to have them again. The first step I took was to seize on three canoes that happened to be alongside the ships. I then went ashore, and having found the king, his brother, Feenou, and some other chiefs in the house that we occupied; I immediately put a guard over them, and gave them to understand, that they must remain under restraint, till not only the kid and the turkeys, but the other things that had been stolen from us, at different times, were restored. They concealed, as well as they could, their feelings, on finding themselves prisoners; and, having assured me, that everything should be restored, as I desired, sat down to drink their *kava*, seemingly much at their ease. It was not long before an axe, and an iron wedge, were brought to me. In the meantime, some armed natives began to gather behind the house; but, on a part of our guard marching against them, they dispersed; and I advised the chiefs to give orders that no more should appear. Such orders were accordingly given by them, and they were obeyed. On asking them to go aboard with me to dinner, they readily consented. But some having afterward objected to the king's going, he instantly rose up, and declared he would be the first man. Accordingly we came on board. I kept them there till near four o'clock, when I conducted them ashore; and soon after, the kid and one of the turkey-cocks were brought back. The other they said should be restored the next morning. I believed this would happen, and released both them and the canoes.

After the chiefs had left us, I walked out with Omai, to observe how the people about us fared; for this was the time of their meals. I found that, in general, they were at short commons. Nor is this to be wondered at, since most of the yams and other provisions which they brought with them were sold to us; and they never thought of returning to their own habitations, while they could find any sort of subsistence in our neighbourhood. Our station was upon an uncultivated point of land; so that there were none of the islanders who, properly, resided within half-a-mile of us. But even at this distance, the multitude of strangers being so great, one might have expected that every house would have been much crowded. It was quite otherwise. The families residing there were as much left to themselves as if there had not been a supernumerary visitor near them. All the strangers lived in little temporary sheds, or under trees and bushes; and the cocoa-trees were stripped of their branches to erect habitations for the chiefs. In this walk we met with about half-a-dozen women in one place at supper. Two of the company, I observed, being fed by the others; on our asking the reason, they said *taboo mattee*. On farther inquiry we found that

one of them had, two months before, washed the dead corpse of a chief; and that, on this account, she was not to handle any food for five months. The other had performed the same office to the corpse of another person of inferior rank, and was now under the same restriction, but not for so long a time. At another place hard by, we saw another woman fed; and we learned that she had assisted in washing the corpse of the above-mentioned chief.

Early the next morning, the king came on board to invite me to an entertainment, which he proposed to give the same day. He had already been under the barber's hands; his head being all besmeared with red pigment, in order to redden his hair, which was naturally of a dark brown colour. After breakfast I attended him to the shore; and we found his people very busy in two places, in the front of our area, fixing, in an upright and square position, thus [°°], four very long posts, near two feet from each other. The space between the posts was afterward filled up with yams; and as they went on filling it, they fastened pieces of sticks across, from post to post, at the distance of about every four feet, to prevent the posts from separating by the weight of the inclosed yams, and also to get up by. When the yams had reached the top of the first posts, they fastened others to them, and so continued till each pile was the height of thirty feet or upward. On the top of one they placed two baked hogs; and on the top of the other, a living one; and another they tied by the legs half-way up. It was matter of curiosity to observe with what facility and despatch these two piles were raised. Had our seamen been ordered to execute such a work, they would have sworn that it could not be performed without carpenters; and the carpenters would have called to their aid a dozen different sorts of tools, and have expended, at least, a hundred-weight of nails; and, after all, it would have employed them as many days as it did these people hours. But seamen, like most other amphibious animals, are always the most helpless on land. After they had completed these two piles, they made several other heaps of yams and bread-fruit on each side of the area; to which were added a turtle and a large quantity of excellent fish. All this, with a piece of cloth, a mat, and some red feathers, was the king's present to me; and he seemed to pique himself on exceeding, as he really did, Feenou's liberality, which I experienced at Hapaee.

HEAD OF POULAHO.

About one o'clock they began the *mai*, or dances; the first of which was almost a copy of the first that was exhibited at Mareewagee's entertainment. The second was conducted by Captain Furneaux's Toobou, who, as we mentioned, had also danced there; and in this, four or five women were introduced, who went through the several parts with as much exactness as the men. Toward the end, the performers divided to leave room for two champions, who exercised their clubs as described on a former occasion. And, in the third dance, which was the last now presented, two more men with their clubs displayed their dexterity. The dances were succeeded by wrestling and boxing; and one man entered the lists with a sort of club made from the stem of a cocoa-leaf, which is firm and heavy, but could find no antagonist to engage him at so rough a sport. At night we had the *bomai* repeated; in which Poulaho himself danced, dressed in English manufacture. But neither these nor the dances in the daytime were so considerable, nor carried on with so much spirit as Feenou's or Mareewagee's; and, therefore, there is less occasion to be more particular in our description of them. In order to be present the whole time, I dined ashore. The king sat down with us; but he neither ate nor drank. I found that this was owing to the

presence of a female, whom, at his desire, I had admitted to the dining party; and who, as we afterwards understood, had superior rank to himself. As soon as this great personage had dined, she stepped up to the king, who put his hands to her feet, and then she retired. He immediately dipped his fingers into a glass of wine, and then received the obeisance of all her followers. This was the single instance we ever observed of his paying this mark of reverence to any person. At the king's desire, I ordered some fire-works to be played off in the evening; but, unfortunately, being damaged, this exhibition did not answer expectation.

CHAPTER VIII.—SOME OF THE OFFICERS PLUNDERED BY THE NATIVES.—A FISHING PARTY.—A VISIT TO POULAHO.—A FIATOOKA DESCRIBED.—OBSERVATIONS ON THE COUNTRY ENTERTAINMENT AT POULAHO'S HOUSE.—HIS MOURNING CEREMONY.—OF THE KAVA PLANT, AND THE MANNER OF PREPARING THE LIQUOR.—ACCOUNT OF ONEVY, A LITTLE ISLAND.—ONE OF THE NATIVES WOUNDED BY A SENTINEL.—MESSRS. KING AND ANDERSON VISIT THE KING'S BROTHER.—THEIR ENTERTAINMENT.—ANOTHER MOURNING CEREMONY.—MANNER OF PASSING THE NIGHT.—REMARKS ON THE COUNTRY THEY PASSED THROUGH. PREPARATIONS MADE FOR SAILING.—AN ECLIPSE OF THE SUN, IMPERFECTLY OBSERVED.—MR. ANDERSON'S ACCOUNT OF THE ISLAND, AND ITS PRODUCTIONS.

As no more entertainments were to be expected on either side, and the curiosity of the populace was by this time pretty well satisfied; on the day after Poulaho's *haiva* most of them left us. We still, however, had thieves about us; and, encouraged by the negligence of our own people, we had continual instances of their depredations. Some of the officers, belonging to both ships, who had made an excursion into the interior parts of the island, without my leave, and, indeed, without my knowledge, returned this evening, after an absence of two days. They had taken with them their muskets, with the necessary ammunition, and several small articles of the favourite commodities; all which the natives had the dexterity to steal from them in the course of their expedition. This affair was likely to be attended with inconvenient consequences. For our plundered travellers upon their return, without consulting me, employed Omai to complain to the king of the treatment they had met with. He, not knowing what step I should take, and, from what had already happened, fearing lest I might lay him again under restraint, went off early the next morning. His example was followed by Feenou; so that we had not a chief, of any authority, remaining in our neighbourhood. I was very much displeased at this, and reprimanded Omai for having presumed to meddle. This reprimand put him upon his mettle to bring his friend Feenou back; and he succeeded in the negotiation; having this powerful argument to urge, that he might depend upon my using no violent measures to oblige the natives to restore what had been taken from the gentlemen. Feenou, trusting to this declaration, returned toward the evening; and, encouraged by his reception, Poulaho favoured us with his company the day after. Both these chiefs, upon this occasion, very justly observed to me, that if any of my people at any time wanted to go into the country, they ought to be acquainted with it; in which case they would send proper people along with them; and then they would be answerable for their safety. And I am convinced, from experience, that by taking this very reasonable precaution, a man and his property may be as safe among these islanders, as in other parts of the more civilised world. Though I gave myself no trouble about the recovery of the things stolen upon this occasion, most of them, through Feenou's interposition, were recovered; except one musket and a few other articles of inferior value. By this time also we had recovered the turkey-cock and most of the tools, and other matters, that had been stolen from our workmen.

On the 25th, two boats, which I had sent to look for a channel, by which we might most commodiously get to sea, returned. The masters, who commanded them, reported that the channel to the north, by which we came in, was highly dangerous, being full of coral rocks from one side to the other; but that, to the eastward, there was a very good channel; which, however, was very much contracted in one place by the small islands; so that a leading

wind would be requisite to get through it; that is, a westerly wind, which we had found did not often blow here. We had now recruited the ships with wood and water; we had finished the repairs of our sails; and had little more to expect from the inhabitants of the produce of their island. However, as an eclipse of the sun was to happen upon the 5th of the next month, I resolved to defer sailing till that time had elapsed, in order to have a chance of observing it.

Having, therefore, some days of leisure before me, a party of us, accompanied by Poulaho, set out early next morning in a boat, for Mooa, the village where he and the other great men usually reside. As we rowed up the inlet, we met with fourteen canoes fishing in company, in one of which was Poulaho's son. In each canoe was a triangular net, extended between two poles; at the lower end of which was a cod to receive and secure the fish. They had already caught some fine mullets; and they put about a dozen into our boat. I desired to see their method of fishing; which they readily complied with. A shoal of fish was supposed to be upon one of the banks, which they instantly inclosed in a long net like a seine, or set-net. This the fishers, one getting into the water out of each boat, surrounded with the triangular nets in their hands; with which they scooped the fish out of the seine, or caught them as they attempted to leap over it. They showed us the whole process of this operation (which seemed to be a sure one), by throwing in some of the fish they had already caught; for at this time, there happened to be none upon the bank that was inclosed.

Leaving the prince and his fishing party, we proceeded to the bottom of the bay, and landed where we had done before, on our fruitless errand to see Mareewagee. As soon as we got on shore, the king desired Ômai to tell me, that I need be under no apprehensions about the boat, or anything in her, for not a single article would be touched by any one; and we afterward found this to be the case. We were immediately conducted to one of Poulaho's houses not far off, and near the public one, or *malaee*, in which we had been when we first visited Mooa. This, though pretty large, seemed to be his private habitation, and was situated within a plantation. The king took his seat at one end of the house, and the people, who came to visit him, sat down as they arrived, in a semicircle at the other end. The first thing done, was to prepare a bowl of *kava*, and to order some yams to be baked for us. While these were getting ready, some of us, accompanied by a few of the king's attendants, and Omai as our interpreter, walked out to take a view of a *fiatooka*, or burying-place, which we had observed to be almost close by the house, and was much more extensive, and seemingly of more consequence, than any we had seen at the other islands. We were told, that it belonged to the king. It consisted of three pretty large houses, situated upon a rising ground, or rather just by the brink of it, with a small one at some distance, all ranged longitudinally. The middle house of the three first was by much the largest, and placed in a square, twenty-four paces by twenty-eight, raised about three feet. The other houses were placed on little mounts, raised artificially to the same height. The floors of these houses, as also the tops of the mounts round them, were covered with loose fine pebbles, and the whole was inclosed by large flat stones * of hard coral rock, properly hewn, placed on their edges; one of which stones measured twelve feet in length, two in breadth, and above one in thickness. One of the houses, contrary to what we had seen before, was open on one side; and within it were two rude wooden busts of men; one near the entrance, and the other farther in. On inquiring of the natives who had followed us to the ground, but durst not enter here, what these images were intended for, they made us as sensible as we could wish, that they were merely memorials of some chiefs who had been buried there, and not the representations of any deity. Such monuments, it should seem, are seldom raised; for these had probably been erected several ages ago. We were told that the dead had been buried in each of these houses, but no marks of this appeared. In one of them was the carved head of an Otaheite canoe, which had been driven ashore on their coast, and deposited here. At the foot of the rising ground was a large area, or grass-plot, with different trees planted about it; amongst which were several of those called *etoa*, very large. These, as they resemble the

* The burying-places of the chiefs at the Caroline Islands, are also inclosed in this manner. See "Lettres Edifiantes et Curieuses," tom. xv. p. 309.

cypress, had a fine effect in such a place. There was also a row of low palms near one of the houses, and behind it a ditch, in which lay a great number of old baskets.

After dinner, or rather after we had refreshed ourselves with some provisions which we had brought with us from our ship, we made an excursion into the country, taking a pretty large circuit, attended by one of the king's ministers. Our train was not great, as he would not suffer the rabble to follow us. He also obliged all those whom we met upon our progress, to sit down till we had passed; which is a mark of respect due only to their sovereigns. We found by far the greatest part of the country cultivated, and planted with various sorts of productions; and most of these plantations were fenced round. Some spots, where plantations had been formerly, now produced nothing, lying fallow; and there were places that had never been touched, but lay in a state of nature; and yet, even these were useful in affording them timber, as they were generally covered with trees. We met with several large uninhabited houses, which we were told belonged to the king. There were many public and well-beaten roads, and abundance of foot-paths leading to every part of the island. The roads being good and the country level, travelling was very easy. It is remarkable, that when we were on the most elevated parts, at least a hundred feet above the level of the sea, we often met with the same coral rock which is found at the shore, projecting above the surface, and perforated and cut into all those inequalities which are usually seen in rocks that lie within the wash of the tide. And yet these very spots, with hardly any soil upon them, were covered with luxuriant vegetation. We were conducted to several little pools, and to some springs of water; but in general, they were either stinking or brackish, though recommended to us by the natives as excellent. The former were mostly inland, and the latter, near the shore of the bay, and below high-water mark; so that tolerable water could be taken up from them only when the tide was out.

When we returned from our walk, which was not till the dusk of the evening, our supper was ready. It consisted of a baked hog, some fish, and yams, all excellently well cooked, after the method of these islands. As there was nothing to amuse us after supper, we followed the custom of the country, and lay down to sleep, our beds being mats spread upon the floor, and cloth to cover us. The king, who had made himself very happy with some wine and brandy which we had brought, slept in the same house, as well as several others of the natives. Long before daybreak, he and they all rose, and sat conversing by moonlight. The conversation, as might well be guessed, turned wholly upon us; the king entertaining his company with an account of what he had seen, or remarked. As soon as it was day they dispersed, some one way and some another; but it was not long before they all returned, and with them several more of their countrymen. They now began to prepare a bowl of *kava;* and, leaving them so employed, I went to pay a visit to Toobou, Captain Furneaux's friend, who had a house hard by, which for size and neatness, was exceeded by few in the place. As I had left the others, so I found here a company preparing a morning draught. This chief made a present to me of a living hog, a baked one, a quantity of yams, and a large piece of cloth. When I returned to the king, I found him and his circle of attendants, drinking the second bowl of *kava.* That being emptied, he told Omai, that he was going presently to perform a mourning ceremony, called *Tooge,* on account of a son who had been dead some time; and he desired us to accompany him. We were glad of the opportunity, expecting to see somewhat new or curious.

The first thing the chief did, was to step out of the house, attended by two old women, and put on a new suit of clothes, or rather a new piece of cloth, and over it an old ragged mat, that might have served his great-grandfather on some such occasion. His servants, or those who attended him, were all dressed in the same manner, excepting that none of their mats could vie in antiquity with that of their master. Thus equipped we marched off, preceded by about eight or ten persons, all in the above habits of ceremony, each of them, besides, having a small green bough about his neck. Poulaho held his bough in his hand till we drew near the place of rendezvous, when he also put it about his neck. We now entered a small inclosure in which was a neat house, and we found one man sitting before it. As the company entered they pulled off the green branches from round their necks, and threw them away. The king having first seated himself, the others sat down before him in

the usual manner. The circle increased by others dropping in to the number of a hundred or upward, mostly old men, all dressed as above described. The company being completely assembled, a large root of *kava*, brought by one of the king's servants, was produced, and a bowl which contained four or five gallons. Several persons now began to chew the root, and this bowl was made brimful of liquor. While it was preparing others were employed in making drinking-cups of plantain leaves. The first cup that was filled was presented to the king, and he ordered it to be given to another person. The second was also brought to him, which he drank, and the third was offered to me. Afterward, as each cup was filled, the man who filled it asked who was to have it? Another then named the person, and to him it was carried. As the bowl grew low, the man who distributed the liquor seemed rather at a loss to whom cups of it should be next sent, and frequently consulted those who sat near him. This mode of distribution continued while any liquor remained; and though not half the company had a share, yet no one seemed dissatisfied. About half-a-dozen cups served for all; and each, as it was emptied, was thrown down upon the ground, where the servants picked it up, and carried it to be filled again. During the whole time the chief and his circle sat, as was usually the case, with a great deal of gravity, hardly speaking a word to each other. We had long waited in expectation each moment of seeing the mourning ceremony begin; when, soon after the *kava* was drank out, to our great surprise and disappointment they all rose up and dispersed; and Poulaho told us he was now ready to attend us to the ships. If this was a mourning ceremony, it was a strange one. Perhaps it was the second, third, or fourth mourning; or, which was not very uncommon, Omai might have misunderstood what Poulaho said to him. For, excepting the change of dress, and the putting the green bough round their necks, nothing seemed to have passed at this meeting but what we saw them practise too frequently every day.

"* We had seen the drinking of *kava* sometimes at the other island, but by no means so frequently as here, where it seems to be the only forenoon employment of the principal people. The *kava* is a species of pepper which they cultivate for this purpose, and esteem it a valuable article, taking great care to defend the young plants from any injury; and it is commonly planted about their houses. It seldom grows to more than a man's height; though I have seen some plants almost double that. It branches considerably, with large heart-shaped leaves and jointed stalks. The root is the only part that is used at the Friendly Islands, which being dug up, is given to the servants that attend, who, breaking it in pieces, scrape the dirt off with a shell or bit of stick, and then each begins and chews his portion, which he spits into a piece of plantain leaf. The person who is to prepare the liquor, collects all these mouthfuls, and puts them into a large wooden dish or bowl, adding as much water as will make it of a proper strength. It is then well mixed up with the hands; and some loose stuff, of which mats are made, is thrown upon the surface, which intercepts the fibrous part, and is wrung hard to get as much liquid out from it as is possible. The manner of distributing it need not be repeated. The quantity which is put into each cup, is commonly about a quarter of a pint. The immediate effect of this beverage is not perceptible on these people, who use it so frequently; but on some of ours who ventured to try it, though so hastily prepared, it had the same power as spirits have in intoxicating them; or rather, it produced that kind of stupefaction which is the consequence of using opium, or other substances of that kind. It should be observed, at the same time, that though these islanders have this liquor always fresh prepared, and I have seen them drink it seven times before noon, it is, nevertheless, so disagreeable, or at least seems so, that the greatest part of them cannot swallow it without making wry faces, and shuddering afterward."

As soon as this mourning ceremony was over, we left Mooa, and set out to return to the ships. While we rowed down the lagoon or inlet, we met with two canoes coming in from fishing. Poulaho ordered them to be called alongside our boat, and took from them every fish and shell they had got. He afterward stopped two other canoes and searched them, but they had nothing. Why this was done I cannot say, for we had plenty of provisions in the boat. Some of this fish he gave to me; and his servants sold the rest on board the ship. As we proceeded down the inlet, we overtook a large sailing-canoe. Every person on board

* The following account of *kava*, to the end of this paragraph, is inserted from Mr. Anderson's journal.

her that was upon his legs when we came up, sat down till we had passed; even the man who steered, though he could not manage the helm except in a standing posture.

Poulaho and others having informed me that there was some excellent water on Onevy, a little island which lies about a league off the mouth of the inlet, and on the north side of the eastern channel, we landed there in order to taste it. But I found it to be as brackish as most that we had met with. This island is quite in a natural state, being only frequented as a fishing-place, and has nearly the same productions as Palmerston's Island, with some *etoa* trees. After leaving Onevy, where we dined, in our way to the ship, we took a view of a curious coral rock, which seems to have been thrown upon the reef where it stands. It is elevated about ten or twelve feet above the surface of the sea that surrounds it. The base it rests upon is not above one-third of the circumference of its projecting summit, which I judged to be about one hundred feet, and is covered with *etoa* and *pandanus* trees.

When we got on board the ship, I found that everything had been quiet during my absence, not a theft having been committed; of which Feenou and Futtafaihe, the king's brother, who had undertaken the management of his countrymen, boasted not a little. This shows what power the chiefs have when they have the will to execute it, which we were seldom to expect, since whatever was stolen from us, generally, if not always, was conveyed to them. The good conduct of the natives was of short duration; for the next day six or eight of them assaulted some of our people who were sawing planks. They were fired upon by the sentry; and one was supposed to be wounded, and three others taken. These I kept confined till night, and did not dismiss them without punishment. After this they behaved with a little more circumspection, and gave us much less trouble. This change of behaviour was certainly occasioned by the man being wounded; for, before they had only been told of the effect of fire-arms, but now they had felt it. The repeated insolence of the natives had induced me to order the muskets of the sentries to be loaded with small-shot, and to authorise them to fire on particular occasions. I took it for granted, therefore, that this man had only been wounded with small-shot. But Mr. King and Mr. Anderson, in an excursion into the country, met with him, and found indubitable marks of his having been wounded, but not dangerously, with a musket-ball. I never could find out how this musket happened to be charged with ball; and there were people enough ready to swear that its contents were only small-shot.

Mr. Anderson's account of the excursion just mentioned, will fill up an interval of two days, during which nothing of note happened at the ships:—"Mr. King and I went, on the 30th, along with Futtafaihe as visitors to his house, which is at Mooa, very near that of his brother, Poulaho. A short time after we arrived, a pretty large hog was killed; which is done by repeated strokes on the head. The hair was then scraped off very dexterously with the sharp edge of pieces of split bamboo; taking the entrails out at a large oval hole cut in the belly by the same simple instrument. Before this, they had prepared an oven; which is a large hole dug in the earth, filled at the bottom with stones about the size of the fist, over which a fire is made till they are red-hot. They took some of these stones wrapped up in leaves of the bread-fruit tree, and filled the hog's belly, stuffing in a quantity of leaves to prevent their falling out, and putting a plug of the same kind in the *anus*. The carcase was then placed on some sticks laid across the stones in a sitting posture, and covered with a great quantity of plantain leaves. After which they dug up the earth all round; and having thus effectually closed the oven, the operation of baking required no farther interference.

"In the mean time we walked about the country, but met with nothing remarkable except a *fiatooka* of one house, standing on an artificial mount, at least thirty feet high. A little on one side of it was a pretty large open area; and, not far off, was a good deal of uncultivated ground; which, on inquiring why it lay waste, our guides seemed to say, belonged to the *fiatooka* (which was Poulaho's), and was not by any means to be touched. There was also, at no great distance, a number of *etoa* trees, on which clung vast numbers of the large *ternate* bats, making a disagreeable noise. We could not kill any at this time for want of muskets; but some that were got at Annamooka measured near three feet when the wings were extended. On our returning to Futtafaihe's house, he ordered the hog that had

been dressed to be produced, with several baskets of baked yams, and some cocoa-nuts. But we found, that instead of his entertaining us, we were to entertain him; the property of the feast being entirely transferred to us as his guests, and we were to dispose of it as we pleased. The same person who cleaned the hog in the morning now cut it up (but not before we desired him,) in a very dexterous manner, with a knife of split bamboo; dividing the several parts, and hitting the joints with a quickness and skill that surprised us very much. The whole was set down before us, though at least fifty pounds weight, until we took a small piece away, and desired that they would share the rest amongst the people sitting round. But it was not without a great many scruples they did that at last; and then they asked what particular persons they should give it to. However, they were very well pleased when they found that it was not contrary to any custom of ours; some carrying off the portion they had received, and others eating it upon the spot. It was with great difficulty that we could prevail upon Futtafaihe himself to eat a small bit.

"After dinner we went with him and five or six people, his attendants, toward the place where Poulaho's mourning ceremony was transacted, the last time we were at Mooa; but we did not enter the inclosure. Every person who went with us had the mat tied over his cloth, and some leaves about the neck, as had been done on the former occasion; and when we arrived at a large open boat-house, where a few people were, they threw away their leaves, sat down before it, and gave their cheeks a few gentle strokes with the fist; after which they continued sitting for about ten minutes, with a very grave appearance, and then dispersed without having spoken a single word. This explained what Poulaho had mentioned about *Tooge;* though, from the operation only lasting a few seconds, he had not been observed to perform it. And this seems to be only a continuation of the mourning ceremony by way of condolence. For, upon inquiring on whose account it was now performed, we were told that it was for a chief who had died at Vavavoo some time ago; that they had practised it ever since, and should continue to do so for a considerable time longer.

"In the evening we had a pig dressed as the hog, with yams and cocoa-nuts, brought for supper; and Futtafaihe finding that we did not like the scruples we had made before, to accept of any part of the entertainment, asked us immediately to share it, and give it to whom we pleased. When supper was over, abundance of cloth was brought for us to sleep in; but we were a good deal disturbed by a singular instance of luxury, in which their principal men indulged themselves, that of being beat while they are asleep. Two women sat by Futtafaihe and performed this operation, which is called *tooge tooge*, by beating briskly on his body and legs with both fists as on a drum, till he fell asleep, and continuing it the whole night with some short intervals. When once the person is asleep they abate a little in the strength and quickness of the beating; but resume it, if they observe any appearance of his awaking. In the morning, we found that Futtafaihe's women relieved each other, and went to sleep by turns. In any other country it would be supposed that such a practice would put an end to all rest; but here it certainly acts as an opiate, and is a strong proof of what habit may effect. The noise of this, however, was not the only thing that kept us awake; for the people who passed the night in the house, not only conversed amongst each other frequently, as in the day, but all got up before it was light, and made a hearty meal on fish and yams, which were brought to them by a person who seemed to know very well the appointed time for this nocturnal refreshment.

"Next morning we set out with Futtafaihe, and walked down the east side of the bay to the point. The country all along this side is well cultivated; but, in general, not so much inclosed as at Mooa; and amongst many other plantain fields that we passed, there was one at least a mile long, which was in excellent order, every tree growing with great vigour. We found that, in travelling, Futtafaihe exercised a power, though by no means wantonly, which pointed out the great authority of such principal men; or is, perhaps, only annexed to those of the royal family. For he sent to one place for fish, to another for yams, and so on, at other places; and all his orders were obeyed with the greatest readiness, as if he had been absolute master of the people's property. On coming to the point, the natives mentioned something of one who, they said, had been fired at by some of our people; and,

upon our wishing to see him, they conducted us to a house, where we found a man who had been shot through the shoulder, but not dangerously, as the ball had entered a little above the inner part of the collar-bone, and passed out obliquely backward. We were sure, from the state of the wound, that he was the person who had been fired at by one of the sentinels, three days before; though positive orders had been given, that none of them should load their pieces with anything but small-shot. We gave some directions to his friends how to manage the wound, to which no application had been made; and they seemed pleased when we told them it would get well in a certain time. But, on our going away, they asked us to send the wounded man some yams and other things for food; and in such a manner, that we could not help thinking they considered it to be our duty to support him till he should get well.

"In the evening we crossed the bay to our station in a canoe which Futtafaihe had exercised his prerogative in procuring, by calling to the first that passed by. He had also got a large hog at this place; and brought a servant from his house with a bundle of cloth, which he wanted us to take with us as a present from him. But the boat being small, we objected; and he ordered it to be brought over to us the next day."

I had prolonged my stay at this island on account of the approaching eclipse; but, on the second of July, on looking at the micrometer belonging to the Board of Longitude, I found some of the rack-work broken, and the instrument useless till repaired; which there was not time to do before it was intended to be used. Preparing now for our departure, I got on board this day all the cattle, poultry, and other animals, except such as were destined to remain. I had designed to leave a turkey-cock and hen; but having now only two of each undisposed of, one of the hens, through the ignorance of one of my people, was strangled and died upon the spot. I had brought three turkey-hens to these islands. One was killed as above mentioned; and the other by a useless dog belonging to one of the officers. These two accidents put it out of my power to leave a pair here; and, at the same time, to carry the breed to Otaheite, for which island they were originally intended. I was sorry afterward that I did not give the preference to Tongataboo, as the present would have been of more value there than at Otaheite; for the natives of the former island, I am persuaded, would have taken more pains to multiply the breed.

The next day we took up our anchor, and moved the ships behind Pangimodoo, that we might be ready to take the advantage of the first favourable wind to get through the narrows. The king, who was one of our company this day at dinner, I observed took particular notice of the plates. This occasioned me to make him an offer of one, either of pewter, or of earthenware. He chose the first; and then began to tell us the several uses to which he intended to apply it. Two of them are so extraordinary, that I cannot omit mentioning them. He said, that whenever he should have occasion to visit any of the other islands, he would leave this plate behind him at Tongataboo, as a sort of representative in his absence, that the people might pay it the same obeisance they do to himself in person. He was asked what had been usually employed for this purpose before he got this plate; and we had the satisfaction of learning from him that this singular honour had hitherto been conferred on a wooden bowl in which he washed his hands. The other extraordinary use to which he meant to apply it in the room of his wooden bowl, was to discover a thief. He said that when anything was stolen, and the thief could not be found out, the people were all assembled before him, when he washed his hands in water in this vessel; after which it was cleaned, and then the whole multitude advanced, one after another, and touched it in the same manner that they touch his foot when they pay him obeisance. If the guilty person touched it, he died immediately upon the spot; not by violence, but by the hand of Providence; and if any one refused to touch it, his refusal was a clear proof that he was the man.

In the morning of the 5th, the day of the eclipse, the weather was dark and cloudy, with showers of rain; so that we had little hopes of an observation. About nine o'clock the sun broke out at intervals for about half an hour; after which it was totally obscured till within a minute or two of the beginning of the eclipse. We were all at our telescopes, viz. Mr. Bayly, Mr. King, Captain Clerke, Mr. Bligh, and myself. I lost the observation by not

having a dark glass at hand, suitable to the clouds that were continually passing over the sun; and Mr. Bligh had not got the sun into the field of his telescope; so that the commencement of the eclipse was only observed by the other three gentlemen, and by them with an uncertainty of several seconds, as follows:—

	H.	M.	S.	
By Mr. Bayly, at	11	46	23½	Apparent time.
Mr. King, at	11	46	28	
Capt. Clerke, at	11	47	5	

Mr. Bayly and Mr. King observed with the achromatic telescopes, belonging to the Board of Longitude, of equal magnifying powers; and Captain Clerke observed with one of the reflectors. The sun appeared at intervals, till about the middle of the eclipse; after which it was seen no more during the day; so that the end could not be observed. The disappointment was of little consequence, since the longitude was more than sufficiently determined, independently of this eclipse, by lunar observations, which will be mentioned hereafter.

As soon as we knew the eclipse to be over, we packed up the instruments, took down the observatories, and sent everything on board that had not been already removed. As none of the natives had taken the least notice or care of the three sheep allotted to Mareewagee, I ordered them to be carried back to the ships. I was apprehensive that, if I had left them here, they ran great risk of being destroyed by dogs. That animal did not exist upon this island, when I first visited it in 1773; but I now found they had got a good many, partly from the breed then left by myself, and partly from some imported, since that time, from an island not very remote, called Feejee. The dogs, however, at present, had not found their way into any of the Friendly Islands, except Tongataboo; and none but the chiefs there had as yet got possession of any.

Being now upon the eve of our departure from this island, I shall add some particulars about it, and its productions, for which I am indebted to Mr. Anderson. And, having spent as many weeks there, as I had done days* when I visited it in 1773, the better opportunities that now occurred of gaining more accurate information, and the skill of that gentleman in directing his inquiries, will, in some measure, supply the imperfection of my former account of this island.

"Amsterdam, Tongataboo, or (as the natives also very frequently call it) Tonga, is about twenty leagues in circuit, somewhat oblong, though, by much, broadest at the east end; and its greatest length from east to west. The south shore, which I saw in 1773, is straight, and consists of coral rocks, eight or ten feet high, terminating perpendicularly, except in some places, where it is interrupted by small sandy beaches; on which, at low water, a range of black rocks may be seen. The west end is not above five or six miles broad, but has a shore somewhat like that of the south side; whereas the whole north side is environed with shoals and islands, and the shore within them low and sandy. The east side or end is, most probably, like the south; as the shore begins to assume a rocky appearance toward the north-east point, though not above seven or eight feet high. The island may, with the greatest propriety, be called a low one, as the trees, on the west part, where we now lay at anchor, only appeared; and the only eminent part, which can be seen from a ship, is the south-east point; though many gently rising and declining grounds are observable by one who is ashore. The general appearance of the country does not afford that beautiful kind of landscape that is produced from a variety of hills and valleys, lawns, rivulets, and cascades; but, at the same time, it conveys to the spectator an idea of the most exuberant fertility, whether we respect the places improved by art, or those still in a natural state; both which yield all their vegetable productions with the greatest vigour and perpetual verdure. At a distance, the surface seems entirely clothed with trees of various sizes; some of which are very large. But above the rest, the tall cocoa-palms always raise their tufted heads; and are far from being the smallest ornament to any country that produces them. The *boogo*, which is a species of fig, with narrow-pointed leaves, is the largest sized tree of

* From the 4th to the 7th of October.

the island; and on the uncultivated spots, especially toward the sea, the most common bushes and small trees are the *pandanus;* several sorts of *hibiscus;* the *faitanoo*, mentioned more than once in the course of our voyage; and a few others. It ought also to be observed, that though the materials for forming grand landscapes are wanting, there are many of what might, at least, be called neat prospects, about the cultivated grounds and dwelling-places; but more especially about the *fiatookas;* where sometimes art, and sometimes nature, has done much to please the eye.

"From the situation of Tongataboo, toward the tropic, the climate is more variable, than in countries farther within that line; though, perhaps, that might be owing to the season of the year, which was now the winter solstice. The winds are, for the most part, from some point between south and east; and when moderate are commonly attended with fine weather. When they blow fresher, the weather is often cloudy, though open; and, in such cases, there is frequently rain. The wind sometimes veers to the north-east, north-north-east, or even north-north-west, but never lasts long, nor blows strong from thence; though it is commonly accompanied by heavy rain, and close sultry weather. The quick succession of vegetables has been already mentioned; but I am not certain that the changes of weather, by which it is brought about, are considerable enough to make them perceptible to the natives as to their method of life, or rather that they should be very sensible of the different seasons. This, perhaps, may be inferred from the state of their vegetable productions, which are never so much affected, with respect to the foliage, as to shed that all at once; for every leaf is succeeded by another, as fast as it falls; which causes that appearance of universal and continual spring found here.

"The basis of the island, as far as we know, is entirely a coral rock, which is the only sort that presents itself on the shore. Nor did we see the least appearance of any other stone, except a few small blue pebbles strewed about the *fiatookas;* and the smooth, solid black stone, something like the *lapis lydius*, of which the natives make their hatchets. But these may, probably, have been brought from other islands in the neighbourhood; for a piece of slaty, iron-coloured stone was bought at one of them, which was never seen here. Though the coral projects in many places above the surface, the soil is, in general, of a considerable depth. In all cultivated places it is commonly of a loose black colour; produced, seemingly, in a great measure, from the rotten vegetables that are planted there. Underneath which is, very probably, a clayey stratum; for a soil of that kind is often seen both in the low and in the rising grounds; but especially in several places toward the shore, where it is of any height; and, when broken off, appears sometimes of a reddish, though oftener of a brownish yellow colour, and of a pretty stiff consistence. Where the shore is low, the soil is commonly sandy, or rather composed of triturated coral; which, however, yields bushes growing with great luxuriance; and is sometimes planted, not unsuccessfully, by the natives.

"Of cultivated fruits, the principal are,—plantains; of which they have fifteen different sorts or varieties; bread-fruit; two sorts of fruit found at Otaheite, and known there under the names of *jambu* and *reevee;* the latter a kind of plum; and vast numbers of shaddocks, which, however, are found as often in a natural state as planted. The roots are,—yams, of which are two sorts; one black, and so large, that it often weighs twenty or thirty pounds; the other white and long, seldom weighing a pound; a large root called *kappe;* one not unlike our white potatoes, called *mawhaha;* the *talo*, or *coccos*, of other places; and another, named *jeejee*.

"Besides vast numbers of cocoa-nut-trees, they have three other sorts of palms, two of which are very scarce. One of them is called *beeoo;* which grows almost as high as the cocoa-tree, has very large leaves plaited like a fan, and clusters or bunches of globular nuts, not larger than a small pistol-ball, growing amongst the branches, with a very hard kernel, which is sometimes eaten. The other is a kind of cabbage-tree, not distinguishable from the cocoa, but by being rather thicker, and by having its leaves more ragged. It has a cabbage three or four feet long; at the top of which are the leaves, and at the bottom the fruit, which is scarcely two inches long, resembling an oblong cocoa-nut, with an insipid tenacious kernel, called, by the natives, *neeoogoola*, or red cocoa-nut, as it assumes a reddish

cast when ripe. The third sort is called *ongo ongo*, and much commoner, being generally found planted about their *fiatookas*. It seldom grows higher than five feet, though sometimes to eight; and has a vast number of oval compressed nuts, as large as a pippin, sticking immediately to the trunk amongst the leaves, which are not eaten. There is plenty of excellent sugar-cane, which is cultivated; gourds; bamboo; turmeric; and a species of fig, about the size of a small cherry, called *mattee*, which, though wild, is sometimes eaten. But the catalogue of uncultivated plants is too large to be enumerated here. Besides the *Pemphis decaspermum*, *mallococca*, *maba*, and some other new genera, described by Doctor Foster *, there are a few more found here; which perhaps the different seasons of the year, and his short stay, did not give him an opportunity to take notice of. Although it did not appear, during our longer stay, that above a fourth part of the trees and other plants were in flower; a circumstance absolutely necessary to enable one to distinguish the various kinds.

"The only quadrupeds besides hogs are a few rats and some dogs, which are not natives of the place, but produced from some left by us in 1773, and by others got from Feejee. Fowls, which are of a large breed, are domesticated here. Amongst the birds are parrots, somewhat smaller than the common grey ones, of an indifferent green on the back and wings, the tail blueish, and the rest of a sooty or chocolate brown; parroquets not larger than a sparrow, of a fine yellowish green, with bright azure on the crown of the head, and the throat and belly red; besides another sort as large as a dove, with a blue crown and thighs, the throat and under part of the head crimson, as also part of the belly, and the rest a beautiful green. There are owls about the size of our common sort, but of a finer plumage; the cuckoos mentioned at Palmerston's Island; kingfishers about the size of a thrush, of a greenish-blue, with a white ring about the neck; and a bird of the thrush kind, almost as big, of a dull green colour, with two yellow wattles at the base of the bill, which is the only singing one we observed here; but it compensates a good deal for the want of others by the strength and melody of its notes, which fill the woods at dawn, in the evening, and at the breaking up of bad weather.

"The other land-birds are,—rails as large as a pigeon, of a variegated grey colour, with a rusty neck; a black sort with red eyes, not larger than a lark; large violet-coloured coots with red bald crowns; two sorts of fly-catchers; a very small swallow; and three sorts of pigeons, one of which is *le ramier cuivre* of Mons. Sonnerat †; another, half the size of the common sort, of a light green on the back and wings, with a red forehead; and a third, somewhat less, of a purple brown, but whitish underneath. Of water-fowl, and such as frequent the sea, are the ducks seen at Annamooka, though scarce here; blue and white herons; tropic birds; common noddies; white terns; a new species of a leaden colour, with a black crest; a small blueish curlew; and a large plover spotted with yellow. Besides the large bats, mentioned before, there is also the common sort.

"The only noxious or disgusting animals of the reptile or insect tribe, are sea-snakes, three feet long, with black and white circles alternately, often found on shore; some scorpions and centipedes. There are fine green guanoes, a foot and a half long; another brown and spotted lizard about a foot long; and two other small sorts. Amongst the other insects are some beautiful moths, butterflies, very large spiders, and others; making in the whole about fifty different sorts. The sea abounds with fish, though the variety is less than might be expected. The most frequent sorts are mullets; several sorts of parrot-fish; silver-fish; old wives; some beautifully spotted soles; leather-jackets; bonnetos; and albicores; besides the eels mentioned at Palmerston's Island; some sharks; rays; pipe-fish; a sort of pike; and some curious devil-fish.

"The many reefs and shoals on the north side of the island afford shelter for an endless variety of shell-fish; amongst which are many that are esteemed precious in Europe. Such as the true hammer-oyster; of which, however, none could be obtained entire; a large indentated oyster; and several others, but none of the common sort; panamas; cones; a sort of gigantic cockle, found also in the East Indies; pearl-shell oysters, and many others;

* See his "Characteres Generum Plantarum." Lond. 1776.
† "Voyage à la Nouvelle Guinée," Tab. cii.

several of which, I believe, have been hitherto unknown to the most diligent inquirers after that branch of natural history. There are likwise several sorts of sea-eggs; and many very fine star-fish; besides a considerable variety of corals; amongst which are two red sorts, the one most elegantly branched, the other tubulous. And there is no less variety amongst the crabs and cray-fish, which are very numerous. To which may be added, several sorts of sponge; the sea-hare, *holothuriæ*, and the like."

CHAPTER IX.—A GRAND SOLEMNITY CALLED NATCHE, IN HONOUR OF THE KING'S SON, PERFORMED.—THE PROCESSIONS AND OTHER CEREMONIES, DURING THE FIRST DAY, DESCRIBED.—THE MANNER OF PASSING THE NIGHT AT THE KING'S HOUSE.—CONTINUATION OF THE SOLEMNITY THE NEXT DAY.—CONJECTURES ABOUT THE NATURE OF IT.—DEPARTURE FROM TONGATABOO, AND ARRIVAL AT EOOA.—ACCOUNT OF THAT ISLAND, AND TRANSACTIONS THERE.

WE were now ready to sail, but the wind being easterly, we had not sufficient daylight to turn through the narrows, either with the morning or with the evening flood; the one falling out too early and the other too late. So that, without a leading wind, we were under a necessity of waiting two or three days.

I took the opportunity of this delay to be present at a public solemnity, to which the king had invited us when we went last to visit him, and which he had informed us was to be performed on the 8th. With a view to this, he and all the people of note quitted our neighbourhood on the 7th, and repaired to Mooa, where the solemnity was to be exhibited. A party of us followed them the next morning. We understood, from what Poulaho had said to us, that his son and heir was now to be initiated into certain privileges; amongst which was that of eating with his father; an honour he had not as yet been admitted to. We arrived at Mooa about eight o'clock, and found the king with a large circle of attendants sitting before him, within an inclosure so small and dirty, as to excite my wonder that any such could be found in that neighbourhood. They were intent upon their usual morning occupation, in preparing a bowl of *kava*. As this was no liquor for us, we walked out to visit some of our friends, and to observe what preparations might be making for the ceremony, which was soon to begin. About ten o'clock the people began to assemble in a large area, which is before the *malaee*, or great house, to which we had been conducted the first time we visited M[illegible] At the end of a road that opens into this area, stood some men with spears and clubs, who kept constantly reciting or chanting short sentences, in a mournful tone, which conveyed some idea of distress, and as if they called for something. This was continued about an hour; and, in the meantime, many people came down the road, each of them bringing a yam tied to the middle of a pole, which they laid down before the persons who continued repeating the sentences. While this was going on, the king and prince arrived, and seated themselves upon the area; and we were desired to sit down by them, but to pull off our hats, and to untie our hair. The bearers of the yams being all come in, each pole was taken up between two men, who carried it over their shoulders. After forming themselves into companies of ten or twelve persons each, they marched across the place with a quick pace, each company headed by a man bearing a club or spear, and guarded on the right by several others armed with different weapons. A man carrying a living pigeon on a perch closed the rear of the procession, in which about two hundred and fifty persons walked.

Omai was desired by me to ask the chief to what place the yams were to be thus carried with so much solemnity; but as he seemed unwilling to give us the information we wanted, two or three of us followed the procession, contrary to his inclination. We found that they stopped before a *morai* or *fiatooka* * of one house standing upon a mount, which was hardly a quarter of a mile from the place where they first assembled. Here we observed them depositing the yams, and making them up into bundles; but for what purpose we could not learn. And as our presence seemed to give them uneasiness, we left them, and returned to

* This is the *fiatooka* mentioned above by Mr. Anderson, p. 123.

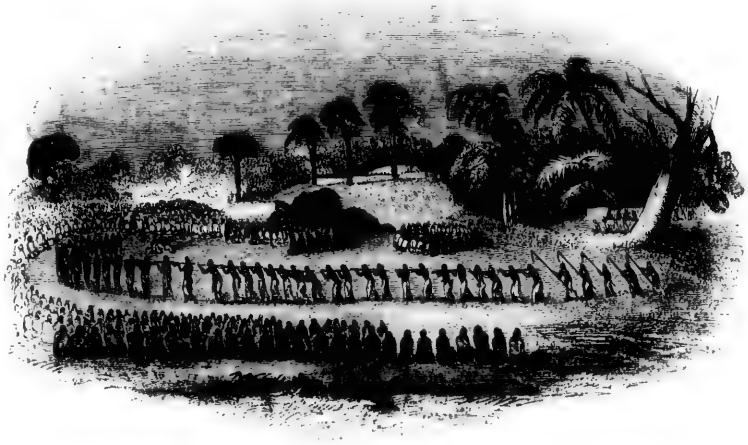
Poulaho, who told us we might amuse ourselves by walking about, as nothing would be done for some time. The fear of losing any part of the ceremony prevented our being long absent. When we returned to the king, he desired me to order the boat's crew not to stir from the boat; for, as everything would very soon be *taboo*, if any of our people, or of their own, should be found walking about, they would be knocked down with clubs; nay, *mateed*, that is, killed. He also acquainted us that we could not be present at the ceremony; but that we should be conducted to a place where we might see everything that passed. Objections were made to our dress. We were told that, to qualify us to be present, it was necessary that we should be naked as low as the breast, with our hats off and our hair untied. Omai offered to conform to these requisites, and began to strip; other objections were then started, so that the exclusion was given to him equally with ourselves.

I did not much like this restriction; and therefore stole out to see what might now be going forward. I found very few people stirring, except those dressed to attend the ceremony; some of whom had in their hands small poles about four feet long, and to the under part of these were fastened two or three other sticks not bigger than one's finger, and about six inches in length. These men were going toward the *morai* just mentioned. I took the same road, and was several times stopped by them, all crying out *taboo*. However, I went forward without much regarding them, till I came in sight of the *morai*, and of the people who were sitting before it. I was now urged very strongly to go back; and not knowing what might be the consequence of a refusal, I complied. I had observed that the people who carried the poles passed this *morai*, or what I may as well call temple; and guessing, from this circumstance, that something was transacting beyond it which might be worth looking at, I had thoughts of advancing, by making a round for this purpose; but I was so closely watched by three men, that I could not put my design in execution. In order to shake these fellows off, I returned to the *malaee*, where I had left the king, and from thence made an elopement a second time; but I instantly met with the same three men; so that it seemed as if they had been ordered to watch my motions. I paid no regard to what they said or did till I came within sight of the king's principal *fiatooka* or *morai*, which I have already described *, before which a great number of men were sitting, being the same persons whom I had just before seen pass by the other *morai*, from which this was but a little distant. Observing that I could watch the proceedings of this company from the king's plantation, I repaired thither, very much to the satisfaction of those who attended me.

As soon as I got in, I acquainted the gentlemen who had come with me from the ships with what I had seen; and we took a proper station to watch the result. The number of people at the *fiatooka* continued to increase for some time; and at length we could see them quit their sitting posture, and march off in procession. They walked in pairs, one after another, every pair carrying between them one of the small poles above-mentioned on their shoulders. We were told that the small pieces of sticks fastened to the poles were yams; so that, probably, they were meant to represent this root emblematically. The hindmost man of each couple, for the most part, placed one of his hands to the middle of the pole, as if, without this additional support, it were not strong enough to carry the weight that hung to it, and under which they all seemed to bend as they walked. This procession consisted of one hundred and eight pairs, and all, or most of them, men of rank. They came close by the fence behind which we stood, so that we had a full view of them. Having waited here till they had all passed, we then repaired to Poulaho's house, and saw him going out. We could not be allowed to follow him; but were forthwith conducted to the place allotted to us, which was behind a fence, adjoining to the area of the *fiatooka* where the yams had been deposited in the forenoon. As we were not the only people who were excluded from being publicly present at this ceremony, but allowed to peep from behind the curtain, we had a good deal of company; and I observed that all the other inclosures round the place were filled with people. And yet all imaginable care seemed to be taken that they should see as little as possible; for the fences had not only been repaired that morning, but in many places raised higher than common, so that the tallest man could not look over them. To remedy this defect in our station, we took the liberty to cut holes in the fence

* See p. 120.

with our knives; and by this means we could see pretty distinctly everything that was transacting on the other side.



NATCHE IN HONOUR OF THE KING'S SON.

On our arrival at our station, we found two or three hundred people sitting on the grass near the end of the road that opened into the area of the *morai*, and the number continually increased, by others joining them. At length arrived a few men carrying some small poles, and branches or leaves of the cocoa-nut tree; and upon their first appearance, an old man seated himself in the road, and, with his face towards them, pronounced a long oration in a serious tone. He then retired back, and the others advancing to the middle of the area, began to erect a small shed, employing for that purpose the materials above-mentioned. When they had finished their work, they all squatted down for a moment before it, then rose up and retired to the rest of the company. Soon after came Poulaho's son, preceded by four or five men, and they seated themselves a little aside from the shed, and rather behind it. After them appeared twelve or fourteen women of the first rank, walking slowly in pairs, each pair carrying between them a narrow piece of white cloth, extended about two or three yards in length. These marched up to the prince, squatted down before him, and, having wrapped some of the pieces of the cloth they had brought round his body, they rose up and retired in the same order, to some distance on his left, and there seated themselves. Poulaho himself soon made his appearance, preceded by four men, who walked two and two abreast, and sat down on his son's left hand, about twenty paces from him. The young prince then quitting his first position, went and sat down under the shed with his attendants; and a considerable number more placed themselves on the grass before this royal canopy. The prince himself sat facing the people, with his back to the *morai*. This being done, three companies, of ten or a dozen men in each, started up from amongst the large crowd, a little after each other, and running hastily to the opposite side of the area, sat down for a few seconds, after which they returned in the same manner to their former stations. To them succeeded two men, each of whom held a small green branch in his hand, who got up and approached the prince, sitting down for a few seconds three different times as they advanced; and then turning their backs, retired in the same manner, inclining their branches to each other as they sat. In a little time two more repeated this ceremony.

The grand procession which I had seen march off from the other *morai* now began to come in. To judge of the circuit they had made from the time they had been absent, it must have

been pretty large. As they entered the area, they marched up to the right of the shed, and, having prostrated themselves on the grass, deposited their pretended burthens (the poles above-mentioned), and faced round to the prince. They then rose up and retired in the same order, closing their hands, which they held before them, with the most serious aspect, and seated themselves along the front of the area. During all the time that this numerous band were coming in, and depositing their poles, three men, who sat under the shed with the prince, continued pronouncing separate sentences in a melancholy tone. After this a profound silence ensued for a little time, and then a man, who sat in the front of the area, began an oration (or prayer), during which, at several different times, he went and broke one of the poles which had been brought in by those who had walked in procession. When he had ended, the people sitting before the shed separated, to make a lane, through which the prince and his attendants passed, and the assembly broke up.

Some of our party, satisfied with what they had already seen, now returned to the ships; but I, and two or three more of the officers, remained at Mooa, to see the conclusion of the solemnity, which was not to be till the next day; being desirous of omitting no opportunity which might afford any information about the religious or the political institutions of this people. The small sticks, or poles, which had been brought into the area by those who walked in procession, being left lying on the ground after the crowd had dispersed, I went and examined them. I found that, to the middle of each, two or three small sticks were tied, as has been related. Yet we had been repeatedly told by the natives who stood near us that they were young yams; insomuch that some of our gentlemen believed them rather than their own eyes. As I had the demonstration of my senses to satisfy me that they were not real yams, it is clear that we ought to have understood them, that they were only the artificial representations of these roots.

Our supper was got ready about seven o'clock. It consisted of fish and yams. We might have had pork also; but we did not choose to kill a large hog which the king had given to us for that purpose. He supped with us, and drank pretty freely of brandy-and-water; so that he went to bed with a sufficient dose. We passed the night in the same house with him and several of his attendants. About one or two o'clock in the morning, they waked and conversed for about an hour, and then went to sleep again. All but Poulaho himself rose at daybreak, and went I know not whither. Soon after a woman, one of those who generally attended upon the chief, came in and inquired where he was. I pointed him out to her; and she immediately sat down by him, and began the same operation which Mr. Anderson had seen practised upon Futtafaihe, tapping or beating gently with her clenched fists on his thighs. This, instead of prolonging his sleep, as was intended, had the contrary effect; however, though he awaked, he continued to lie down.

Omai and I now went to visit the prince, who had parted from us early in the evening: for he did not lodge with the king, but in apartments of his own, or at least such as had been allotted to him, at some distance from his father's house. We found him with a circle of boys, or youths about his own age, sitting before him; and an old woman and an old man, who seemed to have the care of him, sitting behind. There were others, both men and women, employed about their necessary affairs in different departments, who probably belonged to his household. From the prince we returned to the king. By this time he had got up, and had a crowded circle before him, composed chiefly of old men. While a large bowl of *kava* was preparing, a baked hog and yams, smoking hot, were brought in, the greatest part of which fell to our share, and was very acceptable to the boat's crew; for these people eat very little in the morning, especially the *kava* drinkers. I afterward walked out and visited several other chiefs, and found that all of them were taking their morning draught or had already taken it. Returning to the king, I found him asleep in a small retired hut, with two women tapping on his breech. About eleven o'clock he arose again; and then some fish and yams, which tasted as if they had been stewed in cocoa-nut milk, were brought to him. Of these he ate a large portion, and lay down once more to sleep. I now left him, and carried to the prince a present of cloth, beads, and other articles, which I had brought with me from the ship for the purpose. There was a sufficient quantity of cloth to make him a complete suit, and he was immediately decked out with it. Proud of his

dress, he first went to show himself to his father, and then conducted me to his mother, with whom were about ten or a dozen other women of a respectable appearance. Here the prince changed his apparel, and made me a present of two pieces of the cloth manufactured in the island. By this time it was past noon, when, by appointment, I repaired to the palace to dinner. Several of our gentlemen had returned this morning from the ships; and we were all invited to the feast, which was presently served up, and consisted of two pigs and yams. I roused the drowsy monarch to partake of what he had provided for our entertainment. In the mean time, two mullets and some shell-fish were brought to him, as I supposed, for his separate portion; but he joined it to our fare, sat down with us, and made a hearty meal.

When dinner was over, we were told that the ceremony would soon begin, and were strictly enjoined not to walk out. I had resolved, however, to peep no longer from behind the curtain, but to mix with the actors themselves if possible. With this view I stole out from the plantation, and walked toward the *morai*, the scene of the solemnity. I was several times desired to go back by people whom I met; but I paid no regard to them, and they suffered me to pass on. When I arrived at the *morai*, I found a number of men seated on the side of the area on each side of the road that leads up to it. A few were sitting on the opposite side of the area, and two men in the middle of it, with their faces turned to the *morai*. When I got into the midst of the first company, I was desired to sit down, which I accordingly did. Where I sat there were lying a number of small bundles or parcels, composed of cocoa-nut leaves, and tied to sticks made into the form of hand-barrows. All the information I could get about them was, that they were *taboo*. Our number kept continually increasing, every one coming from the same quarter. From time to time, one or another of the company turned himself to those who were coming to join us, and made a short speech, in which I could remark that the word *arekee*, that is, king, was generally mentioned. One man said something that produced bursts of hearty laughter from all the crowd; others of the speakers met with public applause. I was several times desired to leave the place; and, at last, when they found that I would not stir, after some seeming consultation, they applied to me to uncover my shoulders as theirs were. With this request I complied, and then they seemed to be no longer uneasy at my presence.

I sat a full hour without anything more going forward beside what I have mentioned. At length the prince, the women, and the king, all came in, as they had done the day before. The prince, being placed under the shed, after his father's arrival, two men, each carrying a piece of mat, came, repeating something seriously, and put them about him. The assembled people now began their operations; and first, three companies ran backward and forward across the area, as described in the account of the proceedings of the former day. Soon after, the two men who sat in the middle of the area made a short speech or prayer; and then the whole body amongst whom I had my place, started up, and ran and seated themselves before the shed under which the prince and three or four men were sitting. I was now partly under the management of one of the company, who seemed very assiduous to serve me. By his means, I was placed in such a situation, that if I had been allowed to make use of my eyes, nothing that passed could have escaped me. But it was necessary to sit with downcast looks, and demure as maids.

Soon after, the procession came in, as on the day before; each two persons bearing on their shoulders a pole, round the middle of which a cocoa-nut leaf was plaited. These were deposited with ceremonies similar to those observed on the preceding day. This first procession was followed by a second; the men composing which brought baskets, such as are usually employed by this people to carry provisions in, and made of palm-leaves. These were followed by a third procession, in which were brought different kinds of small fish; each fixed at the end of a forked stick. The baskets were carried up to an old man, whom I took to be the chief-priest, and who sat on the prince's right hand, without the shed. He held each in his hand, while he made a short speech or prayer, then laid it down, and called for another, repeating the same words as before; and thus he went through the whole number of baskets. The fish were presented one by one on the forked sticks, as they came in, to two men who sat on the left; and who, till now, held green branches in their hands. The first fish they laid down on their right, and the second on their left. When the third

was presented, a stout-looking man, who sat behind the other two, reached his arm over between them, and made a snatch at it; as also did the other two, at the very same time. Thus they seemed to contend for every fish that was presented; but as there were two hands against one, besides the advantage of situation, the man behind got nothing but pieces; for he never quitted his hold till the fish was torn out of his hand; and what little remained in it he shook out behind him. The others laid what they got on the right and left alternately. At length, either by accident or design, the man behind got possession of a whole fish, without either of the other two so much as touching it. At this the word *mareeai*, which signifies "very good," or "well done," was uttered in a low voice throughout the whole crowd. It seemed that he had performed now all that was expected from him; for he made no attempt upon the few fish that came after. These fish, as also the baskets, were all delivered, by the persons who brought them in, sitting; and in the same order and manner the small poles, which the first procession carried, had been laid upon the ground.

The last procession being closed, there was some speaking or praying by different persons. Then, on some signal being given, we all started up, ran several paces to the left, and sat down with our backs to the prince, and the few who remained with him. I was desired not to look behind me. However, neither this injunction, nor the remembrance of Lot's wife, discouraged me from facing about. I now saw that the prince had turned his face to the *morai*. But this last movement had brought so many people between him and me, that I could not perceive what was doing. I was afterwards assured, that at this very time, the prince was admitted to the high honour of eating with his father, which till now had never been permitted to him; a piece of roasted yam being presented to each of them for this purpose. This was the more probable, as we had been told beforehand that this was to happen during the solemnity, and as all the people turned their backs to them at this time, which they always do when their monarch eats.

After some little time, we all faced about, and formed a semicircle before the prince, leaving a large open space between us. Presently there appeared some men coming toward us, two and two, bearing large sticks, or poles, upon their shoulders, making a noise that might be called singing, and waving their hands as they advanced. When they had got close up to us, they made a show of walking very fast, without proceeding a single step. Immediately after, three or four men started up from the crowd, with large sticks in their hands, who ran towards those newcomers. The latter instantly threw down the poles from their shoulders and scampered off; and the others attacked the poles; and, having beat them most unmercifully, returned to their places. As the pole-bearers ran off, they gave the challenge that is usual here in wrestling; and not long after, a number of stout fellows came from the same quarter, repeating the challenge as they advanced. These were opposed by a party who came from the opposite side almost at the same instant. The two parties paraded about the area for a few minutes, and then retired, each to their own side. After this, there were wrestling and boxing matches for about half an hour. Then two men seated themselves before the prince, and made speeches, addressed, as I thought, entirely to him. With this the solemnity ended, and the whole assembly broke up. I now went and examined the several baskets which had been presented; a curiosity that I was not allowed before to indulge; because everything was then *taboo*. But the solemnity being now over, they became simply what I found them to be, empty baskets. So that, whatever they were supposed to contain, was emblematically represented. And so, indeed, was every other thing which had been brought in procession, except the fish.

We endeavoured in vain to find out the meaning, not only of the ceremony in general, which is called *Natche*, but of its different parts. We seldom got any other answer to our inquiries, but *taboo;* a word which I have before observed, is applied to many other things. But as the prince was evidently the principal person concerned in it; and as we had been told by the king, ten days before the celebration of the *Natche*, that the people would bring in yams for him and his son to eat together; and as he even described some part of the ceremony, we concluded, from what he had then said, and from what we now saw, that an oath of allegiance, if I may so express myself, or solemn promise, was on this occasion made

to the prince, as the immediate successor to the regal dignity, to stand by him, and to furnish him with the several articles that were here emblematically represented. This seems the more probable, as all the principal people of the island, whom we had ever seen, assisted in the processions. But, be this as it may, the whole was conducted with agreat deal of mysterious solemnity; and that there was a mixture of religion in the institution was evident, not only from the place where it was performed, but from the manner of performing it. Our dress and deportment had never been called in question upon any former occasion whatever. Now, it was expected that we should be uncovered as low as the waist; that our hair should be loose, and flowing over our shoulders; that we should, like themselves, sit cross-legged; and at times in the most humble posture, with downcast eyes, and hands locked together; all which requisites were most devoutly observed by the whole assembly. And, lastly, every one was excluded from the solemnity, but the principal people, and those who assisted in the celebration. All these circumstances were to me a sufficient testimony, that, upon this occasion, they considered themselves as acting under the immediate inspection of a Supreme Being.

The present *Natche* may be considered, from the above account of it, as merely figurative. For the small quantity of yams, which we saw the first day, could not be intended as a general contribution; and, indeed, we were given to understand, that they were a portion consecrated to the *Otooa* or divinity. But we were informed, that in about three months there would be performed, on the same account, a far more important and grander solemnity; on which occasion, not only the tribute of Tongataboo, but that of Hapaee, Vavaoo, and of all the other islands, would be brought to the chief, and confirmed more awfully, by sacrificing ten human victims from amongst the inferior sort of people. A horrid solemnity, indeed! and which is a most significant instance of the influence of gloomy and ignorant superstition, over the minds of one of the most benevolent and humane nations upon earth. On inquiring into the reasons of so barbarous a practice, they only said, that it was a necessary part of the *Natche;* and that if they omitted it, the deity would certainly destroy their king.

Before the assembly broke up, the day was far spent; and as we were at some distance from the ships, and had an intricate navigation to go through, we were in haste to set out from Mooa. When I took leave of Poulaho, he pressed me much to stay till the next day, to be present at a funeral ceremony. The wife of Mareewagee, who was mother-in-law to the king, had lately died; and her corpse had, on account of the *Natche*, been carried on board a canoe that lay in the lagoon. Poulaho told me, that as soon as he had paid the last offices to her, he would attend me to Eooa; but, if I did not wait, that he would follow me thither. I understood at the same time, that, if it had not been for the death of this woman, most of the chiefs would have accompanied us to that island; where, it seems, all of them have possessions. I would gladly have waited to see this ceremony also, had not the tide been now favourable for the ships to get through the narrows. The wind, besides, which for several days past had been very boisterous, was now moderate and settled; and to have lost this opportunity, might have detained us a fortnight longer. But what was decisive against my waiting, we understood that the funeral ceremonies would last five days, which was too long a time, as the ships lay in such a situation that I could not get to sea at pleasure. I, however, assured the king, that if we did not sail, I should certainly visit him again the next day. And so we all took leave of him, and set out for the ships, where we arrived about eight o'clock in the evening.

I had forgot to mention that Omai was present at the second day's ceremony, as well as myself; but we were not together; nor did I know that he was there, till it was almost over. He afterwards told me, that as soon as the king saw that I had stolen out from the plantation, he sent several people, one after another, to desire me to come back. Probably, these messengers were not admitted to the place where I was; for I saw nothing of them. At last, intelligence was brought to the chief, that I had actually stripped, in conformity to their custom; and then he told Omai, that he might be present also, if he would comply with all the necessary forms. Omai had no objection, as nothing was required of him, but to conform to the custom of his own country. Accordingly, he was furnished with a proper

dress, and appeared at the ceremony as one of the natives. It is likely, that one reason of our being excluded at first, was an apprehension that we would not submit to the requisites to qualify us to assist.

While I was attending the *Natche* at Mooa, I ordered the horses, bull and cow, and goats, to be brought thither; thinking that they would be safer there, under the eyes of the chiefs, than at a place that would be, in a manner, deserted, the moment after our departure. Besides the above-mentioned animals, we left, with our friends here, a young boar, and three young sows, of the English breed. They were exceedingly desirous of them, judging, no doubt, that they would greatly improve their own breed, which is rather small. Feenou also got from us two rabbits, a buck and a doe; and, before we sailed, we were told, that young ones had been already produced. If the cattle succeed, of which I make no doubt, it will be a vast acquisition to these islands; and, as Tongataboo is a fine level country, the horses cannot but be useful.

On the 10th, at eight o'clock in the morning, we weighed anchor, and with a steady gale at south-east, turned through the channel, between the small isles called Makkahaa and Monooafai; it being much wider than the channel between the last mentioned island and Pangimodoo. The flood set strong in our favour, till we were the length of the channel leading up to the lagoon, where the flood from the eastward meets that from the west. This, together with the indraught of the lagoon, and of the shoals before it, causeth strong ripplings and whirlpools. To add to these dangers, the depth of water in the channel exceeds the length of a cable; so that there is no anchorage, except close to the rocks, where we met with forty and forty-five fathoms, over a bottom of dark sand. But, then, here a ship would be exposed to the whirlpools. This frustrated the design which I had formed, of coming to an anchor, as soon as we were through the narrows, and of making an excursion to see the funeral. I chose rather to lose that ceremony, than to leave the ships in a situation in which I did not think them safe. We continued to ply to windward, between the two tides, without either gaining or losing an inch, till near high-water, when, by a favourable slant, we got into the eastern tide's influence. We expected there to find the ebb to run strong to the eastward in our favour; but it proved so inconsiderable, that, at any other time, it would not have been noticed. This informed us, that most of the water, which flows into the lagoon, comes from the north-west, and returns the same way. About five in the afternoon, finding that we could not get to sea before it was dark, I came to an anchor, under the shore of Tongataboo, in forty-five fathoms water; and about two cables'-length from the reef, that runs along that side of the island. The Discovery dropped anchor under our stern; but before the anchor took hold, she drove off the bank, and did not recover it till after midnight. We remained at this station, till eleven o'clock the next day, when we weighed and plied to the eastward. But it was ten at night before we weathered the east end of the island, and were enabled to stretch away for Middleburg, or Eooa (as it is called by the inhabitants), where we anchored at eight o'clock the next morning, in forty fathoms water, over a bottom of sand, interspersed with coral rocks; the extremes of the island extending, from N. 40° E. to S. 22° W.; the high land of Eooa, S. 45° E.; and Tongataboo, from N. 70° W. to N. 19° W.; distant about half a mile from the shore; being nearly the same place where I had my station in 1773, and then named by me, English Road.

We had no sooner anchored, than Taoofa the chief, and several other natives, visited us on board, and seemed to rejoice much at our arrival. This Taoofa* had been my *Tayo*, when I was here during my last voyage; consequently we were not strangers to each other. In a little time, I went ashore with him, in search of fresh water; the procuring of which was the chief object that brought me to Eooa. I had been told at Tongataboo, that there was here a stream running from the hills into the sea; but this was not the case now. I was first conducted to a brackish spring, between low and high water mark, amongst rocks in the cove where we landed, and where no one would ever have thought of looking for what we wanted. However, I believe the water of this spring might be good, were it

* In the account of Captain Cook's former voyage, he calls the only chief he then met with at this place, *Tioony*. See vol. I. p. 216.

possible to take it up, before the tide mixes with it. Finding that we did not like this, our friends took us a little way into the island; where, in a deep chasm, we found very good water; which, at the expense of some time and trouble, might be conveyed down to the shore, by means of spouts or troughs, that could be made with plantain leaves, and the stem of the tree. But, rather than to undertake that tedious task, I resolved to rest contented with the supply the ships had got at Tongataboo. Before I returned on board, I set on foot a trade for hogs and yams. Of the former we could procure but few; but of the latter, plenty. I put ashore, at this island, the ram and two ewes, of the Cape of Good Hope breed of sheep; entrusting them to the care of Taoofa, who seemed proud of his charge. It was fortunate, perhaps, that Mareewagee, to whom I had given them, as before-mentioned, slighted the present. Eooa, not having as yet got any dogs upon it, seems to be a properer place than Tongataboo for the rearing of sheep.

As we lay at anchor, this island bore a very different aspect from any we had lately seen, and formed a most beautiful landscape. It is higher than any we had passed, since leaving New Zealand (as Kao may justly be reckoned an immense rock), and from its top, which is almost flat, declines very gently toward the sea. As the other isles of this cluster are level, the eye can discover nothing but the trees that cover them; but here the land, rising gently upward, presents us with an extensive prospect, where groves of trees are only interspersed at irregular distances, in beautiful disorder, and the rest covered with grass. Near the shore, again, it is quite shaded with various trees, amongst which are the habitations of the natives; and to the right of our station, was one of the most extensive groves of cocoa-palms we had ever seen.

The 13th, in the afternoon, a party of us made an excursion to the highest part of the island, which was a little to the right of our ships, in order to have a full view of the country. About half way up, we crossed a deep valley, the bottom and sides of which, though composed of hardly anything but coral rock, were clothed with trees. We were now about two or three hundred feet above the level of the sea, and yet, even here, the coral was perforated into all the holes and inequalities, which usually diversify the surface of this substance within the reach of the tide. Indeed, we found the same coral, till we began to approach the summits of the highest hills; and it was remarkable, that these were chiefly composed of a yellowish, soft, sandy stone. The soil there is, in general, a reddish clay; which, in many places, seemed to be very deep. On the most elevated part of the whole island we found a round platform, or mount of earth, supported by a wall of coral stones; to bring which to such a height, must have cost much labour. Our guides told us that this mount had been erected by order of their chief; and that they sometimes met there to drink *kava*. They called it *Etchee;* by which name an erection which we had seen at Tongataboo, as already mentioned, was distinguished. Not many paces from it was a spring of excellent water; and, about a mile lower down, a running stream, which we were told found its way to the sea, when the rains were copious. We also met with water, in many little holes; and, no doubt, great plenty might be found, by digging. From the elevation to which we had ascended, we had a full view of the whole island, except a part of the south point. The south-east side, from which the highest hills we were now upon are not far distant, rises with very great inequalities immediately from the sea; so that the plains and meadows, of which there are here some of great extent, lie all on the north-west side; and, as they are adorned with tufts of trees, intermixed with plantations, they form a very beautiful landscape in every point of view. While I was surveying this delightful prospect, I could not help flattering myself with the pleasing idea that some future navigator may, from the same station, behold these meadows stocked with cattle, brought to these islands by the ships of England; and that the completion of this single benevolent purpose, independently of all other considerations, would sufficiently mark to posterity that our voyages had not been useless to the general interests of humanity. Besides the plants common on the other neighbouring islands, we found, on the height, a species of *Acrosticum melastoma*, and fern-tree; with a few other ferns and plants, not common lower down.

Our guides informed us, that all, or most of the land on this island, belonged to the great chiefs of Tongataboo; and that the inhabitants were only tenants or vassals to them.

Indeed, this seemed to be the case at all the other neighbouring isles, except Annamooka, where there were some chiefs, who seemed to act with some kind of independence. Omai, who was a great favourite with Feenou, and these people in general, was tempted with the offer of being made chief of this island if he would have staid amongst them; and it is not clear to me, that he would not have been glad to stay, if the scheme had met with my approbation. I own I did disapprove of it; but not because I thought that Omai would do better for himself in his own native isle.

On returning from my country expedition, we were informed that a party of the natives had, in the circle where our people traded, struck one of their own countrymen with a club, which laid bare, or, as others said, fractured his skull, and then broke his thigh with the same, when our men interposed. He had no signs of life when carried to a neighbouring house; but afterward recovered a little. On my asking the reason of so severe a treatment, we were informed that he had been discovered in a situation rather indelicate with a woman who was *tabooed*. We, however, understood that she was no otherwise *tabooed*, than by belonging to another person, and rather superior in rank to her gallant. From this circumstance we had an opportunity of observing how these people treat such infidelities. But the female sinner has, by far, the smaller share of punishment for her misdemeanor; as they told us that she would only receive a slight beating.

The next morning I planted a pine-apple, and sowed the seeds of melons and other vegetables in the chief's plantation. I had some encouragement, indeed, to flatter myself that my endeavours of this kind would not be fruitless; for, this day, there was served up at my dinner a dish of turnips, being the produce of the seeds I had left here during my last voyage.

I had fixed upon the 15th for sailing, till Taoofa pressed me to stay a day or two longer, to receive a present he had prepared for me. This reason, and the daily expectation of seeing some of our friends from Tongataboo, induced me to defer my departure. Accordingly, the next day, I received the chief's present; consisting of two small heaps of yams, and some fruit, which seemed to be collected by a kind of contribution, as at the other isles. On this occasion, most of the people of the island had assembled at the place; and, as we had experienced on such numerous meetings amongst their neighbours, gave us not a little trouble to prevent them from pilfering whatever they could lay their hands upon. We were entertained with cudgelling, wrestling, and boxing-matches; and in the latter, both male and female combatants exhibited. It was intended to have finished the show with the *bomai*, or night-dance; but an accident either put a total stop to it, or, at least, prevented any of us from staying ashore to see it. One of my people, walking a very little way, was surrounded by twenty or thirty of the natives, who knocked him down, and stripped him of everything he had on his back. On hearing of this, I immediately seized two canoes and a large hog; and insisted on Taoofa's causing the clothes to be restored, and on the offenders being delivered up to me. The chief seemed much concerned at what had happened; and forthwith took the necessary steps to satisfy me. This affair so alarmed the assembled people, that most of them fled. However, when they found that I took no other measures to revenge the insult, they returned. It was not long before one of the offenders was delivered up to me, and a shirt and a pair of trousers restored. The remainder of the stolen goods not coming in before night, I was under the necessity of leaving them to go aboard; for the sea ran so high, that it was with the greatest difficulty the boats could get out of the creek with daylight, much less in the dark.

The next morning I landed again, having provided myself with a present for Taoofa, in return for what he had given me. As it was early, there were but few people at the landing-place, and those few not without their fears. But on my desiring Omai to assure them that we meant no harm; and, in confirmation of this assurance, having restored the canoes and released the offender, whom they had delivered up to me, they resumed their usual gaiety; and, presently, a large circle was formed, in which the chief and all the principal men of the island took their places. The remainder of the clothes were now brought in; but, as they had been torn off the man's back by pieces, they were not worth carrying on board. Taoofa, on receiving my present, shared it with three or four other chiefs, keeping

only a small part for himself. This present exceeded their expectation so greatly, that one of the chiefs, a venerable old man, told me that they did not deserve it, considering how little they had given to me, and the ill treatment one of my people had met with. I remained with them till they had finished their bowl of *kava;* and having then paid for the hog which I had taken the day before, returned on board with Taoofa, and one of Poulaho's servants, by whom I sent, as a parting mark of my esteem and regard for that chief, a piece of bar-iron; being as valuable a present as any I could make to him.

Soon after we weighed, and, with a light breeze at south-east, stood out to sea; and then Taoofa, and a few other natives that were in the ship, left us. On heaving up the anchor, we found that the cable had suffered considerably by the rocks; so that the bottom in this road is not to be depended upon. Besides this, we experienced that a prodigious swell rolls in there from the south-west. We had not been long under sail, before we observed a sailing-canoe coming from Tongataboo, and entering the creek before which we had anchored. Some hours after a small canoe, conducted by four men, came off to us; for, as we had but little wind, we were still at no great distance from the land. These men told us that the sailing-canoe, which we had seen arrive from Tongataboo, had brought orders to the people of Eooa, to furnish us with a certain number of hogs; and that in two days, the king and other chiefs would be with us. They, therefore, desired we would return to our former station. There was no reason to doubt the truth of what these men told us. Two of them had actually come from Tongataboo in the sailing-canoe; and they had no view in coming off to us, but to give this intelligence. However, as we were now clear of the land, it was not a sufficient inducement to bring me back; especially as we had already on board a stock of fresh provisions, sufficient, in all probability, to last during our passage to Otaheite. Besides Taoofa's present, we had got a good quantity of yams at Eooa, in exchange chiefly for small nails. Our supply of hogs was also considerably increased there; though, doubtless, we should have got many more if the chiefs of Tongataboo had been with us, whose property they mostly were. At the approach of night, these men finding that we would not return, left us; as also some others, who had come off in two canoes, with a few cocoa-nuts and shaddocks, to exchange them for what they could get; the eagerness of these people to get into their possession more of our commodities, inducing them to follow the ships out to sea, and to continue their intercourse with us to the last moment.

CHAPTER X.—ADVANTAGES DERIVED FROM VISITING THE FRIENDLY ISLANDS.—BEST ARTICLES FOR TRAFFIC.—REFRESHMENTS THAT MAY BE PROCURED.—THE NUMBER OF THE ISLANDS, AND THEIR NAMES.—KEPPEL'S AND BOSCAWEN'S ISLANDS BELONG TO THEM.—ACCOUNT OF VAVAOO—OF HAMOA—OF FEEJEE.—VOYAGES OF THE NATIVES IN THEIR CANOES.—DIFFICULTY OF PROCURING EXACT INFORMATION.—PERSONS OF THE INHABITANTS OF BOTH SEXES—THEIR COLOUR—DISEASES—THEIR GENERAL CHARACTER.—MANNER OF WEARING THEIR HAIR—OF PUNCTURING THEIR BODIES.—THEIR CLOTHING AND ORNAMENTS.—PERSONAL CLEANLINESS.

THUS we took leave of the Friendly Islands and their inhabitants, after a stay of between two and three months; during which time, we lived together in the most cordial friendship. Some accidental differences, it is true, now and then happened, owing to their great propensity for thieving; but, too often encouraged by the negligence of our own people. But these differences were never attended with any fatal consequences; to prevent which, all my measures were directed; and I believe, few on board our ships left our friends here without some regret. The time employed amongst them was not thrown away. We expended very little of our sea provisions; subsisting in general upon the produce of the islands, while we staid; and carrying away with us a quantity of refreshments sufficient to last till our arrival at another station, where we could depend upon a fresh supply. I was not sorry, besides, to have had an opportunity of bettering the condition of these good people, by leaving the useful animals before-mentioned among them; and, at the same time, those designed for Otaheite, received fresh strength in the pastures of Tongataboo. Upon the whole, therefore, the advantages we received by touching here were very great; and I

had the additional satisfaction to reflect, that they were received, without retarding one moment the prosecution of the great object of our voyage; the season for proceeding to the north being, as has been already observed, lost, before I took the resolution of bearing away for these islands.

But, besides the immediate advantages, which both the natives of the Friendly Islands, and ourselves, received by this visit, future navigators from Europe, if any such should ever tread our steps, will profit by the knowledge I acquired of the geography of this part of the Pacific Ocean; and the more philosophical reader, who loves to view human nature in new situations, and to speculate on singular, but faithful representations of the persons, the customs, the arts, the religion, the government, and the language of uncultivated man, in remote and fresh discovered quarters of the globe, will, perhaps, find matter of amusement, if not of instruction, in the information which I have been enabled to convey to him, concerning the inhabitants of this Archipelago. I shall suspend my narrative, of the progress of the voyage, while I faithfully relate what I had opportunities of collecting on these several topics.

We found by our experience, that the best articles for traffic, at these islands, are iron tools in general. Axes and hatchets; nails, from the largest spike down to tenpenny ones; rasps, files, and knives, are much sought after. Red cloth, and linen, both white and coloured; looking-glasses and beads, are also in estimation; but of the latter, those that are blue are preferred to all others; and white ones are thought the least valuable. A string of large blue beads would, at any time, purchase a hog. But it must be observed, that such articles as are merely ornaments, may be highly esteemed at one time, and not so at another. When we first arrived at Annamooka, the people there would hardly take them in exchange even for fruit; but when Feenou came, this great man set the fashion, and brought them into vogue, till they rose in their value to what I have just mentioned. In return for the favourite commodities which I have enumerated, all the refreshments may be procured that the islands produce. These are hogs, fowls, fish, yams, bread-fruit, plantains, cocoa-nuts, sugar-cane, and, in general, every such supply as can be met with at Otaheite, or any of the Society Islands. The yams of the Friendly Islands are excellent, and when grown to perfection, keep very well at sea. But their pork, bread-fruit, and plantains, though far from despicable, are, nevertheless, much inferior in quality to the same articles at Otaheite, and in its neighbourhood.

Good water, which ships on long voyages stand so much in need of, is scarce at these islands. It may be found, it is true, on them all; but, still, either in too inconsiderable quantities, or in situations too inconvenient to serve the purposes of navigators. However, as the islands afford plenty of provisions, and particularly of cocoa-nuts, ships may make a tolerable shift with such water as is to be got; and if one is not over nice, there will be no want. While we lay at anchor under Kotoo, on our return from Hapaee, some people from Kao informed us that there was a stream of water there, which, pouring down from the mountain, runs into the sea on the south-west side of the island; that is, on the side that faces Toofoa, another island remarkable for its height, as also for having a considerable volcano in it, which, as has been already mentioned, burned violently all the time that we were in its neighbourhood. It may be worth while for future navigators to attend to this intelligence about the stream of water at Kao; especially as we learned that there was anchorage on that part of the coast. The black stone, of which the natives of the Friendly Islands make their hatchets and other tools, we were informed, is the production of Toofoa.

Under the denomination of Friendly Islands, we must include not only the group at Hapaee, which I visited, but also all those islands that have been discovered nearly under the same meridian to the north, as well as some others that have never been seen, hitherto, by any European navigators; but are under the dominion of Tongataboo, which, though not the largest, is the capital, and seat of government.

According to the information that we received there, this archipelago is very extensive. Above one hundred and fifty islands were reckoned up to us by the natives, who made use of bits of leaves to ascertain their number; and Mr. Anderson, with his usual diligence, even procured all their names. Fifteen of them are said to be high or hilly, such as Toofoa

and Eooa; and thirty-five of them large. Of these only three were seen this voyage; Hapaee (which is considered by the natives as one island), Tongataboo and Eooa: of the size of the unexplored thirty-two, nothing more can be mentioned, but that they must be all larger than Annamooka; with those, from whom we had our information, ranked amongst the smaller isles. Some, or indeed several, of this latter denomination, are mere spots, without inhabitants. Sixty-one of these islands have their proper places and names marked upon our chart of the Friendly Islands, and upon the sketch of the harbour of Tongataboo, to both which I refer the reader. But it must be left to future navigators to introduce into the geography of this part of the South Pacific Ocean, the exact situation and size of near a hundred more islands in this neighbourhood, which we had not an opportunity to explore, and whose existence we only learnt from the testimony of our friends, as above mentioned. On their authority the following list of them was made; and it may serve as a groundwork for farther investigation.

NAMES OF THE FRIENDLY ISLANDS AND OTHERS IN THAT NEIGHBOURHOOD, MENTIONED BY THE INHABITANTS OF ANNAMOOKA, HAPAEE, AND TONGATABOO.†

Komooefeeva.
Kollalona.
Felongaboonga.
Kovereetoa.
Fonogooeatta.
Modooanoogoo noogoo.
Tongooa.
Kooea.
Fonoea eeka.
*Vavaoo.
Koloa.
Fafeene.
Taoonga.
Kobakeemotoo.
Kongahoonoho.
Komalla.
Konoababoo.
Konnetalle.
Komongoraffa.
Kotooloea.
Kologobeele.
Kollokolahee.
Matageefaia.
Mallajee.
Noogoofaeeou.
Koreemou.
Failemaia.
Koweeka.
Konookoonama.
Kooonoogoo.
Geenageena.
Kowourogoheefo.
Kottejeen.
Kokabba.
Boloa.
Toofagga.
Loogoobahanga.
Taoola.
Maneemeeta.
Fonooanoma.
Fonooonneonne.
Wegaffa.
Fooamutoo,
Fonooalaiee.
Tattahoi.
Latte.
*Neuafo.
*Feejee.
*Oowaia.
Novababoo.
Golabbe.
Vugaeetoo.
Gowakka.
*Goofoo.
Mafanna.
Kolloooa.
Tabanna.
Motooha.
Looakabba.
Toofanaetollo.
Toofanaelaa.
*Kogoopoloo.
*Havaeeeeko.
*Tootooeela.
*Manooka.
*Leshainga.
*Pappataia.
*Loubattu.
*Oloo.
*Takounove.
*Kopaoo.
*Kovooeea.
*Kongaireekee.
*Tafeedoowaia.
Mallalahee.
Gonoogoolaiee.
Toonabai.
Konnevy.
Konnevao.
Moggodoo.
Looamoggo.
*Kongaiarahoi.
*Kotoobooo.
*Komotte.
*Komoarra.
*Kolaiva.
*Kofoona.
*Konnagillelaivoo.
*Hamoa.
*Neeootabootaboo.
*Fotoona.
*Vytooboo.
*Lotooma.
*Toggelao.
*Talava.

I have not the least doubt that Prince William's Islands, discovered and so named by Tasman, are included in the foregoing list. For while we lay at Hapaee, one of the natives told me, that, three or four days' sail from thence to the north-west, there was a cluster of small islands, consisting of upward of forty. This situation corresponds very well with that assigned in the accounts we have of Tasman's voyage to his Prince William's Islands‡.

We have also very good authority to believe that Keppel's and Boscawen's Islands, two of Captain Wallis's discoveries in 1765, are comprehended in our list; and that they are not only well known to these people, but are under the same sovereign. The following information seemed to me decisive as to this. Upon my inquiring one day of Poulaho, the king, in what manner the inhabitants of Tongataboo had acquired the knowledge of iron,

† Those islands, which the natives represented as large ones, are distinguished by an asterisk.

‡ Tasman saw eighteen or twenty of these small islands, every one of which was surrounded with sands, shoals, and rocks. They are also called, in some charts, Heemskirk's Banks. See Dalrymple's Collection of Voyages to the South Pacific Ocean, vol. ii. p. 83; and Campbell's edition of Harris's, vol. i. p. 325.

and from what quarter they had procured a small iron tool which I had seen amongst them, when I first visited their island, during my former voyage, he informed me that they had received this iron from an island, which he called Neeootabootaboo. Carrying my inquiries further, I then desired to know whether he had ever been informed from whom the people of Neeootabootaboo had got it. I found him perfectly acquainted with its history. He said that one of those islanders sold a club for five nails to a ship which had touched there; and that these five nails afterward were sent to Tongataboo. He added that this was the first iron known amongst them; so that what Tasman left of that metal must have been worn out, and forgot long ago. I was very particular in my inquiries about the situation, size, and form of the island; expressing my desire to know when this ship had touched there; how long she staid; and whether any more were in company. The leading facts appeared to be fresh in his memory. He said that there was but one ship; that she did not come to an anchor, but left the island after her boat had been on shore. And from many circumstances which he mentioned, it could not be many years since this had happened. According to his information, there are two islands near each other, which he himself had been at. The one he described as high and peaked like Kao, and he called it Kootahee; the other, where the people of the ship landed, called Neeootabootaboo, he represented as much lower. He added, that the natives of both are the same sort of people with those of Tongataboo; built their canoes in the same manner; that their islands had hogs and fowls; and, in general, the same vegetable productions. The ship so pointedly referred to in this conversation could be no other than the Dolphin; the only single ship from Europe, as far as we have ever learned, that had touched, of late years, at any island in this part of the Pacific Ocean, prior to my former visit to the Friendly Islands*.

But the most considerable islands in this neighbourhood that we now heard of (and we heard a great deal about them), are Hamoa, Vavaoo, and Feejee. Each of these was represented to us as larger than Tongataboo. No European, that we know of, has as yet seen any one of them. Tasman, indeed, lays down in his chart an island nearly in the situation where I suppose Vavaoo to be; that is, about the latitude of 19° †. But, then, that island is there marked as a very small one; whereas Vavaoo, according to the united testimony of all our friends at Tongataboo, exceeds the size of their own island, and has high mountains. I should certainly have visited it; and have accompanied Feenou from Hapaee, if he had not then discouraged me, by representing it to be very inconsiderable, and without any harbour. But Poulaho, the king, afterward assured me, that it was a large island; and that it not only produced everything in common with Tongataboo, but had the peculiar advantage of possessing several streams of fresh water, with as good a harbour as that which we found at his capital island. He offered to attend me if I would visit it; adding, that, if I did not find everything agreeing with his representation, I might kill him. I had not the least doubt of the truth of his intelligence; and was satisfied that Feenou, from some interested view, attempted to deceive me.

Hamoa, which is also under the dominion of Tongataboo, lies two days' sail north-west from Vavaoo. It was described to me as the largest of all their islands, as affording harbours and good water; and as producing, in abundance, every article of refreshment found at the places we visited. Poulaho himself frequently resides there. It should seem that the people of this island are in high estimation at Tongataboo; for we were told that some of the songs and dances with which we were entertained, had been copied from theirs; and we saw some

* See Captain Wallis's Voyage, in Hawkesworth's Collection, vol. i. p. 492—494. Captain Wallis there calls both these islands "high ones." But the superior height of one of them may be inferred, from his saying, that it appears "like a sugar-loaf." This strongly marks its resemblance to Kao. From comparing Poulaho's intelligence to Captain Cook, with Captain Wallis's account, it seems to be past all doubt, that Boscawen's Island is our Kootahee, and Keppel's Island our Neeootabootaboo. The last is one of the large islands marked in the foregoing list. The reader, who has been already apprised of the variations of our people in writing down what the natives pronounced, will hardly doubt that Kottejeea and Kootahee are the same.

† Neither Dalrymple nor Campbell, in their accounts of Tasman's voyage, take any particular notice of his having seen such an island. The chart here referred to by Captain Cook is probably Mr. Dalrymple's, in his Collection of Voyages, where Tasman's track is marked accurately; and several very small spots of land are laid down in the situation here mentioned.

houses said to be built after their fashion. Mr. Anderson, always inquisitive about such matters, learnt the three following words of the dialect of Hamoa:—

Tamolao, a chief man. *Tamaety*, a chief woman. *Solle*, a common man.

Feejee, as we were told, lies three days' sail from Tongataboo, in the direction of north-west by west. It was described to us as a high, but very fruitful island; abounding with hogs, dogs, fowls, and all the kinds of fruit and roots that are found in any of the others; and as much larger than Tongataboo; to the dominion of which, as was represented to us, it is not subject as the other islands of this archipelago are. On the contrary, Feejee and Tongataboo frequently make war upon each other. And it appeared, from several circumstances, that the inhabitants of the latter are much afraid of this enemy. They used to express their sense of their own inferiority to the Feejee men, by bending the body forward, and covering the face with their hands. And it is no wonder that they should be under this dread; for those of Feejee are formidable on account of the dexterity with which they use their bows and slings; but much more so, on account of the savage practice to which they are addicted, like those of New Zealand, of eating their enemies whom they kill in battle. We were satisfied that this was not a misrepresentation. For we met with several Feejee people at Tongataboo, and, on inquiring of them, they did not deny the charge.

Now that I am again led to speak of cannibals, let me ask those who maintain that the want of food first brings men to feed on human flesh, what is it that induceth the Feejee people to keep it up in the midst of plenty? This practice is detested very much by those of Tongataboo, who cultivate the friendship of their savage neighbours of Feejee, apparently out of fear; though they sometimes venture to skirmish with them on their own ground; and carry off red feathers as their booty, which are in great plenty there, and, as has been frequently mentioned, are in great estimation amongst our Friendly Islanders. When the two islands are at peace, the intercourse between them seems to be pretty frequent; though they have, doubtless, been but lately known to each other; or we may suppose that Tongataboo and its adjoining islands would have been supplied, before this, with a breed of dogs which abound at Feejee, and had not been introduced at Tongataboo so late as 1773, when I first visited it. The natives of Feejee, whom we met with here, were of a colour that was a full shade darker than that of the inhabitants of the Friendly Islands in general. One of them had his left ear slit, and the lobe was so distended, that it almost reached his shoulder; which singularity I had met with at other islands of the South Sea during my second voyage. It appeared to me that the Feejee men, whom we now saw, were much respected here; not only, perhaps, from the power and cruel manner of their nation's going to war, but also from their ingenuity. For they seem to excel the inhabitants of Tongataboo in that respect, if we might judge from several specimens of their skill in workmanship which we saw; such as clubs and spears, which were carved in a very masterly manner; cloth beautifully chequered; variegated mats; earthen pots, and some other articles; all which had a cast of superiority in the execution.

I have mentioned that Feejee lies three days' sail from Tongataboo, because these people have no other method of measuring the distance from island to island, but by expressing the time required to make the voyage in one of their canoes. In order to ascertain this with some precision, or, at least, to form some judgment how far these canoes can sail in a moderate gale, in any given time, I went on board one of them when under sail, and, by several trials with the log, found that she went seven knots or miles in an hour, close hauled, in a gentle gale. From this I judge that they will sail, on a medium, with such breezes as generally blow in their sea, about seven or eight miles in an hour. But the length of each day is not to be reckoned at twenty-four hours. For when they spoke of one day's sail, they mean no more than from the morning to the evening of the same day; that is, ten or twelve hours at most. And two days' sail, with them, signifies from the morning of the first day to the evening of the second; and so for any other number of days. In these navigations the sun is their guide by day, and the stars by night. When these are obscured, they have recourse to the points from whence the winds and the waves came upon the vessel.

If, during the obscuration, both the wind and the waves should shift (which, within the limits of the trade-wind, seldom happens at any other time), they are then bewildered, frequently miss their intended port, and are never heard of more. The history of Omai's countrymen, who were driven to Wateeoo, leads us to infer, that those not heard of are not always lost.

Of all the harbours and anchoring places I have met with amongst these islands, that of Tongataboo is by far the best; not only on account of its great security, but of its capacity, and of the goodness of its bottom. The risk that we ran in entering it from the north, ought to be a sufficient caution to every future commander not to attempt that passage again with a ship of burden; since the other, by which we left it, is so much more easy and safe. To sail into it by this eastern channel, steer in for the north-east point of the island, and keep along the north shore, with the small isles on your starboard, till you are the length of the east point of the entrance into the lagoon; then edge over for the reef of the small isles; and, on following its direction, it will conduct you through between Makkahaaa and Monooafai, or the fourth and fifth isles, which you will perceive to lie off the west point of the lagoon. Or you may go between the third and fourth islands, that is, between Pangimodoo and Monooafai; but this channel is much narrower than the other. There runs a very strong tide in both. The flood, as I have observed before, comes in from the north-west, and the ebb returns the same way; but I shall speak of the tides in another place. As soon as you are through either of these channels, haul in for the shore of Tongataboo, and anchor between it and Pangimodoo, before a creek leading into the lagoon; into which boats can go at half flood. Although Tongataboo has the best harbour, Annamooka furnishes the best water; and yet it cannot be called good. However, by digging holes near the side of the pond, we can get what may be called tolerable. This island, too, is the best situated for drawing refreshments from all the others, as being nearly in the centre of the whole group. Besides the road in which we anchored, and the harbour within the south-west point, there is a creek in the reef, before the eastern sandy cove on the north side of the island, in which two or three ships may lie very securely, by mooring head and stern, with their anchors or moorings fast to the rocks.

I have already described the Hapaee Islands; and shall only add to that description by mentioning, that they extend south-west by south, and north-east by north, about nineteen miles. The north end lies in the latitude of 19° 39′ S., and 33′ of longitude to the east of Annamooka. Between them are a great many small islands, sand-banks, and breakers; so that the safest way to arrive at Hapaee is either by the course I held, or round by the north; according to the situation of the ship bound thither. Lefooga, off which we anchored, is the most fertile isle of those that are called Hapaee; and, consequently, is the best inhabited. There is anchorage along the north-west side of this island; but it will be necessary to examine the ground well before you moor. For, although the lead may bring up fine sand, there are, nevertheless, some sharp coral rocks that would soon destroy the cables.

What has been here omitted, concerning the geography of these islands, will be found in the narrative of my last voyage *. To that narrative I must also refer for such particulars concerning the inhabitants, their manners, and arts, as I had observed then, and about which I saw no reason to change my judgment. At present I shall confine myself to such interesting particulars, as either were not mentioned in that narrative, or were imperfectly and incorrectly represented there; and to such as may serve to explain some passages in the foregoing account of our transactions with the natives.

It may, indeed, be expected that, after spending between two and three months amongst them, I should be enabled to clear up every difficulty, and to give a tolerably satisfactory account of their customs, opinions, and institutions, both civil and religious; especially as we had a person on board, who might be supposed qualified to act the part of an interpreter, by understanding their language and ours. But poor Omai was very deficient. For unless the object or thing we wanted to inquire about was actually before us, we found it difficult to gain a tolerable knowledge of it from information only, without falling into a hundred

* Vol. I. p. 424.

mistakes; and to such mistakes Omai was more liable than we were. For, having no curiosity, he never gave himself the trouble to make remarks for himself; and, when he was disposed to explain matters to us, his ideas appeared to be so limited, and, perhaps, so different from ours, that his accounts were often so confused, as to perplex, instead of instructing us. Add to this, that it was very rare that we found, amongst the natives, a person who united the ability and the inclination to give us the information we wanted; and we found that most of them hated to be troubled with what they probably thought idle questions. Our situation at Tongataboo, where we remained the longest, was likwise unfavourable. It was in a part of the country where there were few inhabitants except fishers. It was always holiday with our visitors, as well as with those we visited; so that we had but few opportunities of observing what was really the domestic way of living of the natives. Under these disadvantages it is not surprising that we should not be able to bring away with us satisfactory accounts of many things; but some of us endeavoured to remedy those disadvantages by diligent observation; and I am indebted to Mr. Anderson for a considerable share of what follows in this and in the following chapter. In other matters I have only expressed, nearly in his words, remarks that coincided with mine; but what relates to the religion and language of these people is entirely his own.

The natives of the Friendly Islands seldom exceed the common stature (though we have measured some who were above six feet); but are very strong and well made, especially as to their limbs. They are generally broad about the shoulders; and though the muscular disposition of the men, which seems a consequence of much action, rather conveys the appearance of strength than of beauty, there are several to be seen who are really handsome. Their features are very various; insomuch, that it is scarcely possible to fix on any general likeness by which to characterise them, unless it be a fulness at the point of the nose, which is very common. But on the other hand, we met with hundreds of truly European faces, and many genuine Roman noses amongst them. Their eyes and teeth are good; but the last neither so remarkably white, nor so well set, as is often found amongst Indian nations; though, to balance that, few of them have any uncommon thickness about the lips, a defect as frequent as the other perfection. The women are not so much distinguished from the men by their features as by their general form, which is, for the most part, destitute of that strong fleshy firmness that appears in the latter. Though the features of some are so delicate as not only to be a true index of their sex, but to lay claim to a considerable share of beauty and expression, the rule is by no means so general as in many other countries. But, at the same time, this is frequently the most exceptionable part; for the bodies and limbs of most of the females are well proportioned; and some absolutely perfect models of a beautiful figure. But the most remarkable distinction in the women, is the uncommon smallness and delicacy of their fingers, which may be put in competition with the finest in Europe.

The general colour is a cast deeper than the copper brown; but several of the men and women have a true olive complexion; and some of the last are even a great deal fairer; which is probably the effect of being less exposed to the sun; as a tendency to corpulence, in a few of the principal people, seems to be the consequence of a more indolent life. It is also amongst the last, that a soft clear skin is most frequently observed. Amongst the bulk of the people, the skin is more commonly of a dull hue, with some degree of roughness, especially the parts that are not covered; which, perhaps, may be occasioned by some cutaneous disease. We saw a man and boy at Hapaee, and a child at Annamooka, perfectly white. Such have been found amongst all black nations; but I apprehend that their colour is rather a disease than a natural phenomenon. There are, nevertheless, upon the whole, few natural defects or deformities to be found amongst them; though we saw two or three with their feet bent inward; and some afflicted with a sort of blindness, occasioned by a disease of the cornea. Neither are they exempt from some other diseases; the most common of which is the tetter, or ring-worm, that seems to affect almost one-half of them, and leaves whitish serpentine marks everywhere behind it. But this is of less consequence than another disease which is very frequent, and appears on every part of the body, in large broad ulcers, with thick white edges, discharging a thin clear matter; some of which had a very virulent appearance, particularly those on the face, which were shocking

to look at; and yet we met with some who seemed to be cured of it, and others in a fair way of being cured; but this was not effected without the loss of the nose, or of the best part of it. As we know for a certainty * (and the fact is acknowledged by themselves), that the people of these islands were subject to this loathsome disease before the English first visited them, notwithstanding the similarity of symptoms, it cannot be the effect of the venereal contagion; unless we adopt a supposition, which I could wish had sufficient foundation in truth, that the venereal disorder was not introduced here from Europe by our ships in 1773. It assuredly was now found to exist amongst them; for we had not been long there before some of our people received the infection; and I had the mortification to learn from thence, that all the care I took, when I first visited these islands, to prevent this dreadful disease from being communicated to their inhabitants, had proved ineffectual. What is extraordinary, they do not seem to regard it much; and as we saw few signs of its destroying effects, probably the climate, and the way of living of these people, greatly abate its virulence. There are two other diseases frequent amongst them; one of which is an indolent firm swelling, which affects the legs and arms, and increases them to an extraordinary size in their whole length. The other is a tumour of the same sort in the testicles, which sometimes exceed the size of the two fists. But, in other respects, they may be considered as uncommonly healthy; not a single person having been seen, during our stay, confined to the house by sickness of any kind. On the contrary, their strength and activity are every way answerable to their muscular appearance; and they exert both, in their usual employment, and in their diversions, in such a manner, that there can be no doubt of their being as yet little debilitated by the numerous diseases that are the consequence of indolence, and an unnatural method of life. The graceful air and firm step with which these people walk, are not the least obvious proof of their personal accomplishments. They consider this as a thing so natural or so necessary to be acquired, that nothing used to excite their laughter sooner than to see us frequently stumbling upon the roots of trees, or other inequalities of the ground.

Their countenances very remarkably express the abundant mildness or good-nature which they possess; and are entirely free from that savage keenness which marks nations in a barbarous state. One would, indeed, be apt to fancy, that they had been bred up under the severest restrictions, to acquire an aspect so settled, and such a command of their passions as well as steadiness in conduct. But they are, at the same time, frank, cheerful, and good-humoured; though sometimes, in the presence of their chiefs, they put on a degree of gravity, and such a serious air as becomes stiff and awkward, and has an appearance of reserve. Their peaceable disposition is sufficiently evinced from the friendly reception all strangers have met with who have visited them. Instead of offering to attack them openly or clandestinely, as has been the case with most of the inhabitants of these seas, they have never appeared in the smallest degree hostile; but, on the contrary, like the most civilised people, have courted an intercourse with their visitors by bartering, which is the only medium that unites all nations in a sort of friendship. They understand barter (which they call *fukkatou*) so perfectly, that at first we imagined they might have acquired this knowledge of it by commercial intercourse with the neighbouring islands; but we were afterward assured that they had little or no traffic, except with Feejee, from which they get the red feathers, and the few other articles mentioned before. Perhaps, no nation in the world traffic with more honesty and less distrust. We could always safely permit them to examine our goods, and to hand them about, one to another; and they put the same confidence in us. If either party repented of the bargain, the goods were re-exchanged with mutual consent and good-humour. Upon the whole, they seem possessed of many of the most excellent qualities that adorn the human mind; such as industry, ingenuity, perseverance, affability, and, perhaps, other virtues which our short stay with them might prevent our observing.

The only defect sullying their character, that we knew of, is a propensity to thieving; to which we found those of all ages and both sexes addicted, and to an uncommon degree. It should, however, be considered that this exceptionable part of their conduct seemed to exist

* See Vol. I. p. 494, where Captain Cook gives a particular account of meeting with a person afflicted with this disease, at Annamooka, on his landing there in 1773.

merely with respect to us; for in their general intercourse with one another, I had reason to be of opinion that thefts do not happen more frequently (perhaps less so) than in other countries, the dishonest practices of whose worthless individuals are not supposed to authorise any indiscriminate censure on the whole body of the people. Great allowances should be made for the foibles of these poor natives of the Pacific Ocean, whose minds we overpowered with the glare of objects equally new to them as they were captivating. Stealing, amongst the civilised and enlightened nations of the world, may well be considered as denoting a character deeply stained with moral turpitude, with avarice unrestrained by the known rules of right, and with profligacy producing extreme indigence, and neglecting the means of relieving it. But at the Friendly and other Islands which we visited, the thefts so frequently committed by the natives, of what we had brought along with us, may be fairly traced to less culpable motives. They seemed to arise solely from an intense curiosity or desire to possess something which they had not been accustomed to before, and belonging to a sort of people so different from themselves. And, perhaps, if it were possible, that a set of beings seemingly as superior in our judgment as we are in theirs, should appear amongst us, it might be doubted whether our natural regard to justice would be able to restrain many from falling into the same error. That I have assigned the true motive for their propensity to this practice, appears from their stealing everything indiscriminately at first sight, before they could have the least conception of converting their prize to any one useful purpose. But, I believe, with us, no person would forfeit his reputation, or expose himself to punishment, without knowing beforehand how to employ the stolen goods. Upon the whole, the pilfering disposition of these islanders, though certainly disagreeable and troublesome to strangers, was the means of affording us some information as to the quickness of their intellects. For their small thefts were committed with much dexterity; and those of greater consequence with a plan or scheme suited to the importance of the objects. An extraordinary instance of the last sort, their attempts to carry away one of the Discovery's anchors at mid-day, has been already related.

Their hair is in general straight, thick, and strong, though a few have it bushy or frizzled. The natural colour, I believe, almost without exception, is black; but the greatest part of the men, and some of the women, have it stained of a brown or purple colour, and a few of an orange cast. The first colour is produced by applying a sort of plaster of burnt coral, mixed with water; the second by the raspings of a reddish wood, which is made up with water into a poultice, and laid over the hair; and the third is, I believe, the effect of turmeric root. When I first visited these islands, I thought it had been an universal custom for both men and women to wear the hair short; but, during our present longer stay, we saw a great many exceptions. Indeed they are so whimsical in their fashions of wearing it, that it is hard to tell which is most in vogue. Some have it cut off one side of the head, while that on the other side remains long; some have only a portion of it cut short, or perhaps shaved; others have it entirely cut off, except a single lock, which is left commonly on one side, or it is suffered to grow to its full length without any of these mutilations. The women in general wear it short. The men have their beards cut short; and both men and women strip the hair from their armpits: the operation by which this is performed has been already described. The men are stained from about the middle of the belly, to about half-way down the thighs, with a deep blue colour. This is done with a flat bone instrument cut full of fine teeth, which being dipped in the staining mixture, prepared from the juice of the *dooe-dooe*, is struck into the skin with a bit of stick, and by that means indelible marks are made. In this manner they trace lines and figures, which in some are very elegant, both from the variety and from the arrangement. The women have only a few small lines or spots thus imprinted on the inside of their hands. Their kings, as a mark of distinction, are exempted from this custom, as also from inflicting on themselves any of those bloody marks of mourning which shall be mentioned in another place. The men are all circumcised, or rather supercised, as the operation consists in cutting off only a small piece of the foreskin at the upper part, which by that means is rendered incapable, ever after, of covering the glans. This is all they aim at; as they say the operation is practised from a notion of cleanliness.

The dress of both men and women is the same; and consists of a piece of cloth or matting (but mostly the former), about two yards wide, and two and a half long; at least, so long as to go once and a half round the waist, to which it is confined by a girdle or cord. It is double before, and hangs down like a petticoat, as low as the middle of the leg. The upper part of the garment above the girdle is plaited into several folds; so that when unfolded, there is cloth sufficient to draw up and wrap round the shoulders, which is very seldom done. This, as to form, is the general dress; but large pieces of cloth and fine matting are worn only by the superior people. The inferior sort are satisfied with small pieces, and very often wear nothing but a covering made of leaves of plants, or the *maro*, which is a narrow piece of cloth or matting, like a sash. This they pass between the thighs, and wrap round the waist; but the use of it is chiefly confined to the men. In their great *haivas*, or entertainments, they have various dresses made for the purpose; but the form is always the same; and the richest dresses are covered, more or less, with red feathers. On what particular occasion their chiefs wear their large red feather-caps, I could not learn. Both men and women sometimes shade their faces from the sun with little bonnets, made of various materials.

As the clothing, so are the ornaments worn by those of both sexes, the same. The most common of these are necklaces made of the fruit of the *pandanus*, and various sweet-smelling flowers, which go under the general name of *kahulla*. Others are composed of small shells, the wing and leg bones of birds, shark's teeth, and other things; all which hang loose upon the breast. In the same manner, they often wear a mother-of-pearl shell neatly polished, or a ring of the same substance carved on the upper part of the arm; rings of tortoise-shell on the fingers, and a number of these joined together as bracelets on the wrists. The lobes of the ears (though, most frequently, only one), are perforated with two holes, in which they wear cylindrical bits of ivory, about three inches long, introduced at one hole, and brought out of the other; or bits of reed of the same size, filled with a yellow pigment. This seems to be a fine powder of turmeric, with which the women rub themselves all over, in the same manner as our ladies use their dry rouge upon the cheeks.

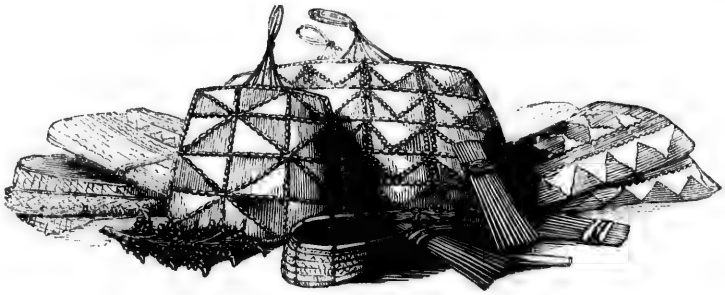
Nothing appears to give them greater pleasure than personal cleanliness; to produce which they frequently bathe in the ponds, which seem to serve no other purpose. Though the water in most of them stinks intolerably, they prefer them to the sea; and they are so sensible that salt water hurts their skin, that when necessity obliges them to bathe in the sea, they commonly have some cocoa-nut shells filled with fresh water poured over them to wash it off. They are immoderately fond of cocoa-nut oil for the same reason; a great quantity of which they not only pour upon their head and shoulders, but rub the body all over, briskly, with a smaller quantity. And none but those who have seen this practice can easily conceive how the appearance of the skin is improved by it. This oil, however, is not to be procured by every one; and the inferior sort of people, doubtless, appear less smooth for want of it.

CHAPTER XI.—EMPLOYMENTS OF THE WOMEN AT THE FRIENDLY ISLANDS—OF THE MEN.—AGRICULTURE.—CONSTRUCTION OF THEIR HOUSES.—THEIR WORKING TOOLS—CORDAGE, AND FISHING IMPLEMENTS.—MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS.—WEAPONS.—FOOD AND COOKERY.—AMUSEMENTS.—MARRIAGE.—MOURNING CEREMONIES FOR THE DEAD.—THEIR DIVINITIES.—NOTIONS ABOUT THE SOUL AND A FUTURE STATE.—THEIR PLACES OF WORSHIP.—GOVERNMENT.—MANNER OF PAYING OBEISANCE TO THE KING.—ACCOUNT OF THE ROYAL FAMILY.—REMARKS ON THEIR LANGUAGE, AND A SPECIMEN OF IT.—NAUTICAL AND OTHER OBSERVATIONS.

THEIR domestic life is of that middle kind, neither so laborious as to be disagreeable, nor so vacant as to suffer them to degenerate into indolence. Nature has done so much for their country, that the first can hardly occur, and their disposition seems to be a pretty good bar to the last. By this happy combination of circumstances, their necessary labour seems to yield in its turn to their recreations, in such a manner, that the latter are never

interrupted by the thoughts of being obliged to recur to the former, till satiety makes them wish for such a transition. The employment of the women is of the easy kind, and, for the most part, such as may be executed in the house. The manufacturing their cloth is wholly consigned to their care. Having already described the process, I shall only add, that they have this cloth of different degrees of fineness. The coarser sort, of which they make very large pieces, does not receive the impression of any pattern. Of the finer sort they have some that is striped and chequered, and of other patterns differently coloured. But how these colours are laid on, I cannot say, as I never saw any of this sort made. The cloth in general will resist water for some time; but that which has the strongest glaze will resist longest.

The manufacture next in consequence, and also within the department of the women, is that of their mats, which excel everything I have seen at any other place, both as to their texture and their beauty. In particular, many of them are so superior to those made at Otaheite, that they are not a bad article to carry thither by way of trade. Of these mats, they have seven or eight different sorts, for the purposes of wearing or sleeping upon, and many are merely ornamental. The last are chiefly made from the tough membraneous part of the stock of the plantain-tree; those that they wear from the *pandanus*, cultivated for that purpose, and never suffered to shoot into a trunk; and the coarser sort, which they sleep upon, from a plant called *evarra*. There are many other articles of less note, that employ the spare time of their females; as combs, of which they make vast numbers; and little baskets made of the same substance as the mats, and others of the fibrous cocoa-nut husk, either plain or interwoven with small beads; but all finished with such neatness and taste in the disposition of the various parts, that a stranger cannot help admiring their assiduity and dexterity.



MATS, BASKETS, AND FANCY-WORK OF WOMEN.

The province allotted to the men is, as might be expected, far more laborious and extensive than that of the women. Agriculture, architecture, boat-building, fishing, and other things that relate to navigation, are the objects of their care. Cultivated roots and fruits being their principal support, this requires their constant attention to agriculture, which they pursue very diligently, and seem to have brought almost to as great perfection as circumstances will permit. The large extent of the plantain fields has been taken notice of already; and the same may be said of the yams; these two together being at least as ten to one with respect to all the other articles. In planting both these, they dig small holes for their reception, and afterwards root up the surrounding grass, which, in this hot country, is quickly deprived of its vegetating power, and soon rotting, becomes a good manure. The instruments they use for this purpose, which they call *hooo*, are nothing more than pickets or stakes of different lengths, according to the depth they have to dig. These are flattened and sharpened to an edge at one end; and the largest have a short piece fixed transversely, for pressing it into the ground with the foot. With these, though they are not more than from two to four inches broad, they dig and plant ground of many acres in extent. In planting the plantains and yams, they observe so much exactness, that whichever way you look the rows present themselves regular and complete.

The cocoa-nut and bread-fruit trees are scattered about without any order, and seem to give them no trouble after they have attained a certain height. The same may be said of another large tree which produces great numbers of a large roundish compressed nut, called *eeefee;* and of a smaller tree that bears a rounded oval nut two inches long, with two or three triangular kernels, tough and insipid, called *mabba*, most frequently planted near their houses. The *kappe* is commonly regularly planted, and in pretty large spots; but the *mawhaha* is interspersed amongst other things, as the *jeejee* and yams are; the last of which, I have frequently seen in the interspaces of the plantain-trees at their common distance. Sugar-cane is commonly in small spots, crowded closely together; and the mulberry, of which the cloth is made, though without order, has sufficient room allowed for it, and is kept very clean. The only other plant that they cultivate for their manufactures is the *pandanus*, which is generally planted in a row close together at the sides of the other fields; and they consider it as a thing so distinct in this state, that they have a different name for it, which shows that they are very sensible of the great changes brought about by cultivation.

It is remarkable that these people, who in many things show much taste and ingenuity, should show little of either in building their houses, though the defect is rather in the design than in the execution. Those of the lower people are poor huts, scarcely sufficient to defend them from the weather, and very small. Those of the better sort are larger and more comfortable, but not what one might expect: the dimensions of one of a middling size are about thirty feet long, twenty broad, and twelve high. Their house is, properly speaking, a thatched roof or shed, supported by posts and rafters disposed in a very judicious manner. The floor is raised with earth, smoothed, and covered with strong thick matting, and kept very clean. The most of them are closed on the weather-side (and some more than two-thirds round) with strong mats, or with branches of the cocoa-nut tree, plaited or woven into each other. These they fix up edgewise, reaching from the eaves to the ground, and thus they answer the purpose of a wall. A thick strong mat, about two and one-half or three feet broad, bent into the form of a semicircle, and set upon its edge, with the ends touching the side of the house, in shape resembling the fender of a fire-hearth, encloses a space for the master and mistress of the family to sleep in: the lady, indeed, spends most of her time during the day within it. The rest of the family sleep upon the floor wherever they please to lie down; the unmarried men and women apart from each other; or, if the family be large, there are small huts adjoining, to which the servants retire in the night; so that privacy is as much observed here as one could expect. They have mats made on purpose for

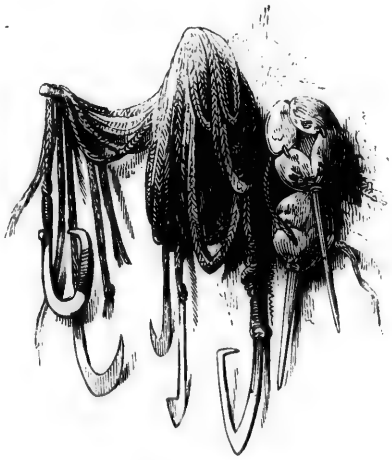
ADZES, KNIVES, FILES, &c.

sleeping on; and the clothes that they wear in the day serve for their covering in the night. Their whole furniture consists of a bowl or two, in which they make *kava;* a few gourds; cocoa-nut shells; some small wooden stools, which serve them for pillows; and perhaps a large stool for the chief or master of the family to sit upon. The only probable reason I can

assign for their neglect of ornamental architecture in the construction of their houses, is their being fond of living much in the open air. Indeed, they seem to consider their houses, within which they seldom eat, as of little use but to sleep in, and to retire to in bad weather. And the lower sort of people, who spend a great part of their time in close attendance upon the chiefs, can have little use for their own houses but in the last case.

They make amends for the defects of their houses by their great attention to, and dexterity in, naval architecture, if I may be allowed to give it that name. But I refer to the narrative of my last voyage for an account of their canoes, and their manner of building and navigating them. The only tools which they use to construct these boats are,—hatchets, or rather thick adzes, of a smooth black stone that abounds at Toofoa; augers, made of sharks' teeth, fixed on small handles; and rasps, of a rough skin of a fish, fastened on flat pieces of wood thinner on one side, which also have handles. The labour and time employed in finishing their canoes, which are the most perfect of their mechanical productions, will account for their being very careful of them. For they are built and preserved under sheds; or they cover the decked part of them with cocoa-leaves, when they are hauled on shore, to prevent their being hurt by the sun. The same tools are all they have for other works, if we except different shells, which they use as knives. But there are few of their productions that require these, unless it be some of their weapons; the other articles being chiefly their fishing materials and cordage.

The cordage is made from the fibres of the cocoa-nut husk, which, though not more than nine or ten inches long, they plait about the size of a quill or less, to any length that they please, and roll it up in balls; from which the larger ropes are made, by twisting several of these together. The lines that they fish with are as strong and even as the best cord we make, resembling it almost in every respect. The other fishing implements are large and small hooks. The last are composed entirely of pearl-shell; but the first are only covered with it on the back; and the points of both commonly of tortoise-shell; those of the small being plain, and the others barbed. With the large ones they catch bonnetos and albicores, by putting them to a bamboo rod twelve or fourteen feet long, with a line of the same length, which rests in a notch of a piece of wood, fixed in the stern of the canoe for that purpose, and is dragged on the surface of the sea, as she rows along, without any other bait than a tuft of flaxy stuff near the point. They have also great numbers of pretty small seines, some of which are of a very delicate texture. These they use to catch fish with, in the holes on the reefs when the tide ebbs.



FISHING IMPLEMENTS.

The other manual employments consist chiefly in making musical reeds, flutes, warlike weapons, and stools, or rather pillows, to sleep on. The reeds have eight, nine, or ten pieces placed parallel to each other, but not in any regular progression; having the longest sometimes in the middle, and several of the same length; so that I have seen none with more than six notes; and they seem incapable of playing any music on them that is distinguishable by our ears. The flutes are a joint of bamboo, close at both ends, with a hole near each, and four others; two of which, and one of the first only, are used in playing. They apply the thumb of the left hand to close the left nostril, and blow into the hole at

one end with the other. The middle finger of the left hand is applied to the first hole on the left, and the fore finger of the right to the lowest hole on that side. In this manner, though the notes are only three, they produce a pleasing, yet simple music, which they vary much more than one would think possible with so imperfect an instrument. Their being accustomed to a music which consists of so few notes, is perhaps the reason why they do not seem to relish any of ours, which is so complex. But they can taste what is more deficient than their own; for we observed that they used to be well pleased with hearing the chant of our two young New Zealanders, which consisted rather in mere strength than in melody of expression.

MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS.

The weapons which they make are clubs of different sorts (in the ornamenting of which they spend much time), spears, and darts. They have also bows and arrows; but these seemed to be designed only for amusement, such as shooting at birds, and not for military purposes. The stools are about two feet long, but only four or five inches high, and near four broad, bending downward in the middle, with four strong legs and circular feet; the whole made of one piece of black or brown wood, neatly polished, and sometimes inlaid with bits of ivory. They also inlay the handles of fly-flaps with ivory, after being neatly carved; and they shape bones into small figures of men, birds, and other things, which must be very difficult, as their carving instrument is only a shark's tooth.

Yams, plantains, and cocoa-nuts, compose the greatest part of their vegetable diet. Of their animal food, the chief articles are hogs, fowls, fish, and all sorts of shell-fish; but the lower people eat rats. The two first vegetable articles, with bread-fruit, are what may be called the basis of their food, at different times of the year, with fish and shell-fish; for hogs, fowls, and turtle, seem only to be occasional dainties reserved for their chiefs. The intervals between the seasons of these vegetable productions must be, sometimes, considerable, as they prepare a sort of artificial bread from plantains, which they put under ground before ripe, and suffer them to remain till they ferment, when they are taken out, and made up into small balls; but so sour and indifferent, that they often said our bread was preferable, though somewhat musty. Their food is generally dressed by baking, in the same manner as at Otaheite; and they have the art of making, from different kinds of fruit, several dishes, which most of us esteemed very good. I never saw them make use of any kind of sauce; nor drink anything at their meals but water, or the juice of the cocoa-nut; for the *kava* is only their morning draught. I cannot say that they are cleanly either in their cookery or manner of eating. The generality of them will lay their victuals upon the first leaf they meet with, however dirty it may be; but when food is served up to the chiefs, it is commonly laid upon green plantain leaves. When the king made a meal, he was, for the most part, attended upon by three or four persons. One cut large pieces of the joint, or of the fish; another divided it into mouthfuls; and others stood by with cocoa-nuts, and whatever else he might want. I never saw a large company sit down to what we should call a sociable meal, by eating from the same dish. The food, be what it will, is always divided into portions, each to serve a certain number; these portions are again subdivided; so that one seldom sees above two or three persons eating together. The women are not excluded from eating with the men; but there are certain ranks or orders amongst them, that can neither eat nor drink together. This distinction begins with the king; but where it ends I cannot say.

They seem to have no set time for meals; though it should be observed, that, during our stay amongst them, their domestic economy was much disturbed by their constant attention to us. As far as we could remark, those of the superior rank only drink *kava* in the

forenoon, and the others eat perhaps a bit of yam; but we commonly saw all of them eat something in the afternoon. It is probable that the practice of making a meal in the night is pretty common; and their rest being thus interrupted, they frequently sleep in the day. They go to bed as soon as it is dark, and rise with the dawn in the morning. They are very fond of associating together; so that it is common to find several houses empty, and the owners of them convened in some other one, or rather upon a convenient spot in the neighbourhood, where they recreate themselves by conversing, and other amusements. Their private diversions are chiefly singing, dancing, and music performed by the women. When two or three women sing in concert, and snap their fingers, it is called *oobai;* but when there is a greater number, they divide into several parties, each of which sings on a different key, which makes a very agreeable music, and is called *heeva* or *haiva.* In the same manner, they vary the music of their flutes, by playing on those of a different size; but their dancing is much the same as when they perform publicly. The dancing of the men (if it is to be called dancing), although it does not consist much in moving the feet, as we do, has a thousand different motions with the hands, to which we are entire strangers; and they are performed with an ease and grace which are not to be described, nor even conceived, but by those who have seen them. But I need add nothing to what has been already said on this subject, in the account of the incidents that happened during our stay at the islands.

Whether their marriages be made lasting by any kind of solemn contract, we could not determine with precision; but it is certain, that the bulk of the people satisfied themselves with one wife. The chiefs, however, have commonly several women; though some of us were of opinion that there was only one that was looked upon as the mistress of the family. As female chastity at first sight seemed to be held in no great estimation, we expected to have found frequent breaches of their conjugal fidelity; but we did them great injustice. I do not know that a single instance happened during our whole stay. Neither are those of the better sort, that are unmarried, more free of their favours. It is true there was no want of those of a different character; and, perhaps, such are more frequently met with here, in proportion to the number of people, than in many other countries. But it appeared to me that the most, if not all of them, were of the lowest class; and such of them as permitted familiarities to our people, were prostitutes by profession.

Nothing can be a greater proof of the humanity of these people, than the concern they show for the dead. To use a common expression, their mourning is not in words but deeds. For, besides the *tooge* mentioned before, and burnt circles and scars, they beat the teeth with stones, strike a shark's tooth into the head until the blood flows in streams, and thrust spears into the inner part of the thigh, into their sides below the arm-pits, and through the cheeks into the mouth. All these operations convey an idea of such rigorous discipline, as must require either an uncommon degree of affection or the grossest superstition, to exact. I will not say that the last has no share in it; for, sometimes, it is so universal, that many could not have any knowledge of the person for whom the concern is expressed. Thus we saw the people of Tongataboo mourning the death of a chief at Vavaoo; and other similar instances occurred during our stay. It should be observed, however, that the more painful operations are only practised on account of the death of those most nearly connected with the mourners. When a person dies, he is buried, after being wrapped up in mats nd cloth, much after our manner. The chiefs seem to have the *fiatookas* appropriated to them as their burial-places; but the common people are interred in no particular spot. What part of the mourning ceremony follows immediately after, is uncertain; but that there is something besides the general one, which is continued for a considerable length of time, we could infer, from being informed, that the funeral of Mareewagee's wife, as mentioned before, was to be attended with ceremonies that were to last five days, and in which all the principal people were to commemorate her.

Their long and general mourning proves that they consider death as a very great evil. And this is confirmed by a very odd custom which they practise to avert it. When I first visited these islands, during my last voyage, I observed that many of the inhabitants had

one or both of their little fingers cut off; and we could not then receive any satisfactory account of the reason of this mutilation. But we now learned that this operation is performed when they labour under some grievous disease, and think themselves in danger of dying. They suppose that the deity will accept of the little finger, as a sort of sacrifice efficacious enough to procure the recovery of their health. They cut it off with one of their stone hatchets. There was scarcely one in ten of them whom we did not find thus mutilated in one or both hands; which has a disagreeable effect, especially as they sometimes cut so close that they encroach upon the bone of the hand which joins to the amputated finger *.

From the rigid severity with which some of these mourning and religious ceremonies are executed, one would expect to find that they meant thereby to secure to themselves felicity beyond the grave; but their principal object relates to things merely temporal. For they seem to have little conception of future punishment for faults committed in this life. They believe, however, that they are justly punished upon earth; and, consequently, use every method to render their divinities propitious. The Supreme Author of most things they call *Kallafootonga;* who, they say, is a female residing in the sky, and directing the thunder, wind, rain; and, in general, all the changes of weather. They believe, that when she is angry with them, the productions of the earth are blasted; that many things are destroyed by lightning; and that they themselves are afflicted with sickness and death, as well as their hogs and other animals. When this anger abates, they suppose that everything is restored to its natural order; and it should seem, that they have a great reliance on the efficacy of their endeavours to appease their offended divinity. They also admit a plurality of deities, though all inferior to *Kallafootonga.* Amongst them, they mention *Toofooa-boo-lootoo*, God of the clouds and fog; *Talleteboo*, and some others, residing in the heavens. The first in rank and power, who has the government of the sea and its productions, is called *Futtafaike*, or, as it was sometimes pronounced, *Footafooa;* who, they say, is a male, and has for his wife *Fykava kajeea;* and here, as in heaven, there are several inferior potentates, such as *Vahaa fonooa*, *Tareeava*, *Mattaba*, *Evaroo*, and others. The same religious system, however, does not extend all over the cluster of the Friendly Isles; for the supreme god of Hapaee, for instance, is called *Alo Alo;* and other isles have two or three, of different names. But their notions of the power and other attributes of these beings are so very absurd, that they suppose they have no farther concern with them after death. They have, however, very proper sentiments about the immateriality and the immortality of the soul. They call it life, the living principle, or, what is more agreeable to their notions of it, an *Otooa;* that is, a divinity, or invisible being. They say, that, immediately upon death, the souls of their chiefs separate from their bodies, and go to a place called *Boolootoo;* the chief, or god of which is *Gooleho.* This *Gooleho* seems to be a personification of Death; for they used to say to us, "You, and the men of Feejee (by this junction, meaning to pay a compliment, expressive of their confession of our superiority over themselves,) are also subject to the power and dominion of *Gooleho.*" His country, the general receptacle of the dead, according to their mythology, was never seen by any person; and yet, it seems, they know that it lies to the westward of Feejee; and that they who are once transported thither, live for ever; or, to use their own expression, are not subject to death again; but feast upon all the favourite products of their own country, with which this everlasting abode is supposed to abound. As to the souls of the lower sort of people, they undergo a sort of transmigration; or, as they say, are eaten up by a bird called *loata*, which walks upon their graves for that purpose.

I think I may venture to assert, that they do not worship anything that is the work of their own hands, or any visible part of the creation. They do not make offerings of hogs, dogs, and fruit, as at Otaheite, unless it be emblematically; for their *morais* were perfectly free from everything of the kind. But that they offer real human sacrifices, is with me beyond a doubt. Their *morais* or *fiatookas* (for they are called by both names, but mostly by the latter), are, as at Otaheite and many other parts of the world, burying-grounds and

* It may be proper to mention here, on the authority of Captain King, that it is common for the inferior people to cut off a joint of their little finger, on account of the sickness of the chiefs to whom they belong.

places of worship; though some of them seemed to be only appropriated to the first purpose; but these were small, and in every other respect inferior to the others.

Of the nature of their government, we know no more than the general outline. A subordination is established among them, that resembles the feudal system of our progenitors in Europe. But of its subdivisions of the constituent parts, and in what manner they are connected, so as to form a body-politic, I confess myself totally ignorant. Some of them told us that the power of the king is unlimited, and that the life and property of the subject is at his disposal. But the few circumstances that fell under our observation, rather contradicted than confirmed the idea of a despotic government. Mareewagee, old Tooboo, and Feenou, acted each like petty sovereigns, and frequently thwarted the measures of the king; of which he often complained. Neither was his court more splendid than those of the two first, who are the most powerful chiefs in the islands; and next to them, Feenou, Mareewagee's son, seemed to stand highest in authority. But, however independent on the despotic power of the king the great men may be, we saw instances enough to prove, that the lower order of people have no property, nor safety for their persons, but at the will of the chiefs to whom they respectively belong.

Tongataboo is divided into many districts; of above thirty of which we learned the names. Each of these has its particular chief, who decides differences, and distributes justice within his own district. But we could not form any satisfactory judgment about the extent of their power in general, or their mode of proportioning punishments to crimes. Most of these chiefs have possessions in other islands, from whence they draw supplies. At least, we know this is so with respect to the king, who, at certain established times, receives the product of his distant domains at Tongataboo; which is not only the principal place of his residence, but seemingly of all the people of consequence amongst these isles. Its inhabitants, in common conversation, call it the Land of Chiefs; while the subordinate isles are distinguished by the appellation of Lands of Servants. These chiefs are, by the people, styled not only lords of the earth, but of the sun and sky; and the king's family assume the name of Futtafaihe, from the god so called, who is probably their tutelary patron, and, perhaps, their common ancestor. The sovereign's peculiar earthly title is, however, simply *Tooee Tonga*.

There is a decorum observed in the presence of their principal men, and particularly of their king, that is truly admirable. Whenever he sits down, whether it be in a house or without, all the attendants seat themselves at the same time in a semicircle before him; leaving always a convenient space between him and them, into which no one attempts to come, unless he has some particular business. Neither is any one allowed to pass or sit behind him, nor even near him, without his order or permission; so that our having been indulged with this privilege, was a significant proof of the great respect that was paid us. When any one wants to speak with the king, he advances and sits down before him, delivers what he has to say in a few words, and having received his answer, retires again to the circle. But if the king speaks to any one, that person answers from his seat, unless he is to receive some order, in which case he gets up from his place and sits down before the chief with his legs across; which is a posture to which they are so much accustomed, that any other mode of sitting is disagreeable to them *. To speak to the king standing would be accounted here as striking a mark of rudeness, as it would be with us for one to sit down and put on his hat, when he addresses himself to his superior, and that superior on his feet, and uncovered.

It does not, indeed, appear that any of the most civilised nations have ever exceeded this people in the great order observed on all occasions; in ready compliance with the commands of their chiefs; and in the harmony that subsists throughout all ranks, and unites them as if they were all one man, informed with and directed by the same principle. Such a behaviour is remarkably obvious, whenever it is requisite that their chief should harangue any body of them collected together, which is frequently done. The most profound silence

* This is peculiar to the men; the women always sitting with both legs thrown a little on one side. We owe this remark to Captain King.

and attention is observed during the harangue, even to a much greater degree than is practised amongst us, on the most interesting and serious deliberations of our most respectable assemblies. And whatever might have been the subject of the speech delivered, we never saw an instance when any individual present showed signs of his being displeased, or that indicated the least inclination to dispute the declared will of a person who had a right to command. Nay, such is the force of these verbal laws, as I may call them, that I have seen one of their chiefs express his being astonished at a person's having acted contrary to such orders; though it appeared that the poor man could not possibly have been informed in time to have observed them.

Though some of the more potent chiefs may vie with the king in point of actual possessions, they fall very short in rank, and in certain marks of respect, which the collective body have agreed to pay the monarch. It is a particular privilege annexed to his sovereignty, not to be punctured nor circumcised as all his subjects are. Whenever he walks out, every one whom he meets must sit down till he has passed. No one is allowed to be over his head; on the contrary, all must come under his feet; for there cannot be a greater outward mark of submission than that which is paid to the sovereign and other great people of these islands by their inferiors. The method is this: the person who is to pay obeisance squats down before the chief, and bows the head to the sole of his foot; which, when he sits, is so placed that it can be easily come at; and having tapped, or touched it with the under and upper side of the fingers of both hands, he rises up and retires. It should seem, that the king cannot refuse any one who chooses to pay him this homage, which is called *moe moea;* for the common people would frequently take it into their heads to do it when he was walking; and he was always obliged to stop and hold up one of his feet behind him, till they had performed the ceremony. This, to a heavy unwieldy man, like Poulaho, must be attended with some trouble and pain; and I have sometimes seen him make a run, though very unable, to get out of the way, or to reach a place where he might conveniently sit down. The hands, after this application of them to the chief's feet, are, in some cases, rendered useless for a time; for, until they be washed, they must not touch any kind of food. This interdiction in a country where water is so scarce would seem to be attended with some inconvenience; but they are never at a loss for a succedaneum; and a piece of any juicy plant, which they can easily procure immediately, being rubbed upon them, this serves for the purpose of purification, as well as washing them with water. When the hands are in this state, they call it *taboo rema. Taboo*, in general, signifies forbidden, and *rema* is their word for hand. When the *taboo* is incurred by paying obeisance to a great personage, it is thus easily washed off. But in some other cases it must necessarily continue for a certain time. We have frequently seen women, who have been *taboo rema*, fed by others. At the expiration of the time, the interdicted person washes herself in one of their baths, which are dirty holes, for the most part, of brackish water. She then waits upon the king, and after making her obeisance in the usual way, lays hold of his foot and applies it to her breast, shoulders, and other parts of her body. He then embraces her on each shoulder; after which she retires purified from her uncleanness. I do not know that it is always necessary to come to the king for this purpose, though Omai assured me it was. If this be so, it may be one reason why he is, for the most part, travelling from island to island. I saw this ceremony performed by him two or three times; and once by Feenou, to one of his own women; but as Omai was not then with me, I could not ask the occasion.

Taboo, as I have before observed, is a word of an extensive signification. Human sacrifices are called *tangata taboo;* and when anything is forbidden to be eaten, or made use of, they say that it is *taboo*. They tell us, that if the king should happen to go into a house belonging to a subject, that house would be *taboo*, and could never more be inhabited by the owner; so that wherever he travels, there are particular houses for his reception. Old Toobou, at this time, presided over the *taboo;* that is, if Omai comprehended the matter rightly, he and his deputies inspected all the produce of the island; taking care that every man should cultivate and plant his quota; and ordering what should be eaten, and what

not. By this wise regulation they effectually guard against a famine; a sufficient quantity of ground is employed in raising provisions; and every article thus raised is secured from unnecessary waste. By another prudent regulation in their government, they have an officer over the police, or something like it. This department, when we were amongst them, was administered by Feenou; whose business we were told it was to punish all offenders, whether against the state or against individuals. He was also generalissimo, and commanded the warriors, when called out upon service; but, by all accounts, this is very seldom. The king frequently took some pains to inform us of Feenou's office; and among other things, told us that if he himself should become a bad man, Feenou would kill him. What I understood by this expression of being a bad man was, that if he did not govern according to law or custom, Feenou would be ordered, by the other great men, or by the people at large, to put him to death. There should seem to be no doubt, that a sovereign, thus liable to be controlled and punished for an abuse of power, cannot be called a despotic monarch.

When we consider the number of islands that compose this little state, and the distance at which some of them lie from the seat of government, attempts to throw off the yoke, and to acquire independence, it should seem, might be apprehended; but they tell us that this never happens. One reason why they are not thus disturbed, by domestic quarrels, may be this; that all the powerful chiefs, as we have already mentioned, reside at Tongataboo. They also secure the dependence of the other islands by the celerity of their operations; for if, at any time, a troublesome and popular man should start up in any of them, Feenou, or whoever holds his office, is immediately despatched thither to kill him. By this means, they crush a rebellion in its very infancy.

The orders or classes amongst their chiefs, or those who call themselves such, seemed to be almost as numerous as amongst us; but there are few in comparison that are lords of large districts of territory, the rest holding their lands under those principal barons, as they may be called. I was indeed told that when a man of property dies, everything he leaves behind him falls to the king; but that it is usual to give it to the eldest son of the deceased, with an obligation to make a provision out of it for the rest of the children. It is not the custom here, as at Otaheite, for the son, the moment he is born, to take from the father the homage and title; but he succeeds to them at his decease; so that their form of government is not only monarchical but hereditary. The order of succession to the crown has not been of late interrupted; for we know from a particular circumstance, that the Futtafaihes (Poulaho being only an addition to distinguish the king from the rest of his family) have reigned in a direct line, for at least one hundred and thirty-five years. Upon inquiring whether any account had been preserved amongst them of the arrival of Tasman's ships, we found that this history had been handed down to them from their ancestors, with an accuracy which marks that oral tradition may sometimes be depended upon. For they described the two ships as resembling ours, mentioning the place where they had anchored; their having staid but a few days; and their moving from that station to Annamooka. And by way of informing us how long ago this had happened, they told us the name of the Futtafaihe who was then king, and of those who had succeeded down to Poulaho, who is the fifth since that period; the first being an old man, at the time of the arrival of the ships.

From what has been said of the present king, it would be natural to suppose, that he had the highest rank of any person in the islands. But to our great surprise, we found it is not so, for Latoolibooloo, the person who was pointed out to me as king when I first visited Tongataboo, and three women, are, in some respects, superior to Poulaho himself. On our inquiring who these extraordinary personages were, whom they distinguished by the name and title of *Tammaha?** we were told that the late king, Poulaho's father, had a sister of equal rank, and older than himself; that she, by a man who came from the island of Feejee, had a son and two daughters; and that these three persons, as well as their mother, rank above Futtafaihe the king. We endeavoured, in vain, to trace the reason of this singular pre-eminence of the *Tammahas;* for we could learn nothing besides this account of

* The reader need not be reminded that Tamolea, which signifies a chief in the dialect of Hamao, and Tammaha become the same word by the change of a single letter, the articulation of which is not very strongly marked.

their pedigree. The mother and one of the daughters, called Tooelakaipa, live at Vavaoo. Latoolibooloo, the son, and the other daughter, whose name is Moungoula-kaipa, reside at Tongataboo. The latter is the woman who is mentioned to have dined with me on the 21st of June. This gave occasion to our discovering her superiority over the king, who would not eat in her presence, though she made no scruple to do so before him, and received from him the customary obeisance, by touching her foot. We never had an opportunity of seeing him pay this mark of respect to Latoolibooloo; but we have observed him leave off eating, and have his victuals put aside, when the latter came into the same house. Latoolibooloo assumed the privilege of taking anything from the people, even if it belonged to the king; and yet in the ceremony called *Natche*, he assisted only in the same manner as the other principal men. He was looked upon by his countrymen as a madman, and many of his actions seemed to confirm this judgment. At Eooa they showed me a good deal of land, said to belong to him; and I saw there a son of his, a child whom they distinguish by the same title as his father. The son of the greatest prince in Europe could not be more humoured and caressed than this little *Tammaha* was.

The language of the Friendly Islands has the greatest affinity imaginable to that of New Zealand, of Wateeoo, and Mangeea; and, consequently, to that of Otaheite, and the Society Islands. There are also many of their words the same with those used by the natives of Cocos Island, as appears from the vocabulary collected there by Le Maire and Schouten. The mode of pronunciation differs, indeed, considerably, in many instances, from that both of New Zealand and Otaheite; but still a great number of words are either exactly the same, or so little changed, that their common original may be satisfactorily traced. The language, as spoken at the Friendly Islands, is sufficiently copious for all the ideas of the people; and we had many proofs of its being easily adapted to all musical purposes, both in song and in recitative; besides being harmonious enough in common conversation. Its component parts, as far as our scanty acquaintance with it enabled us to judge, are not numerous; and in some of its rules, it agrees with other known languages. As, for instance, we could easily discern the several degrees of comparison, as used in the Latin; but none of the inflections of nouns and verbs.

We were able to collect several hundreds of the words; and, amongst these, are terms that express numbers as far as a hundred thousand; beyond which they never would reckon. It is probable, indeed, that they are not able to go farther; for, after having got thus far, we observed that they commonly used a word which expresses an indefinite number. A short specimen, selected from the larger vocabulary, is here inserted, with the corresponding words, of the same signification as used at Otaheite, on the opposite column; which, while it will give, as we may say, ocular demonstration of their being dialects of the same language, will, at the same time, point out the particular letters by the insertion, omission, or alteration of which the variations of the two dialects from each other have been effected.

It must be observed, however, that our vocabularies of this sort must necessarily be liable to great mistakes. The ideas of those from whom we were to learn the words were so different from ours, that it was difficult to fix them to the object of inquiry. Or, if this could be obtained, to learn an unknown tongue from an instructor, who did not know a single word of any language that his scholar was conversant with, could not promise to produce much. But even when these difficulties were surmounted, there still remained a fruitful source of mistake. I mean, inaccuracy in catching exactly the true sound of a word to which our ears had never been accustomed, from persons whose mode of pronunciation was, in general, so indistinct, that it seldom happened that any two of us, in writing down the same word from the same mouth, made use of the same vowels in representing it. Nay, we even very commonly differed about consonants, the sounds of which are least liable to ambiguity. Besides all this, we found by experience, that we had been led into strange corruptions of some of the most common words, either from the natives endeavouring to imitate us, or from our having misunderstood them. Thus, *cheeto* was universally used by us to express a thief, though totally different from the real word in the language of Tongataboo. The mistake arose from a prior one into which we had run when at New Zealand; for though the word that signifies thief there, be absolutely the same that belongs to the

dialect of the Friendly Islands (being *kaeehaa* at both places), yet, by some blunder, we had used the word *teete* first at New Zealand, and afterwards at Tongataboo, on our arrival there. The natives endeavouring to imitate us as nearly as they could, and so fabricating the word *cheeto*, this, by a complication of mistakes, was adopted by us as their own. All possible care has been taken to make the following table as correct as possible.

ENGLISH.	FRIENDLY ISLANDS.	OTAHEITE.	ENGLISH.	FRIENDLY ISLANDS.	OTAHEITE.
The sun	Elaa	Eraa.	The beard	Koomoo	Ooma.
Fire	Eafoi	Eahoi.	The sea	Tahee	Taee.
Thunder	Fatooro	Pateere.	A boat, or canoe	Wakka	Evaa.
Rain	Ooha	Eooa.	Black	Oole	Ere.
The wind	Matangee	Mataee.	Red	Goola	Oora, oora.
Warm	Mafanna	Mahanna.	A lance, or spear	Tao	Tao.
The clouds	Ao	Eao.	A parent	Motooa	Madooa
Land	Fenooa	Fenooa.	What is that?	Kohaeea?	Yahaeea?
Water	Avy	Evy.	To hold fast	Amou	Mou.
Sleep	Mohe	Moe.	To wipe or clean anything	Horo	Horoee.
A man	Tangata	Taata.	To rise up	Etoo	Atoo.
A woman	Vofaine	Waheine.	To cry or shed tears	Tangee	Taee.
A young girl	Taheine	Tooneа.	To eat or chew	Eky	Ey.
A servant, or person of mean rank	Tooa	Toutou, or Teou.	Yes	Ai	Ai.
The dawn, or day-break	Aho	Aou.	No	Kaee	Aee.
The hair	Fooroo	Erooroo.	You	Koe	Oe.
The tongue	Elelo	Erero.	I	Ou	Wou.
The ear	Tareenga	Tareea.	Ten	Ongofooro	Ahooroo.

Having now concluded my remarks on these islands and people, I shall take my final leave of them, after giving some account of the astronomical and nautical observations that were made during our stay. And first I must take notice, that the difference of longitude between Annamooka and Tongataboo is somewhat less than was marked in the chart and narrative of my last voyage. This error might easily arise, as the longitude of each was then found without any connexion with the other. But now the distance between them is determined to a degree of precision that excludes all possibility of mistake; which the following table will illustrate:—

The latitude of the observatory at Tongataboo, by the mean of several observations	21°	8′	19″	south.
The longitude, by the mean of one hundred and thirty-one sets of lunar observations, amounting to above a thousand observed distances between the moon, sun, and stars	184	55	18	east.
The difference of longitude, made by the time-keeper, between the above observatory and that at Annamooka	0	16	0	
Hence, the longitude of Annamooka is	185	11	18	east.
By the time-keeper it is—Greenwich rate	186	12	27	
New Zealand rate	184	37	0	
Its latitude	20	15	0	south.

N.B.—The observatory at Tongataboo was near the middle of the north side of the island; and that at Annamooka, on its west side; but the chart will elucidate this.

The time-keeper was too slow for mean time at Greenwich, on the first of July at noon, by $12^h\ 34^m\ 33^s.2$; and her daily rate, at that time, was losing, on mean time, $1^m.783$ per day. This rate will now be used for finding the longitude by the time-keeper; and 184° 55′ 18″, or $12^h\ 19^m\ 41^s.2$, will be taken as the true longitude of Tongataboo, east from Greenwich.

By the mean of several observations, the south end of the needle was found to dip

At Lefooga, one of the Hapaee islands	36°	55′	0″
Tongataboo	39	1½	0

The variation of the compass was found to be—

At Annamooka, on board	8°	30′	3½″	east.
Anchor off Kotoo, between Annamooka and Hapaee	8	12	29½	
Anchor off Lefooga	10	11	40	
Tongataboo, on board	9	44	54	
Ditto, on shore	10	12	58	

I can assign no reason why the variation is so much less at and near Annamooka, than at either of the other two places. I can only say, that there is no fault in the observations; and that the variation ought to be more at Annamooka than the above, as it has been found to be so to the northward, southward, eastward, and westward of it. But disagreements in the variation, greater than this, even in the same needle, have been often observed. And I should not have taken notice of this instance, but from a belief that the cause, whatever it is, exists in the place, and not in the needles; for Mr. Bayly found the same, or rather more difference.

The tides are more considerable at these islands, than at any other of my discoveries in this ocean, that lie within the tropics. At Annamooka it is high water, on the full and change days, nearly at six o'clock; and the tide rises and falls there, upon a perpendicular, about six feet. In the harbour of Tongataboo, it is high water, on the full and change days, at fifty minutes past six. The tide rises and falls on those days, four feet nine inches; and three feet six inches at the Quadratures. In the channels between the islands, which lie in this harbour, it flows near tide and half-tide; that is, the flood continues to run up near three hours, after it is high water by the shore; and the ebb continues to run down, after it is flood by the shore. It is only in these channels, and in a few other places near the shores, that the motion of the water or tide is perceivable; so that I can only guess at the quarter from which the flood comes. In the road of Annamooka, it sets west south-west, and the ebb the contrary; but it falls into the harbour of Tongataboo from the north-west, passes through the two narrow channels, on each side of Hoolaiva, where it runs with considerable rapidity, and then spends itself in the lagoon. The ebb returns the same way, and runs with rather greater force. The north-west tide is met at the entrance of the lagoon, by one from the east; but this, as I have before observed, was found to be very inconsiderable.

BOOK III.

TRANSACTIONS AT OTAHEITE, AND THE SOCIETY ISLANDS; AND PROSECUTION OF THE VOYAGE TO THE COAST OF NORTH AMERICA.

CHAPTER I.—AN ECLIPSE OF THE MOON OBSERVED.—THE ISLAND TOOBOUAI DISCOVERED.—ITS SITUATION, EXTENT, AND APPEARANCE.—INTERCOURSE WITH ITS INHABITANTS.—THEIR PERSONS, DRESSES, AND CANOES DESCRIBED.—ARRIVAL IN OHEITEPEHA BAY AT OTAHEITE.—OMAI'S RECEPTION, AND IMPRUDENT CONDUCT.—ACCOUNT OF SPANISH SHIPS TWICE VISITING THE ISLAND.—INTERVIEW WITH THE CHIEF OF THIS DISTRICT.—THE OLLA, OR GOD, OF BOLABOLA.—A MAD PROPHET.—ARRIVAL IN MATAVAI BAY.

HAVING, as before related*, taken our final leave of the Friendly Islands, I now resume my narrative of the voyage. In the evening of the 17th of July, at eight o'clock, the body of Eaoo bore north-east by north, distant three or four leagues. The wind was now at east, and blew a fresh gale. With it I stood to the south, till half an hour past six o'clock the next morning, when a sudden squall from the same direction took our ship aback; and before the ships could be trimmed, on the other tack, the mainsail and the top-gallant sails were much torn.

The wind kept between the south-west, and south-east, on the 19th and 20th; afterward it veered to the east, north-east, and north. The night between the 20th and 21st, an eclipse of the moon was observed as follows; being then in the latitude of 22° 57½′ south:

	Apparent time, A.M. H.	M.	S.	
Beginning, by Mr. King, at	0	32	50	Mean long. 186° 57½′.
Mr. Bligh, at	0	33	25	,,
Myself, at	0	33	35	,,

* See the conclusion of chap. ix. book ii.

	Apparent time, A.M. H.	M.	S.	
End, by Mr. King, at .	1	44	56	Mean long. 186° 28¼′. Time keep. 186° 56½′.
Mr. Bligh, at .	1	44	6	" "
Myself, at .	1	44	56	" "

The latitude and longitude are those of the ship, at $8^h\ 56^m$ A.M., being the time when the sun's altitude was taken for finding the apparent time. At the beginning of the eclipse, the moon was in the zenith; so that it was found most convenient to make use of the sextants; and to make the observations by the reflected image, which was brought down to a convenient altitude. The same was done at the end; except by Mr. King, who observed with a night telescope. Although the greatest difference between our several observations is more than fifty seconds, it, nevertheless, appeared to me, that two observers might differ more than double that time, in both the beginning and end. And though the times are noted to seconds, no such accuracy was pretended to. The odd seconds, set down above, arose by reducing the time, as given by the watch, to apparent time.

I continued to stretch to the east-south-east, with the wind at north-east and north, without meeting with any thing worthy of note, till seven o'clock in the evening of the 29th; when we had a sudden and very heavy squall of wind from the north. At this time, we were under single-reefed top-sails, courses, and stay-sails. Two of the latter were blown to pieces; and it was with difficulty that we saved the other sails. After this squall, we observed several lights moving about on board the Discovery; by which we concluded that something had given way; and, the next morning, we saw that her main-topmast had been lost. Both wind and weather continued very unsettled till noon this day, when the latter cleared up, and the former settled in the north-west quarter. At this time we were in the latitude of 28° 6′ south, and our longitude was 198° 23′ east. Here we saw some pintado birds, being the first since we left the land. On the 31st, at noon, Captain Clerke made a signal to speak with me. By the return of the boat, which I sent on board his ship, he informed me, that the head of the main-mast had been discovered to be sprung, in such a manner, as to render the rigging of another topmast very dangerous; and that, therefore, he must rig something lighter in its place. He also informed me, that he had lost his main-top-gallant-yard; and that he neither had another, nor a spar to make one, on board. The Resolution's sprit-sail top-sail-yard, which I sent him, supplied this want. The next day, we got up a jury top-mast, on which he set a mizen-top-sail; and this enabled him to keep way with the Resolution.

The wind was fixed in the western board; that is, from the north, round by the west to south, and I steered east, and north-east, without meeting with anything remarkable, till eleven o'clock in the morning of the 8th of August, when the land was seen, bearing north-north-east, nine or ten leagues distant. At first, it appeared in detached hills, like so many separate islands; but as we drew nearer, we found that they were all connected, and belonged to one and the same island. I steered directly for it, with a fine gale at south-east by south; and at half-past six o'clock in the afternoon, it extended from north by east, to north-north-east ¾ east, distant three or four leagues. The night was spent standing off and on; and, at day-break, the next morning, I steered for the north-west or lee side of the island; and, as we stood round its south, or south-west part, we saw it every where guarded by a reef of coral rock, extending, in some places, a full mile from the land, and a high surf breaking upon it. Some thought that they saw land to the southward of this island; but, as that was to the windward, it was left undetermined. As we drew near, we saw people on several parts of the coast, walking or running along-shore; and, in a little time, after we had reached the lee-side of the island, we saw them launch two canoes, into which above a dozen men got, and paddled toward us.

I now shortened sail, as well to give these canoes time to come up with us, as to sound for anchorage. At the distance of about half a mile from the reef, we found from forty to thirty-five fathoms' water, over a bottom of fine sand. Nearer in, the bottom was strewed with coral rocks. The canoes having advanced to about the distance of a pistol-shot from the ship, there stopped. Omai was employed, as he usually had been on such occasions,

to use all his eloquence to prevail upon the men in them to come nearer; but no entreaties could induce them to trust themselves within our reach. They kept eagerly pointing to the shore with their paddles, and calling to us to go thither; and several of their countrymen, who stood upon the beach, held up something white, which we considered also as an invitation to land. We could very well have done this, as there was good anchorage without the reef, and a break or opening in it, from whence the canoes had come out, which had no surf upon it, and where, if there was not water for the ships, there was more than sufficient for the boats; but I did not think proper to risk losing the advantage of a fair wind, for the sake of examining an island that appeared to be of little consequence. We stood in no need of refreshments, if I had been sure of meeting with them there; and having already been so unexpectedly delayed in my progress to the Society Islands, I was desirous of avoiding every possibility of farther retardment. For this reason, after making several unsuccessful attempts to induce these people to come alongside, I made sail to the north, and left them; but not without getting from them, during their vicinity to our ship, the name of their island, which they called Toobouai. It is situated in the latitude of 22° 15′ south; and in 210° 37′ east longitude. Its greatest extent, in any direction, exclusive of the reef, is not above five or six miles. On the north-west side, the reef appears in detached pieces, between which the sea seems to break in upon the shore. Small as the island is, there are hills in it of a considerable elevation. At the foot of the hills, is a narrow border of flat land, running quite round it, edged with a white sand beach. The hills are covered with grass, or some other herbage, except a few steep, rocky cliffs at one part, with patches of trees interspersed to their summits. But the plantations are more numerous in some of the valleys; and the flat border is quite covered with high, strong trees, whose different kinds we could not discern, except some cocoa-palms, and a few of the *etoa*. According to the information of the men in the canoes, their island is stocked with hogs and fowls; and produces the several fruits and roots that are found at the other islands in this part of the Pacific Ocean.

We had an opportunity, from the conversation we had with those who came off to us, of satisfying ourselves, that the inhabitants of Toobouai speak the Otaheite language; a circumstance that indubitably proves them to be of the same nation. Those of them whom we saw in the canoes, were a stout copper-coloured people, with straight black hair, which some of them wore tied in a bunch on the crown of the head, and others, flowing about the shoulders. Their faces were somewhat round and full, but the features, upon the whole, rather flat; and their countenances seemed to express some degree of natural ferocity. They had no covering but a piece of narrow stuff wrapped about the waist, and made to pass between the thighs, to cover the adjoining parts; but some of those whom we saw upon the beach, where about a hundred persons had assembled, were entirely clothed with a kind of white garment. We could observe, that some of our visitors, in the canoes, wore pearl shells, hung about the neck, as an ornament. One of them kept blowing a large conch-shell, to which a reed, near two feet long, was fixed; at first, with a continued tone of the same kind; but he afterward converted it into a kind of musical instrument, perpetually repeating two or three notes, with the same strength. What the blowing the conch portended, I cannot say; but I never found it the messenger of peace*.

Their canoes appeared to be about thirty feet long, and two feet above the surface of the water as they floated. The forepart projected a little, and had a notch cut across, as if intended to represent the mouth of some animal. The afterpart rose with a gentle curve to

* This instrument is described by Mr. Ellis as "used in war to stimulate action, by the priests in the temple, and also by the herald and others on board their fleets." He represents its sound as being "more horrific than that of the drum," and informs us that "the largest shells (of a species of murex) were usually selected for the purpose, and were sometimes above a foot in length, and seven or eight inches in diameter at the mouth. In order to facilitate the blowing of this trumpet, they made a perforation, about an inch in diameter, near the apex of the shell. Into this they inserted a bamboo cane, about three feet in length, which was secured by binding it to the shell with fine braid; the aperture was rendered air-tight by cementing the outsides of it with a resinous gum from the bread-fruit tree. These shells were blown when a procession walked to the temple, or their warriors marched to battle, at the inauguration of the king, during the worship at the temple, or when a tabu, or restriction, was imposed in the name of the gods. We have sometimes heard them blown. The sound is extremely loud, but the most monotonous and dismal that it is possible to imagine."—Ed.

the height of two or three feet, turning gradually smaller, and, as well as the upper part of the sides, was carved all over. The rest of the sides, which were perpendicular, were curiously incrusted with flat, white shells, disposed nearly in concentric semicircles, with the curve upward. One of the canoes carried seven, and the other eight, men; and they were managed with small paddles, whose blades were nearly round. Each of them had a pretty long outrigger; and they sometimes paddled with the two opposite sides together so close, that they seemed to be one boat with two outriggers; the rowers turning their faces occasionally to the stern, and pulling that way, without paddling the canoes round. When they saw us determined to leave them, they stood up in their canoes, and repeated something very loudly in concert; but we could not tell whether this was meant as a mark of their friendship or enmity. It is certain, however, that they had no weapons with them; nor could we perceive, with our glasses, that those on shore had any.

After leaving this island, from the discovery of which future navigators may possibly derive some advantage, I steered to the north, with a fresh gale at E. by S., and at daybreak in the morning of the 12th, we saw the island of Maitea. Soon after, Otaheite made its appearance; and at noon it extended from S.W. by W. to W.N.W.; the point of Oheitepeha Bay bearing W., about four leagues distant. I steered for this bay, intending to anchor there, in order to draw what refreshments I could from the south-east part of the island, before I went down to Matavai; from the neighbourhood of which station I expected my principal supply. We had a fresh gale easterly, till two o'clock in the afternoon; when, being about a league from the bay, the wind suddenly died away, and was succeeded by baffling, light airs from every direction, and calms by turns. This lasted about two hours. Then we had sudden squalls, with rain, from the east. These carried us before the bay, where we got a breeze from the land, and attempted in vain to work in to gain the anchoring place. So that, at last, about nine o'clock, we were obliged to stand out, and to spend the night at sea.

When we first drew near the island, several canoes came off to the ship, each conducted by two or three men; but as they were common fellows, Omai took no particular notice of them, nor they of him. They did not even seem to perceive that he was one of their countrymen, although they conversed with him for some time. At length, a chief whom I had known before, named Ootee, and Omai's brother-in-law, who chanced to be now at this corner of the island, and three or four more persons, all of whom knew Omai before he embarked with Captain Furneaux, came on board. Yet there was nothing either tender or striking in their meeting. On the contrary, there seemed to be a perfect indifference on both sides, till Omai having taken his brother down into the cabin, opened the drawer where he kept his red feathers and gave him a few. This being presently known amongst the rest of the natives upon deck, the face of affairs was entirely turned, and Ootee, who would hardly speak to Omai before, now begged that they might be *tayos**, and exchange names. Omai accepted of the honour, and confirmed it with a present of red feathers; and Ootee, by way of return, sent ashore for a hog. But it was evident to every one of us, that it was not the man, but his property they were in love with. Had he not shown them his treasure of red feathers, which is the commodity in greatest estimation at the island, I question much whether they would have bestowed even a cocoa-nut upon him. Such was Omai's first reception among his countrymen. I own I never expected it would be otherwise; but still, I was in hopes that the valuable cargo of presents with which the liberality of his friends in England had loaded him, would be the means of raising him into consequence, and of making him respected, and even courted by the first persons throughout the extent of the Society Islands. This could not but have happened, had he conducted himself with any degree of prudence; but instead of it, I am sorry to say, that he paid too little regard to the repeated advice of those who wished him well, and suffered himself to be duped by every designing knave.

From the natives who came off to us in the course of this day, we learnt that two ships had twice been in Oheitepeha Bay since my last visit to this island in 1774, and that they had left animals there, such as we had on board. But, on farther inquiry, we

* Friends

found they were only hogs, dogs, goats, one bull, and the male of some other animal, which, from the imperfect description now given us, we could not find out. They told us that these ships had come from a place called Reema; by which we guessed that Lima, the capital of Peru, was meant, and that these late visitors were Spaniards. We were informed, that the first time they came, they built a house and left four men behind them, *viz.* two priests, a boy or servant, and a fourth person called Mateema, who was much spoken of at this time; carrying away with them, when they sailed, four of the natives; that in about ten months, the same two ships returned, bringing back two of the islanders, the other two having died at Lima; and that, after a short stay, they took away their own people; but that the house which they had built was left standing.

The important news of red feathers being on board our ships, having been conveyed on shore by Omai's friends, day had no sooner begun to break next morning, than we were surrounded by a multitude of canoes crowded with people, bringing hogs and fruit to market. At first, a quantity of feathers, not greater than what might be got from a tom-tit, would purchase a hog of forty or fifty pounds' weight. But as almost everybody in the ships was possessed of some of this precious article in trade, it fell in its value above five hundred per cent. before night. However, even then, the balance was much in our favour; and red feathers continued to preserve their superiority over every other commodity. Some of the natives would not part with a hog, unless they received an axe in exchange; but nails, and beads and other trinkets, which, during our former voyages had so great a run at this island, were now so much despised, that few would deign so much as to look at them.

There being but little wind all the morning, it was nine o'clock before we could get to an anchor in the bay; where we moored with two bowers. Soon after we had anchored, Omai's sister came on board to see him. I was happy to observe, that, much to the honour of them both, their meeting was marked with expressions of the tenderest affection, easier to be conceived than to be described. This moving scene having closed, and the ship being properly moored, Omai and I went ashore. My first object was to pay a visit to a man whom my friend represented as a very extraordinary personage indeed, for he said that he was the god of Bolabola. We found him seated under one of those small awnings which they usually carry in their larger canoes. He was an elderly man, and had lost the use of his limbs, so that he was carried from place to place upon a hand-barrow. Some called him *Olla* or *Orra*, which is the name of the god of Bolabola; but his own proper name was Etary. From Omai's account of this person, I expected to have seen some religious adoration paid to him. But, excepting some plantain-trees that lay before him, and upon the awning under which he sat, I could observe nothing by which he might be distinguished from their other chiefs. Omai presented to him a tuft of red feathers, tied to the end of a small stick; but, after a little conversation on indifferent matters with this Bolabola man, his attention was drawn to an old woman, the sister of his mother. She was already at his feet, and had them plentifully bedewed with tears of joy.

I left him with the old lady in the midst of a number of people who had gathered round him, and went to take a view of the house said to be built by the strangers who had lately been here. I found it standing at a small distance from the beach. The wooden materials of which it was composed seemed to have been brought hither ready prepared, to be set up occasionally, for all the planks were numbered. It was divided into two small rooms; and in the inner one were, a bedstead, a table, a bench, some old hats, and other trifles, of which the natives seemed to be very careful, as also of the house itself, which had suffered no hurt from the weather, a shed having been built over it. There were scuttles all around which served as air-holes; and, perhaps, they were also meant to fire from, with muskets, if ever this should be found necessary. At a little distance from the front stood a wooden cross, on the transverse part of which was cut the following inscription:

CHRISTUS VINCIT.

And, on the perpendicular part (which confirmed our conjecture, that the two ships were Spanish,)

CAROLUS III. IMPERAT. 1774.

On the other side of the post, I preserved the memory of the prior visits of the English, by inscribing,

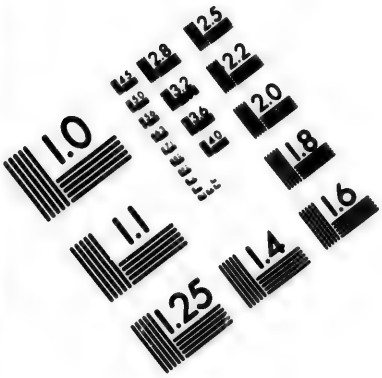
GEORGIUS TERTIUS REX,
ANNIS 1767,
1769, 1773, 1774, AND 1777.

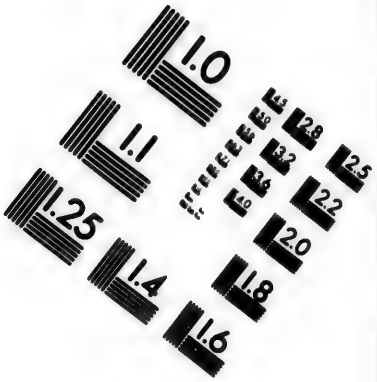
The natives pointed out to us, near the foot of the cross, the grave of the commodore of the two ships, who had died here, while they lay in the bay the first time. His name, as they pronounced it, was Oreede. Whatever the intentions of the Spaniards in visiting this island might be, they seemed to have taken great pains to ingratiate themselves with the inhabitants, who, upon every occasion, mentioned them with the strongest expressions of esteem and veneration.

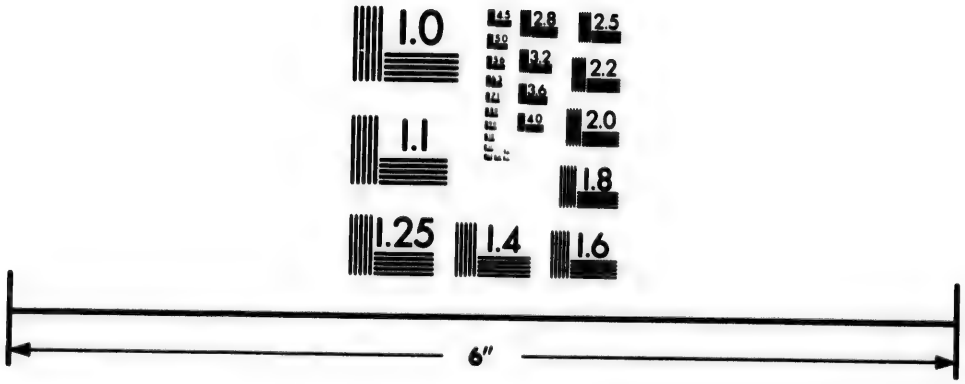
I met with no chief of any considerable note on this occasion, excepting the extraordinary personage above described. Waheiadooa, the sovereign of Tiaraboo (as this part of the island is called,) was now absent; and I afterwards found, that he was not the same person, though of the same name, with the chief whom I had seen here during my last voyage; but his brother, a boy of about ten years of age, who had succeeded upon the death of the elder Waheiadooa, about twenty months before our arrival. We also learned, that the celebrated Oberea was dead; but that Otoo, and all our other friends, were living. When I returned from viewing the house and cross erected by the Spaniards, I found Omai holding forth to a large company; and it was with some difficulty that he could be got away, to accompany me on board; where I had an important affair to settle.

As I knew that Otaheite and the neighbouring islands could furnish us with a plentiful supply of cocoa-nuts, the liquor of which is an excellent succedaneum for any artificial beverage, I was desirous of prevailing upon my people to consent to be abridged, during our stay here, of their stated allowance of spirits to mix with water. But as this stoppage of a favourite article, without assigning some reason, might have occasioned a general murmur, I thought it most prudent to assemble the ship's company, and to make known to them the intent of the voyage, and the extent of our future operations. To induce them to undertake which with cheerfulness and perseverance, I took notice of the rewards offered by Parliament to such of his Majesty's subjects as shall first discover a communication between the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans, in any direction whatever, in the northern hemisphere: and also to such as shall first penetrate beyond the 89th degree of northern latitude. I made no doubt, I told them, that I should find them willing to co-operate with me in attempting, as far as might be possible, to become entitled to one or both these rewards; but that, to give us the best chance of succeeding, it would be necessary to observe the utmost economy in the expenditure of our stores and provisions, particularly the latter, as there was no probability of getting a supply anywhere after leaving these islands. I strengthened my argument, by reminding them, that our voyage must last at least a year longer than had been originally supposed, by our having already lost the opportunity of getting to the North this summer. I begged them to consider the various obstructions and difficulties we might still meet with, and the aggravated hardships they would labour under, if it should be found necessary to put them to short allowance of any species of provisions in a cold climate. For these very substantial reasons, I submitted to them, whether it would not be better to be prudent in time, and rather than to run the risk of having no spirits left, when such a cordial would be most wanted, to consent to be without their grog now, when we had so excellent a liquor as that of cocoa-nuts to substitute in its place; but that, after all, I left the determination entirely to their own choice. I had the satisfaction to find, that this proposal did not remain a single moment under consideration; being unanimously approved of, immediately, without any objection. I ordered Captain Clerke to make the same proposal to his people; which they also agreed to. Accordingly, we stopped serving grog, except on Saturday nights, when the companies of both ships had full allowance of it, that they might drink the healths of their female friends in England; lest these, amongst the pretty girls of Otaheite, should be wholly forgotten.

The next day we began some necessary operations; to inspect the provisions that were







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in the main and fore hold; to get the casks of beef and pork, and the coals, out of the ground tier; and to put some ballast in their place. The caulkers were set to work to caulk the ship, which she stood in great need of; having, at times, made much water on our passage from the Friendly Islands. I also put on shore the bull, cows, horses, and sheep, and appointed two men to look after them while grazing; for I did not intend to leave any of them at this part of the island. During the two following days, it hardly ever ceased raining. The natives, nevertheless, came to us from every quarter, the news of our arrival having rapidly spread. Waheiadooa, though at a distance, had been informed of it; and, in the afternoon of the 16th, a chief, named Etorea, under whose tutorage he was, brought me two hogs as a present from him; and acquainted me, that he himself would be with us the day after. And so it proved; for I received a message from him the next morning, notifying his arrival, and desiring I would go ashore to meet him. Accordingly, Omai and I prepared to pay him a formal visit. On this occasion, Omai, assisted by some of his friends, dressed himself, not after the English fashion, nor that of Otaheite, nor that of Tongataboo, nor in the dress of any country upon earth, but in a strange medley of all that he was possessed of.

Thus equipped, on our landing, we first visited Etary; who, carried on a hand-barrow, attended us to a large house, where he was set down; and we seated ourselves on each side of him. I caused a piece of Tongataboo cloth to be spread out before us, on which I laid the presents I intended to make. Presently the young chief came, attended by his mother, and several principal men, who all seated themselves, at the other end of the cloth, facing us. Then a man who sat by me, made a speech, consisting of short and separate sentences; part of which was dictated by those about him. He was answered by one from the opposite side, near the chief. Etary spoke next; then Omai; and both of them were answered from the same quarter. These orations were entirely about my arrival, and connexions with them. The person who spoke last told me, amongst other things, that the men of *Reema*, that is, the Spaniards, had desired them not to suffer me to come into Oheitepeha Bay, if I should return any more to the island, for that it belonged to them; but that they were so far from paying any regard to this request, that he was authorised now to make a formal surrender of the province of Tiaraboo to me, and of every thing in it; which marks very plainly, that these people are no strangers to the policy of accommodating themselves to present circumstances. At length, the young chief was directed, by his attendants, to come and embrace me; and, by way of confirming this treaty of friendship, we exchanged names. The ceremony being closed, he and his friends accompanied me on board to dinner.

Omai had prepared a *maro*, composed of red and yellow feathers, which he intended for Otoo, the king of the whole island; and, considering where we were, it was a present of very great value. I said all that I could to persuade him not to produce it now, wishing him to keep it on board till an opportunity should offer of presenting it to Otoo, with his own hands. But he had too good an opinion of the honesty and fidelity of his countrymen to take my advice. Nothing would serve him but to carry it ashore, on this occasion, and to give it to Waheiadooa, to be by him forwarded to Otoo, in order to its being added to the royal *maro*. He thought, by this management, that he should oblige both chiefs; whereas he highly disobliged the one, whose favour was of the most consequence to him, without gaining any reward from the other. What I had foreseen happened. For Waheiadooa kept the *maro* for himself, and only sent to Otoo a very small piece of feathers; not the twentieth part of what belonged to the magnificent present. On the 19th, this young chief made me a present of ten or a dozen hogs, a quantity of fruit, and some cloth. In the evening we played off some fire-works, which both astonished and entertained the numerous spectators.

This day, some of our gentlemen, in their walks, found, what they were pleased to call, a Roman Catholic chapel. Indeed, from their account, this was not to be doubted; for they described the altar and every other constituent part of such a place of worship. However, as they mentioned, at the same time, that two men, who had the care of it, would not suffer them to go in, I thought that they might be mistaken, and had the curiosity to

pay a visit to it myself. The supposed chapel proved to be a *toopapaoo*, in which the remains of the late Waheiadooa lay, as it were, in state. It was in a pretty large house, which was inclosed with a low palisade. The *toopapaoo* was uncommonly neat, and resembled one of those little houses, or awnings, belonging to their large canoes. Perhaps it had originally been employed for that purpose. It was covered, and hung round, with cloth and mats of different colours, so as to have a pretty effect. There was one piece of scarlet broad-cloth, four or five yards in length, conspicuous among the other ornaments; which, no doubt, had been a present from the Spaniards. This cloth, and a few tassels of feathers, which our gentlemen supposed to be silk, suggested to them the idea of a chapel; for whatever else was wanting to create a resemblance, their imagination supplied; and if they had not previously known that there had been Spaniards lately here, they could not possibly have made the mistake. Small offerings of fruit and roots seemed to be daily made at this shrine, as some pieces were quite fresh. These were deposited upon a *whatta*, or altar, which stood without the palisades; and within these we were not permitted to enter. Two men constantly attended, night and day, not only to watch over the place, but also to dress and undress the *toopapaoo*. For when I first went to survey it, the cloth and its appendages were all rolled up; but, at my request, the two attendants hung it out in order, first dressing themselves in clean white robes. They told me, that the chief had been dead twenty months.

Having taken in a fresh supply of water, and finished all our other necessary operations, on the 22d, I brought off the cattle and sheep, which had been put on shore here to graze; and made ready for sea. In the morning of the 23d, while the ships were unmooring, Omai and I landed, to take leave of the young chief. While we were with him, one of those enthusiastic persons, whom they call *Eatooas*, from a persuasion that they are possessed with the spirit of the Divinity, came and stood before us. He had all the appearance of a man not in his right senses; and his only dress was a large quantity of plantain leaves, wrapped round his waist. He spoke in a low, squeaking voice, so as hardly to be understood; at least, not by me. But Omai said, that he comprehended him perfectly, and that he was advising Waheiadooa not to go with me to Matavai; an expedition which I had never heard he intended, nor had I ever made such a proposal to him. The *Eatooa* also foretold, that the ships would not get to Matavai that day. But in this he was mistaken; though appearances now rather favoured his prediction, there not being a breath of wind in any direction. While he was prophesying, there fell a very heavy shower of rain, which made every one run for shelter but himself, who seemed not to regard it. He remained squeaking by us about half an hour, and then retired. No one paid any attention to what he uttered; though some laughed at him. I asked the chief, what he was, whether an *Earee*, or *Towtow?* and the answer I received was, that he was *taato eno;* that is, a bad man. And yet, notwithstanding this, and the little notice any of the natives seemed to take of the mad prophet, superstition has so far got the better of their reason, that they firmly believe such persons to be possessed with the spirit of the *Eatooa*. Omai seemed to be very well instructed about them. He said, that, during the fits that came upon them, they knew nobody, not even their most intimate acquaintances; and that, if any one of them happens to be a man of property, he will very often give away every moveable he is possessed of, if his friends do not put them out of his reach; and, when he recovers, will inquire what had become of those very things, which he had, but just before distributed; not seeming to have the least remembrance of what he had done while the fit was upon him.

As soon as I got on board, a light breeze springing up at east, we got under sail, and steered for Matavai Bay; where the Resolution anchored the same evening. But the Discovery did not get in till the next morning; so that half of the man's prophecy was fulfilled.

CHAPTER II.—INTERVIEW WITH OTOO, KING OF THE ISLAND.—IMPRUDENT CONDUCT OF OMAI.—EMPLOYMENTS ON SHORE.—EUROPEAN ANIMALS LANDED.—PARTICULARS ABOUT A NATIVE WHO HAD VISITED LIMA—ABOUT OEDIDEE.—A REVOLT IN EIMEO.—WAR WITH THAT ISLAND DETERMINED UPON, IN A COUNCIL OF CHIEFS.—A HUMAN SACRIFICE ON THAT ACCOUNT.—A PARTICULAR RELATION OF THE CEREMONIES AT THE GREAT MORAI, WHERE THE SACRIFICE WAS OFFERED.—OTHER BARBAROUS CUSTOMS OF THIS PEOPLE.

About nine o'clock in the morning, Otoo, the king of the whole island, attended by a great number of canoes full of people, came from Oparre, his place of residence, and having landed on Matavai Point, sent a message on board, expressing his desire to see me there. Accordingly I landed, accompanied by Omai, and some of the officers. We found a prodigious number of people assembled on this occasion, and in the midst of them was the king, attended by his father, his two brothers, and three sisters. I went up first and saluted him, being followed by Omai, who kneeled and embraced his legs. He had prepared himself for this ceremony, by dressing himself in his very best suit of clothes, and behaved with a great deal of respect and modesty. Nevertheless, very little notice was taken of him. Perhaps envy had some share in producing this cold reception. He made the chief a present of a large piece of red feathers, and about two or three yards of gold cloth; and I gave him a suit of fine linen, a gold-laced hat, some tools, and, what was of more value than all the other articles, a quantity of red feathers, and one of the bonnets in use at the Friendly Islands.

After the hurry of this visit was over, the king and the whole royal family accompanied me on board, followed by several canoes, laden with all kind of provisions, in quantity sufficient to have served the companies of both ships for a week. Each of the family owned, or pretended to own, a part; so that I had a present from every one of them; and every one of them had a separate present in return from me; which was the great object in view. Soon after, the king's mother, who had not been present at the first interview, came on board, bringing with her a quantity of provisions and cloth, which she divided between me and Omai; for, although he was but little noticed at first by his countrymen, they no sooner gained the knowledge of his riches, than they began to court his friendship. I encouraged this as much as I could: for it was my wish to fix him with Otoo. As I intended to leave all my European animals at this island, I thought he would be able to give some instruction about the management of them, and about their use. Besides, I knew and saw, that the farther he was from his native island, he would be the better respected. But, unfortunately, poor Omai rejected my advice, and conducted himself in so imprudent a manner, that he soon lost the friendship of Otoo, and of every other person of note in Otaheite. He associated with none but vagabonds and strangers, whose sole views were to plunder him; and, if I had not interfered, they would not have left him a single article worth the carrying from the island. This necessarily drew upon him the ill-will of the principal chiefs; who found that they could not procure, from any one in the ships, such valuable presents as Omai bestowed on the lowest of the people, his companions.

As soon as we had dined, a party of us accompanied Otoo to Oparre, taking with us the poultry, with which we were to stock the island. They consisted of a peacock and hen (which Lord Besborough was so kind as to send me for this purpose a few days before I left London); a turkey-cock and hen; one gander, and three geese; a drake, and four ducks. All these I left at Oparre, in the possession of Otoo; and the geese and ducks began to breed, before we sailed. We found there, a gander, which the natives told us, was the same that Captain Wallis had given to Oberea ten years before; several goats; and the Spanish bull, whom they kept tied to a tree, near Otoo's house. I never saw a finer animal of his kind. He was now the property of Etary, and had been brought from Oheitepeha to this place, in order to be shipped for Bolabola. But it passes my comprehension, how they can contrive to carry him in one of their canoes. If we had not arrived, it would have been of little consequence who had the property of him, as, without a cow, he could be of no use; and none had been left with him. Though the natives told us that there were cows

on board the Spanish ships, and that they took them away with them, I cannot believe this; and should rather suppose, that they had died in the passage from Lima. The next day, I sent the three cows, that I had on board, to this bull; and the bull, which I had brought, the horse and mare, and sheep, I put ashore at Matavai. Having thus disposed of these passengers, I found myself lightened of a very heavy burthen. The trouble and vexation that attended the bringing of this living cargo thus far, is hardly to be conceived. But the satisfaction that I felt, in having been so fortunate as to fulfil his Majesty's humane design, in sending such valuable animals, to supply the wants of two worthy nations, sufficiently recompensed me for the many anxious hours I had passed, before this subordinate object of my voyage could be carried into execution.*

As I intended to make some stay here, we set up the two observatories on Matavai Point. Adjoining to them, two tents were pitched for the reception of a guard, and of such people as it might be necessary to leave on shore, in different departments. At this station, I intrusted the command to Mr. King; who, at the same time, attended the observations for ascertaining the going of the time-keeper, and other purposes. During our stay, various necessary operations employed the crews of both ships. The Discovery's main-mast was carried ashore, and made as good as ever. Our sails and water-casks were repaired; the ships were caulked; and the rigging all overhauled. We also inspected all the bread that we had on board in casks; and had the satisfaction to find, that but little of it was damaged.

On the 26th, I had a piece of ground cleared for a garden, and planted it with several articles; very few of which, I believe, the natives will ever look after. Some melons, potatoes, and two pine-apple plants, were in a fair way of succeeding, before we left the place. I had brought from the Friendly Islands several shaddock trees. These I also planted here; and they can hardly fail of success, unless their growth should be checked by the same premature curiosity, which destroyed a vine planted by the Spaniards at Oheitepeha. A number of the natives got together, to taste the first fruit it bore; but, as the grapes were still sour, they considered it as little better than poison, and it was unanimously determined to tread it under foot. In that state, Omai found it by chance, and was overjoyed at the discovery. For he had a full confidence that, if he had but grapes, he could easily make wine. Accordingly, he had several slips cut from off the tree, to carry away with him; and we pruned and put in order the remains of it. Probably, grown wise by Omai's instructions, they may now suffer the fruit to grow to perfection, and not pass so hasty a sentence upon it again.

We had not been eight-and-forty hours at anchor in Matavai Bay, before we were visited by our old friends, whose names are recorded in the account of my last voyage. Not one of them came empty-handed; so that we had more provisions than we knew what to do with. What was still more, we were under no apprehensions of exhausting the island, which presented to our eyes every mark of the most exuberant plenty, in every article of refreshment.

Soon after our arrival here one of the natives, whom the Spaniards had carried with them to Lima, paid us a visit, but in his external appearance he was not distinguishable from the rest of his countrymen. However he had not forgot some Spanish words which he had acquired, though he pronounced them badly: amongst them the most frequent were *si Sennor;* and when a stranger was introduced to him he did not fail to rise up and accost him as well as he could. We also found here the young man whom we called Oedidee, but whose real name is Heete-heete. I had carried him from Ulietea in 1773, and brought him back in 1774, after he had visited the Friendly Islands, New Zealand, Easter Island and the Marquesas, and been on board my ship, in that extensive navigation, about seven months. He was at least as tenacious of his good-breeding as the man who had been at Lima; and Yes, sir, or If you please, sir, was as frequently repeated by him as *si Sennor* was by the other. Heete-heete, who is a native of Bolabola, had arrived in Otaheite about three months before, with no other intention, that we could learn, than to gratify his curiosity, or, perhaps, some

* We have before noticed, Vol. II. p. 5, that the cattle here alluded to, with the exception of the goats and pigs, all died. Fresh supplies have been introduced by the exertions of the Missionaries, which have succeeded well.—Ed.

other favourite passion, which are very often the only object of the pursuit of other travelling gentlemen. It was evident, however, that he preferred the modes, and even garb, of his countrymen to ours; for, though I gave him some clothes, which our Admiralty Board had been pleased to send for his use (to which I added a chest of tools, and a few other articles, as a present from myself), he declined wearing them after a few days. This instance, and that of the person who had been at Lima, may be urged as a proof of the strong propensity natural to man of returning to habits acquired at an early age, and only interrupted by accident. And perhaps it may be concluded, that even Omai, who had imbibed almost the whole English manners, will, in a very short time after our leaving him, like Oedidee and the visitor of Lima, return to his own native garments.

In the morning of the 27th a man came from Oheitepeha, and told us that two Spanish ships had anchored in that bay the night before; and in confirmation of this intelligence he produced a piece of coarse blue cloth, which he said he got out of one of the ships, and which indeed, in appearance, was almost quite new. He added, that Mateema was in one of the ships, and that they were to come down to Matavai in a day or two. Some other circumstances which he mentioned, with the foregoing ones, gave the story so much the air of truth, that I despatched Lieutenant Williamson, in a boat, to look into Oheitepeha bay; and, in the mean time, I put the ships into a proper posture of defence: for, though England and Spain were in peace when I left Europe, for aught I knew a different scene might, by this time, have opened. However, on farther inquiry, we had reason to think that the fellow who brought the intelligence had imposed upon us; and this was put beyond all doubt when Mr. Williamson returned next day, who made his report to me that he had been at Oheitepeha, and found that no ships were there now, and that none had been there since we left it. The people of this part of the island where we now were, indeed, told us from the beginning that it was a fiction invented by those of Tiaraboo: but what view they could have we were at a loss to conceive, unless they supposed that the report would have some effect in making us quit the island, and by that means deprive the people of Otaheite-nooe of the advantages they might reap from our ships continuing there, the inhabitants of the two parts of the island being inveterate enemies to each other.

From the time of our arrival at Matavai the weather had been very unsettled, with more or less rain every day, till the 29th, before which we were not able to get equal altitudes of the sun for ascertaining the going of the time-keeper. The same cause also retarded the caulking, and other necessary repairs of the ships. In the evening of this day the natives made a precipitate retreat, both from on board the ships and from our station on shore: for what reason we could not at first learn; though, in general, we guessed it arose from their knowing that some theft had been committed, and apprehending punishment on that account. At length I understood what had happened. One of the surgeon's mates had been in the country to purchase curiosities, and had taken with him four hatchets for that purpose. Having employed one of the natives to carry them for him, the fellow took an opportunity to run off with so valuable a prize. This was the cause of the sudden flight, in which Otoo himself and his whole family had joined; and it was with difficulty that I stopped them, after following them two or three miles. As I had resolved to take no measures for the recovery of the hatchets, in order to put my people upon their guard against such negligence for the future, I found no difficulty in bringing the natives back, and in restoring everything to its usual tranquillity.

Hitherto the attention of Otoo and his people had been confined to us; but, next morning, a new scene of business opened, by the arrival of some messengers from Eimeo, or (as it is much oftener called by the natives) Morea *, with intelligence that the people in that island were in arms; and that Otoo's partisans there had been worsted, and obliged to retreat to the mountains. The quarrel between the two islands, which commenced in 1774, as mentioned in the account of my last voyage, had, it seems, partly subsisted ever since. The formidable armament which I saw at that time, and described †, had sailed soon after I then left

* Morea, according to Dr. Forster, is a district in Eimeo. See his "Observations," p. 217.
† See Vol. I. page 472.

Otaheite; but the malcontents of Eimeo had made so stout a resistance, that the fleet had returned without effecting much; and now another expedition was necessary.

On the arrival of these messengers all the chiefs, who happened to be at Matavai, assembled at Otoo's house, where I actually was at the time, and had the honour to be admitted into their council. One of the messengers opened the business of the assembly in a speech of considerable length: but I understood little of it, besides its general purport, which was to explain the situation of affairs in Eimeo, and to excite the assembled chiefs of Otaheite to arm on the occasion. This opinion was combated by others, who were against commencing hostilities; and the debate was carried on with great order, no more than one man speaking at a time. At last they became very noisy, and I expected that our meeting would have ended like a Polish diet. But the contending great men cooled as fast as they grew warm, and order was soon restored. At length the party for war prevailed; and it was determined that a strong force should be sent to assist their friends in Eimeo; but this resolution was far from being unanimous. Otoo, during the whole debate, remained silent, except that, now and then, he addressed a word or two to the speakers. Those of the council who were for prosecuting the war applied to me for my assistance; and all of them wanted to know what part I would take. Omai was sent for to be my interpreter; but, as he could not be found, I was obliged to speak for myself, and told them, as well as I could, that as I was not thoroughly acquainted with the dispute, and as the people of Eimeo had never offended me, I could not think myself at liberty to engage in hostilities against them. With this declaration they either were, or seemed satisfied. The assembly then broke up; but before I left them Otoo desired me to come to him in the afternoon, and to bring Omai with me. Accordingly, a party of us waited upon him at the appointed time; and we were conducted by him to his father, in whose presence the dispute with Eimeo was again talked over. Being very desirous of devising some method to bring about an accommodation, I sounded the old chief on that head, but we found him deaf to any such proposal, and fully determined to prosecute the war. He repeated the solicitations which I had already resisted, about giving them my assistance. On our inquiring into the cause of the war, we were told that some years ago a brother of Waheadoua, of Tieraboo, was sent to Eimeo, at the request of Maheine, a popular chief of that island, to be their king; but that he had not been there a week before Maheine, having caused him to be killed, set up for himself, in opposition to Tierataboonoe, his sister's son, who became the lawful heir; or else had been pitched upon by the people of Otaheite, to succeed to the government on the death of the other.

Towha, who is a relation of Otoo, and chief of the district of Tettaha, a man of much weight in the island, and who had been commander-in-chief of the armament fitted out against Eimeo in 1774, happened not to be at Matavai at this time, and, consequently, was not present at any of these consultations. It however appeared that he was no stranger to what was transacted, and that he entered with more spirit into the affair than any other chief; for, early in the morning of the first of September, a messenger arrived from him to acquaint Otoo that he had killed a man, to be sacrificed to *Eatooa*, to implore the assistance of the god against Eimeo. This act of worship was to be performed at the great *morai* at Attahooroo; and Otoo's presence, it seems, was absolutely necessary on that solemn occasion.

That the offering of human sacrifices is part of the religious institutions of this island, had been mentioned by Mons. Bougainville, on the authority of the native whom he carried with him to France. During my last visit to Otaheite, and while I had opportunities of conversing with Omai on the subject, I had satisfied myself that there was too much reason to admit that such a practice, however inconsistent with the general humanity of the people, was here adopted. But as this was one of those extraordinary facts, about which many are apt to retain doubts, unless the relater himself has had ocular proof to confirm what he had heard from others, I thought this a good opportunity of obtaining the highest evidence of its certainty, by being present myself at the solemnity; and accordingly proposed to Otoo that I might be allowed to accompany him. To this he readily consented; and we immediately set out in my boat, with my old friend Potatou, Mr. Anderson, and Mr. Webber, Omai following in a canoe. In our way we landed upon a little island, which lies off Tettaha, where we found Towha and his retinue. After some little conversation between

the two chiefs on the subject of the war, Towha addressed himself to me, asking my assistance. When I excused myself he seemed angry, thinking it strange that I, who had always declared myself to be the friend of their island, would not now go and fight against its enemies. Before we parted he gave to Otoo two or three red feathers, tied up in a tuft; and a lean, half-starved dog was put into a canoe that was to accompany us. We then embarked again, taking on board a priest, who was to assist at the solemnity.

As soon as we landed at Attahooroo, which was about two o'clock in the afternoon, Otoo expressed his desire that the seamen might be ordered to remain in the boat; and that Mr. Anderson, Mr. Webber, and myself might take off our hats as soon as we should come to the *morai*, to which we immediately proceeded, attended by a great many men and some boys, but not one woman. We found four priests and their attendants, or assistants, waiting for us. The dead body, or sacrifice, was in a small canoe that lay on the beach, and partly in the wash of the sea, fronting the *morai*. Two of the priests, with some of their attendants, were sitting by the canoe, the others at the *morai*. Our company stopped about twenty or thirty paces from the priests. Here Otoo placed himself, we and a few others standing by him, while the bulk of the people remained at a greater distance.

The ceremonies now began. One of the priest's attendants brought a young plantain-tree and laid it down before Otoo. Another approached with a small tuft of red feathers, twisted on some fibres of the cocoa-nut husk, with which he touched one of the king's feet, and then retired with it to his companions. One of the priests, seated at the *morai*, facing those who were upon the beach, now began a long prayer; and, at certain times, sent down young plantain-trees, which were laid upon the sacrifice. During this prayer a man, who stood by the officiating priest, held in his hands two bundles, seemingly of cloth. In one of them, as we afterwards found, was the royal *maro;* and the other, if I may be allowed the expression, was the ark of the *Eatooa*. As soon as the prayer was ended, the priests at the *morai*, with their attendants, went and sat down by those upon the beach, carrying with them the two bundles. Here they renewed their prayers; during which the plantain-trees were taken, one by one, at different times, from off the sacrifice, which was partly wrapped up in cocoa leaves and small branches. It was now taken out of the canoe and laid upon the beach, with the feet to the sea. The priests placed themselves around it, some sitting and others standing; and one or more of them repeated sentences for about ten minutes. The dead body was now uncovered by removing the leaves and branches, and laid in a parallel direction with the sea shore. One of the priests then, standing at the feet of it, pronounced a long prayer, in which he was at times joined by the others, each holding in his hand a tuft of red feathers. In the course of this prayer some hair was pulled off the head of the sacrifice, and the left eye taken out, both of which were presented to Otoo wrapped up in a green leaf. He did not, however, touch it; but gave to the man who presented it the tuft of feathers which he had received from Towha: this, with the hair and eye, was carried back to the priests. Soon after Otoo sent to them another piece of feathers, which he had given me in the morning to keep in my pocket. During some part of this last ceremony a kingfisher making a noise in the trees, Otoo turned to me, saying, "That is the *Eatooa*," and seemed to look upon it to be a good omen.

The body was then carried a little way with its head towards the *morai*, and laid under a tree, near which were fixed three broad thin pieces of wood, differently but rudely carved. The bundles of cloth were laid on a part of the *morai*, and the tufts of red feathers were placed at the feet of the sacrifice, round which the priests took their stations; and we were now allowed to go as near as we pleased. He who seemed to be the chief priest sat at a small distance, and spoke for a quarter of an hour, but with different tones and gestures, so that he seemed often to expostulate with the dead person, to whom he constantly addressed himself; and sometimes asked several questions, seemingly with respect to the propriety of his having been killed. At other times he made several demands, as if the deceased either now had power himself, or interest with the divinity, to engage him to comply with such requests. Amongst which, we understood, he asked him to deliver Eimeo, Maheine its chief, the hogs, women, and other things of the island, into their hands; which was, indeed, the express intention of the sacrifice. He then chanted a prayer, which lasted half an hour, in a whin-

ing, melancholy tone, accompanied by two other priests, and in which Potatou and some others joined. In the course of this prayer some more hair was plucked by a priest from the head of the corpse, and put upon one of the bundles. After this the chief priest prayed alone, holding in his hand the feathers which came from Towha. When he had finished he gave them to another, who prayed in like manner. Then all the tufts of feathers were laid upon the bundles of cloth, which closed the ceremony at this place.

HUMAN SACRIFICE AT THE GREAT MORAI OF OTAHEITE.

The corpse was then carried up to the most conspicuous part of the *morai*, with the feathers, the two bundles of cloth, and the drums; the last of which beat slowly. The feathers and bundles were laid against the pile of stones, and the corpse at the foot of them. The priests having again seated themselves round it, renewed their prayers; while some of the attendants dug a hole about two feet deep, into which they threw the unhappy victim, and covered it with earth and stones. While they were putting him into the grave, a boy squeaked aloud, and Omai said to me, that it was the *Eatooa*. During this time, a fire having been made, the dog before mentioned was produced and killed, by twisting his neck and suffocating him. The hair was singed off, and the entrails taken out and thrown into the fire, where they were left to consume. But the heart, liver, and kidneys were only roasted, by being laid on the stones for a few minutes; and the body of the dog, after being besmeared with the blood which had been collected in a cocoa-nut shell, and dried over the fire, was, with the liver, &c., carried and laid down before the priests, who sat praying round the grave. They continued their ejaculations over the dog for some time, while two men, at intervals, beat on two drums very loud; and a boy screamed as before, in a loud shrill voice, three different times. This, as we were told, was to invite the *Eatooa* to feast on the banquet that they had prepared for him. As soon as the priests had ended their prayers, the carcase of the dog, with what belonged to it, were laid on a *whatta*, or scaffold, about six feet high, that stood close by, on which lay the remains of two other dogs, and of two pigs which had lately been sacrificed, and at this time emitted an intolerable stench. This kept us at a greater distance than would otherwise have been required of us. For after the victim was removed from the sea-side toward the *morai*, we were allowed to approach as near as we pleased. Indeed, after that, neither seriousness nor attention were much observed by the spectators. When the dog was put upon the *whatta*, the priests and attendants gave a kind of shout, which closed the ceremonies for the present. The day being now also closed, we were conducted to a house belonging to Potatou, where we were entertained and lodged for the night. We had been told that the religious rites were to be

renewed in the morning; and I would not leave the place, while anything remained to be seen.

Being unwilling to lose any part of the solemnity, some of us repaired to the scene of action pretty early, but found nothing going forward. However, soon after, a pig was sacrificed, and laid upon the same *whatta* with the others. About eight o'clock, Otoo took us again to the *morai*, where the priests and a great number of men were by this time assembled. The two bundles occupied the place in which we had seen them deposited the preceding evening; the two drums stood in the front of the *morai*, but somewhat nearer it than before; and the priests were beyond them. Otoo placed himself between the two drums, and desired me to stand by him. The ceremony began, as usual, with bringing a young plantain-tree, and laying it down at the king's feet. After this a prayer was repeated by the priests, who held in their hands several tufts of red feathers, and also a plume of ostrich feathers, which I had given to Otoo on my first arrival, and had been consecrated to this use. When the priests had made an end of the prayer, they changed their station, placing themselves between us and the *morai*, and one of them, the same person who had acted the principal part the day before, began another prayer, which lasted about half an hour. During the continuance of this, the tufts of feathers were, one by one, carried and laid upon the ark of the *Eatooa*.

Some little time after, four pigs were produced; one of which was immediately killed, and the others were taken to a sty hard by, probably reserved for some future occasion of sacrifice. One of the bundles was now untied, and it was found, as I have before observed, to contain the *maro*, with which these people invest their kings, and which seems to answer, in some degree, to the European ensigns of royalty. It was carefully taken out of the cloth in which it had been wrapped up, and spread at full length upon the ground before the priests. It is a girdle about five yards long and fifteen inches broad, and, from its name, seems to be put on in the same manner as is the common *maro*, or piece of cloth used by these people to wrap round the waist. It was ornamented with red and yellow feathers, b[illegible]stly with the latter, taken from a dove found upon the island. The one end was b[illegible] with eight pieces, each about the size and shape of a horse-shoe, having their edges fringed with black feathers. The other end was forked, and the points were of different lengths. The feathers were in square compartments, ranged in two rows, and otherwise so disposed as to produce a pleasing effect. They had been first pasted or fixed upon some of their own country cloth, and then sewed to the upper end of the pendant which Captain Wallis had displayed, and left flying ashore, the first time that he landed at Matavai. This was what they told us, and we had no reason to doubt it, as we could easily trace the remains of an English pendant. About six or eight inches square of the *maro* was unornamented, there being no feathers upon that space, except a few that had been sent by Waheadooa, as already mentioned. The priests made a long prayer relative to this part of the ceremony; and, if I mistook not, they called it the prayer of the *maro*. When it was finished, the badge of royalty was carefully folded up, put into the cloth, and deposited again upon the *morai*.

The other bundle, which I have distinguished by the name of the ark, was next opened at one end. But we were not allowed to go near enough to examine its mysterious contents. The information we received was, that the *Eatooa*, to whom they had been sacrificing, and whose name is *Ooro*, was concealed in it; or rather, what is supposed to represent him. This sacred repository is made of the twisted fibres of the husk of the cocoa-nut, shaped somewhat like a large fid or sugar-loaf, that is, roundish, with one end much thicker than the other. We had very often got small ones from different people, but never knew their use before.

By this time the pig that had been killed was cleaned, and the entrails taken out. These happened to have a considerable share of those convulsive motions, which often appear in different parts after an animal is killed, and this was considered by the spectators as a very favourable omen to the expedition, on account of which the sacrifices had been offered. After being exposed for some time, that those who chose might examine their appearances, the entrails were carried to the priests and laid down before them. While one of their number

prayed, another inspected the entrails more narrowly and kept turning them gently with a stick. When they had been sufficiently examined, they were thrown into the fire and left to consume. The sacrificed pig, and its liver, &c. were now put upon the *whatta*, where the dog had been deposited the day before; and then all the feathers, except the ostrich-plume, were inclosed with the *Eatooa* in the ark; and the solemnity finally closed.

Four double canoes lay upon the beach, before the place of sacrifice, all the morning. On the forepart of each of these was fixed a small platform covered with palm-leaves tied in mysterious knots; and this also is called a *morai*. Some cocoa-nuts, plantains, pieces of bread-fruit, fish, and other things, lay upon each of these naval *morais*. We were told that they belonged to the *Eatooa*, and that they were to attend the fleet designed to go against Eimeo. The unhappy victim offered to the object of their worship upon this occasion seemed to be a middle-aged man, and, as we were told, was a *towtow*, that is, one of the lowest class of the people. But, after all my inquiries, I could not learn that he had been pitched upon on account of any particular crime committed by him meriting death. It is certain, however, that they generally make choice of such guilty persons for their sacrifice, or else of common low fellows, who stroll about from place to place and from island to island, without having any fixed abode, or any visible way of getting an honest livelihood, of which description of men enough are to be met with at these islands. Having had an opportunity of examining the appearance of the body of the poor sufferer now offered up, I could observe that it was bloody about the head and face, and a good deal bruised upon the right temple; which marked the manner of his being killed. And we were told, that he had been privately knocked on the head with a stone.

Those who are devoted to suffer, in order to perform this bloody act of worship, are never apprised of their fate till the blow is given that puts an end to their existence. Whenever any one of the great chiefs thinks a human sacrifice necessary on any particular emergency, he pitches upon the victim. Some of his trusty servants are then sent, who fall upon him suddenly, and put him to death with a club or by stoning him. The king is next acquainted with it, whose presence at the solemn rites that follow is, as I was told, absolutely necessary; and, indeed, on the present occasion, we could observe that Otoo bore a principal part. The solemnity itself is called *Poore Eree*, or chief's prayer; and the victim who is offered up *Taata-taboo*, or consecrated man. This is the only instance where we have heard the word *taboo* used at this island, where it seems to have the same mysterious signification as at Tonga, though it is there applied to all cases where things are not to be touched. But at Otaheite, the word *raa* serves the same purpose, and is full as extensive in its meaning.

The *morai* (which, undoubtedly, is a place of worship, sacrifice, and burial, at the same time), where the sacrifice was now offered, is that where the supreme chief of the whole island is always buried, and is appropriated to his family and some of the principal people. It differs little from the common ones, except in extent. Its principal part is a large oblong pile of stones, lying loosely upon each other, about twelve or fourteen feet high, contracted towards the top, with a square area on each side loosely paved with pebble stones, under which the bones of the chiefs are buried. At a little distance from the end nearest the sea, is the place where the sacrifices are offered; which, for a considerable extent, is also loosely paved. There is here a very large scaffold or *whatta*, on which the offerings of fruits and other vegetables are laid. But the animals are deposited on a smaller one already mentioned, and the human sacrifices are buried under different parts of the pavement. There are several other relics which ignorant superstition had scattered about this place, such as small stones raised in different parts of the pavement, some with bits of cloth tied round them, others covered with it; and, upon the side of the large pile which fronts the area, are placed a great many pieces of carved wood, which are supposed to be sometimes the residence of their divinities, and, consequently, held sacred. But one place, more particular than the rest, is a heap of stones at one end of the large *whatta*, before which the sacrifice was offered, with a kind of platform at one side. On this are laid the skulls of all the human sacrifices, which are taken up after they have been several months under ground. Just above them are placed a great number of the pieces of wood; and it was also here where the

maro, and the other bundle supposed to contain the god *Ooro* (and which I call the ark), were laid during the ceremony; a circumstance which denotes its agreement with the altar of other nations.

It is much to be regretted that a practice so horrid in its own nature and so destructive of that inviolable right of self-preservation which every one is born with, should be found still existing; and (such is the power of superstition to counteract the first principles of humanity!) existing amongst a people in many other respects emerged from the brutal manners of savage life. What is still worse, it is probable that these bloody rites of worship are prevalent throughout all the wide-extended islands of the Pacific Ocean. The similarity of customs and language, which our late voyages have enabled us to trace between the most distant of these islands, makes it not unlikely that some of the most important articles of their religious institutions should agree. And, indeed, we have the most authentic information that human sacrifices continue to be offered at the Friendly Islands. When I described the *Natche* at *Tonge-taboo*, I mentioned that, on the approaching sequel of that festival, we had been told that ten men were to be sacrificed. This may give us an idea of the extent of this religious massacre in that island. And though we should suppose that never more than one person is sacrificed, on any single occasion, at Otaheite, it is more than probable that these occasions happen so frequently as to make a shocking waste of the human race; for I counted no less than forty-nine skulls of former victims lying before the *morai*, where we saw one more added to the number. And as none of those skulls had as yet suffered any considerable change from the weather, it may hence be inferred, that no great length of time had elapsed since, at least, this considerable number of unhappy wretches had been offered upon this altar of blood.

The custom, though no consideration can make it cease to be abominable, might be thought less detrimental, in some respects, if it served to impress any awe for the divinity or reverence for religion upon the minds of the multitude. But this is so far from being the case, that though a great number of people had assembled at the *morai* on this occasion, they did not seem to show any proper reverence for what was doing or saying during the celebration of the rites. And Omai happening to arrive after they had begun, many of the spectators flocked round him, and were engaged the remainder of the time in making him relate some of his adventures, which they listened to with great attention, regardless of the solemn offices performing by their priests. Indeed the priests themselves, except the one who chiefly repeated the prayers, either from their being familiarised to such objects, or from want of confidence in the efficacy of their institutions, observed very little of that solemnity which is necessary to give to religious performances their due weight. Their dress was only an ordinary one; they conversed together without scruple; and the only attempt made by them to preserve any appearance of decency, was by exerting their authority to prevent the people from coming upon the very spot where the ceremonies were performed, and to suffer us, as strangers, to advance a little forward. They were, however, very candid in their answers to any questions that were put to them concerning the institution. And particularly, on being asked what the intention of it was? they said that it was an old custom, and was agreeable to their god, who delighted in, or, in other words, came and fed upon the sacrifices; in consequence of which he complied with their petitions. Upon its being objected that he could not feed on these, as he was neither seen to do it, nor were the bodies of the animals quickly consumed; and that, as to the human victim, they prevented his feeding on him by burying him. But to all this they answered, that he came in the night, but invisibly, and fed only on the soul or immaterial part, which, according to their doctrine, remains about the place of sacrifice, until the body of the victim be entirely wasted by putrefaction.

It were much to be wished that this deluded people may learn to entertain the same horror of murdering their fellow-creatures, in order to furnish such an invisible banquet to their god, as they now have of feeding, corporeally, on human flesh themselves. And yet we have great reason to believe that there was a time when they were cannibals. We were told (and, indeed, partly saw it), that it is a necessary ceremony, when a poor wretch is sacrificed, for the priest to take out the left eye. This he presents to the king, holding it

to his mouth, which he desires him to open; but, instead of putting it in, immediately withdraws it. This they call "eating the man," or "food for the chief;" and, perhaps, we may observe here some traces of former times, when the dead body was really feasted upon. But not to insist upon this, it is certain that human sacrifices are not the only barbarous custom we find still prevailing amongst this benevolent, humane people. For, besides cutting out the jaw-bones of their enemies slain in battle, which they carry about as trophies, they, in some measure, offer their dead bodies as a sacrifice to the *Eatooa*. Soon after a battle, in which they have been victors, they collect all the dead that have fallen into their hands, and bring them to the *morai*, where, with a great deal of ceremony, they dig a hole, and bury them all in it, as so many offerings to the gods; but their skulls are never after taken up.

Their own great chiefs, that fall in battle, are treated in a different manner. We were informed that their late king, Tootaha, Tubourai-tamaide, and another chief, who fell with them in the battle, fought with those of Tiaraboo, and were brought to this *morai*, at Attahooroo. There their bowels were cut out by the priests, before the great altar, and the bodies afterwards buried in three different places, which were pointed out to us in the great pile of stones that compose the most conspicuous part of this *morai*. And their common men, who also fell in this battle, were all buried in one hole, at the foot of the pile. This, Omai, who was present, told me was done the day after the battle, with much pomp and ceremony, and in the midst of a great concourse of people, as a thanksgiving-offering to the *Eatooa*, for the victory they had obtained, while the vanquished had taken refuge in the mountains. There they remained a week or ten days, till the fury of the victors was over, and a treaty set on foot, by which it was agreed that Otoo should be declared king of the whole island; and the solemnity of investing him with the *maro* was performed at the same *morai*, with great pomp, in the presence of all the principal men of the country.

CHAPTER III.—CONFERENCE WITH TOWHA.—HEEVAS DESCRIBED.—OMAI AND OEDIDEE GIVE DINNERS.—FIREWORKS EXHIBITED.—A REMARKABLE PRESENT OF CLOTH.—MANNER OF PRESERVING THE BODY OF A DEAD CHIEF.—ANOTHER HUMAN SACRIFICE.—RIDING ON HORSEBACK.—OTOO'S ATTENTION TO SUPPLY PROVISIONS AND PREVENT THEFTS.—ANIMALS GIVEN TO HIM.—ETARY, AND THE DEPUTIES OF A CHIEF, HAVE AUDIENCES.—A MOCK-FIGHT OF TWO WAR CANOES.—NAVAL STRENGTH OF THESE ISLANDS.—MANNER OF CONDUCTING A WAR.

The close of the very singular scene exhibited at the *morai*, which I have faithfully described in the last chapter, leaving us no other business in Attahooroo, we embarked about noon, in order to return to Matavai; and, in our way, visited Towha, who had remained on the little island, where we met him the day before. Some conversation passed between Otoo and him, on the present posture of public affairs; and then the latter solicited me, once more, to join them in their war against Eimeo. By my positive refusal I entirely lost the good graces of this chief. Before we parted, he asked us if the solemnity at which we had been present, answered our expectations; what opinion we had of its efficacy; and whether we performed such acts of worship in our own country? During the celebration of the horrid ceremony, we had preserved a profound silence; but, as soon as it was closed, had made no scruple in expressing our sentiments very freely about it to Otoo and those who attended him; of course, therefore, I did not conceal my detestation of it in this conversation with Towha. Besides the cruelty of the bloody custom, I strongly urged the unreasonableness of it; telling the chief that such a sacrifice, far from making the *Eatooa* propitious to their nation, as they ignorantly believed, would be the means of drawing down his vengeance; and that, from this very circumstance, I took upon me to judge that their intended expedition against Maheine would be unsuccessful. This was venturing pretty far upon conjecture, but still I thought that there was little danger of being mistaken. For I found that there were three parties in the island, with regard to this war; one extremely violent for it, another perfectly indifferent about the matter, and the third openly declaring

themselves friends to Maheine and his cause. Under these circumstances of disunion distracting their councils, it was not likely that such a plan of military operations would be settled as could insure even a probability of success. In conveying our sentiments to Towha on the subject of the late sacrifice, Omai was made use of as our interpreter; and he entered into our arguments with so much spirit that the chief seemed to be in great wrath; especially when he was told that if he had put a man to death in England, as he had done here, his rank would not have protected him from being hanged for it. Upon this he exclaimed, *Maeno! maeno!* [vile! vile!] and would not hear another word. During this debate many of the natives were present, chiefly the attendants and servants of Towha himself; and when Omai began to explain the punishment that would be inflicted in England upon the greatest man if he killed the meanest servant, they seemed to listen with great attention, and were, probably, of a different opinion from that of their master on this subject.

After leaving Towha we proceeded to Oparre, where Otoo pressed us to spend the night. We landed in the evening; and on our road to his house had an opportunity of observing in what manner these people amuse themselves, in their private *heevas*. About a hundred of them were found sitting in a house; and in the midst of them were two women, with an old man behind each of them, beating very gently upon a drum; and the women, at intervals singing in a softer manner than I ever heard at their other diversions. The assembly listened with great attention, and were seemingly almost absorbed in the pleasure the music gave them; for few took any notice of us, and the performers never once stopped. It was almost dark before we reached Otoo's house, where we were entertained with one of their public *heevas*, or plays, in which his three sisters appeared as the principal characters. This was what they call a *heeva raä*, which is of such a nature that nobody is to enter the house or area where it is exhibited. When the royal sisters are the performers this is always the

HEEVA RAÄ DANCE OF WOMEN.

case. Their dress on this occasion was truly picturesque and elegant; and they acquitted themselves in their parts in a very distinguished manner; though some comic interlude, performed by four men, seemed to yield greater pleasure to the audience, which was numerous. The next morning we proceeded to Matavai, leaving Otoo at Oparre; but his

mother, sisters, and several other women, attended me on board, and Otoo himself followed me soon after.

While Otoo and I were absent from the ships they had been sparingly supplied with fruit, and had few visitors. After our return we again overflowed with provisions and with company. On the 14th a party of us dined ashore with Omai, who gave excellent fare, consisting of fish, fowls, pork, and puddings. After dinner I attended Otoo, who had been one of the party, back to his house, where I found all his servants very busy getting a quantity of provisions ready for me. Amongst other articles there was a large hog, which they killed in my presence. The entrails were divided into eleven portions, in such a manner that each of them contained a bit of everything. These portions were distributed to the servants, and some dressed theirs in the same oven with the hog, while others carried off, undressed, what had come to their share. There was also a large pudding, the whole process in making which I saw. It was composed of bread-fruit, ripe plantains, taro, and palm or pandanus nuts, each rasped, scraped, or beat up fine, and baked by itself. A quantity of juice, expressed from cocoa-nut kernels, was put into a large tray, or wooden vessel. The other articles, hot from the oven, were deposited in this vessel; and a few hot stones were also put in, to make the contents simmer. Three or four men made use of sticks to stir the several ingredients, till they were incorporated one with another, and the juice of the cocoa-nut was turned to oil; so that the whole mass, at last, became of the consistency of a hasty-pudding. Some of these puddings are excellent, and few that we make in England equal them. I seldom or never dined without one when I could get it, which was not always the case. Otoo's hog being baked, and the pudding which I have described, being made, they, together with two living hogs, and a quantity of bread-fruit and cocoa-nuts, were put into a canoe, and sent on board my ship, followed by myself and all the royal family.

The following evening, a young ram of the Cape breed, that had been lambed, and, with great care, brought up on board the ship, was killed by a dog. Incidents are of more or less consequence, as connected with situation. In our present situation, desirous as I was to propagate this useful race amongst these islands, the loss of the ram was a serious misfortune; as it was the only one I had of that breed; and I had only one of the English breed left. In the evening of the 7th, we played off some fire-works before a great concourse of people. Some were highly entertained with the exhibition; but by far the greater number of spectators were terribly frightened; insomuch that it was with difficulty we could prevail upon them to keep together to see the end of the show. A table-rocket was the last. It flew off the table, and dispersed the whole crowd in a moment; even the most resolute among them fled with precipitation.

The next day a party of us dined with our former ship-mate, Oedidee, on fish and pork. The hog weighed about thirty pounds; and it may be worth mentioning, that it was alive, dressed, and brought upon the table, within the hour. We had but just dined, when Otoo came, and asked me if my belly was full? On my answering in the affirmative, he said, "Then come along with me." I accordingly went with him to his father's, where I found some people employed in dressing two girls with a prodigious quantity of fine cloth, after a very singular fashion. The one end of each piece of cloth, of which there was a good many, was held up over the heads of the girls, while the remainder was wrapped round their bodies, under the arm-pits. Then the upper ends were let fall, and hung down in folds to the ground, over the other, so as to bear some resemblance to a circular hoop-petticoat. Afterward, round the outside of all, were wrapped several pieces of differently coloured cloth, which considerably increased the size; so that it was not less than five or six yards in circuit, and the weight of this singular attire was as much as the poor girls could support. To each were hung two *taamee*, or breast-plates, by way of enriching the whole, and giving it a picturesque appearance. Thus equipped, they were conducted on board the ship, together with several hogs, and a quantity of fruit, which, with the cloth, was a present to me from Otoo's father. Persons, of either sex, dressed in this manner, are called *atee;* but, I believe, it is never practised except when large presents of cloth are to be made. At least, I never saw it practised upon any other occasion; nor, indeed, had I ever such a

present before; but both Captain Clerke and I had cloth given to us afterward, thus wrapped round the bearers. The next day, I had a present of five hogs, and some fruit, from Otoo; and one hog, and some fruit, from each of his sisters. Nor were other provisions wanting. For two or three days, great quantities of mackerel had been caught by the natives, within the reef, in seines; some of which they brought to the ships and tents, and sold.

Otoo was not more attentive to supply our wants, by a succession of presents, than he was to contribute to our amusement, by a succession of diversions. A party of us having gone down to Oparre, on the 10th, he treated us with what may be called a play. His three sisters were the actresses; and the dresses they appeared in were new and elegant; that is, more so than we had usually met with at any of these islands. But the principal object I had in view, this day, in going to Oparre, was to take a view of an embalmed corpse, which some of our gentlemen had happened to meet with at that place, near the residence of Otoo. On inquiry, I found it to be the remains of Tee, a chief well known to me, when I was at this Island, during my last voyage. It was lying in a *toopapaoo*, more elegantly constructed than their common ones, and in all respects similar to that lately seen by us at Oheitepeha, in which the remains of Waheadooa are deposited, embalmed in the same manner. When we arrived at the place, the body was under cover, and wrapped up in cloth, within the *toopapaoo;* but at my desire, the man who had the care of it brought it out, and laid it upon a kind of bier, in such a manner, that we had as full a view of it as we could wish; but we were not allowed to go within the pales that inclosed the *toopapaoo.* After he had thus exhibited the corpse, he hung the place with mats and cloth, so disposed as to produce a very pretty effect. We found the body not only entire in every part; but, what surprised us much more, was, that putrefaction seemed scarcely to be begun, as there was not the least disagreeable smell proceeding from it, though the climate is one of the hottest, and Tee had been dead above four months. The only remarkable alteration that had happened, was a shrinking of the muscular parts of the eyes; but the hair and nails were in their original state, and still adhered firmly; and the several joints were quite pliable, or in that kind of relaxed state which happens to persons who faint suddenly. Such were Mr. Anderson's remarks to me, who also told me, that, on his inquiring into the method of effecting this preservation of their dead bodies, he had been informed that soon after their death, they are disembowelled, by drawing the intestines, and other *viscera*, out at the *anus;* and the whole cavity is then filled or stuffed with cloth, introduced through the same part; that when any moisture appeared on the skin, it was carefully dried up, and the bodies afterward rubbed all over with a large quantity of perfumed cocoa-nut oil; which, being frequently repeated, preserved them a great many months; but that, at last, they gradually moulder away. This was the information Mr. Anderson received; for my own part, I could not learn any more about their mode of operation than what Omai told me, who said, that they made use of the juice of a plant which grows amongst the mountains; of cocoa-nut oil; and of frequent washing with sea water. I was also told that the bodies of all their great men, who died a natural death, are preserved in this manner; and that they expose them to public view for a considerable time after. At first, they are laid out every day, when it does not rain; afterward, the intervals become greater and greater; and, at last, they are seldom to be seen.

In the evening, we returned from Oparre, where we left Otoo, and all the royal family; and I saw none of them till the 12th, when all but the chief himself paid me a visit. He, as they told me, was gone to Attahooroo, to assist, this day, at another human sacrifice, which the chief of Tiaraboo had sent thither to be offered up at the *morai.* This second instance, within the course of a few days, was too melancholy a proof how numerous the victims of this bloody superstition are amongst this humane people. I would have been present at this sacrifice, too, had I known of it in time; for now it was too late. From the very same cause, I missed being present at a public transaction which had passed at Oparre the preceding day, when Otoo, with all the solemnities observed on such occasions, restored to the friends and followers of the late king Tootaha the lands and possessions which had been withheld from them ever since his death. Probably the new sacrifice was the concluding ceremony of what may be called the reversal of attainder. The following

evening, Otoo returned from exercising this most disagreeable of all his duties as sovereign; and, the next day, being now honoured with his company, Captain Clerke and I, mounted on horseback, took a ride round the plain of Matavai, to the very great surprise of a great train of people who attended on the occasion, gazing upon us with as much astonishment as if we had been centaurs. Omai, indeed, had, once or twice before this, attempted to get on horseback; but he had as often been thrown off, before he could contrive to seat himself; so that this was the first time they had seen anybody ride a horse. What Captain Clerke and I began, was, after this, repeated every day, while we staid, by one or another of our people; and yet the curiosity of the natives continued still unabated. They were exceedingly delighted with these animals, after they had seen the use that was made of them; and, as far as I could judge, they conveyed to them a better idea of the greatness of other nations than all the other novelties put together that their European visiters had carried amongst them. Both the horse and mare were in good case, and looked extremely well.*

The next day, Etary, or Olla, the god of Bolabola, who had, for several days past, been in the neighbourhood of Matavai, removed to Oparre, attended by several sailing canoes. We were told, that Otoo did not approve of his being so near our station, where his people could more easily invade our property. I must do Otoo the justice to say, that he took every method prudence could suggest to prevent thefts and robberies; and it was more owing to his regulations than to our circumspection that so few were committed. He had taken care to erect a little house or two on the other side of the river, behind our post, and two others close to our tents, on the bank between the river and the sea. In all these places some of his own people constantly kept watch; and his father generally resided on Matavai point; so that we were, in a manner, surrounded by them. Thus stationed, they not only guarded us in the night from thieves, but could observe everything that passed in the day; and were ready to collect contributions from such girls as had private connexions with our people, which was generally done every morning. So that the measures adopted by him to secure our safety, at the same time served the more essential purpose of enlarging his own profits.

Otoo informing me that his presence was necessary at Oparre, where he was to give audience to the great personage from Bolabola; and asking me to accompany him, I readily consented, in hopes of meeting with something worth our notice. Accordingly, I went with him, in the morning of the 16th, attended by Mr. Anderson. Nothing, however, occurred on this occasion, that was either interesting or curious. We saw Etary and his followers present some coarse cloth and hogs to Otoo; and each article was delivered with some ceremony, and a set speech. After this, they, and some of their chiefs, held a consultation about the expedition to Eimeo. Etary at first seemed to disapprove of it, but at last his objections were over-ruled. Indeed, it appeared, next day, that it was too late to deliberate about this measure; and that Towha, Potatou, and another chief, had already gone upon the expedition with the fleet of Attahooroo. For a messenger arrived in the evening with intelligence that they had reached Eimeo, and that there had been some skirmishes, without much loss or advantage on either side.

In the morning of the 18th, Mr. Anderson, myself, and Omai, went again with Otoo to Oparre, and took with us the sheep which I intended to leave upon the island, consisting of an English ram and ewe, and three Cape ewes; all which I gave to Otoo. As all the three cows had taken the bull, I thought I might venture to divide them, and carry some to Ulietea. With this view I had them brought before us, and proposed to Etary, that if he would leave his bull with Otoo, he should have mine, and one of the three cows; adding, that I would carry them for him to Ulietea; for I was afraid to remove the Spanish bull, lest some accident should happen to him, as he was a bulky spirited beast. To this proposal of mine Etary at first made some objections, but at last agreed to it, partly through the persuasion of Omai. However, just as the cattle were putting into the boat, one of Etary's followers valiantly opposed any exchange whatever being made. Finding this, and suspect-

* These horses, which were Omai's property, proved a useless present, and the breed was suffered to become extinct. Mr. Ellis states that "they appear to have been regarded by him as mere objects of curiosity, and when occasionally ridden, it was to inspire terror, or excite admiration, in the minds of the inhabitants."—Ed.

ing that Etary had only consented to the proposed arrangement, for the present moment, to please me, and that after I was gone he might take away his bull, and then Otoo would not have one, I thought it best to drop the idea of an exchange, as it could not be made with the mutual consent of both parties, and finally determined to leave them all with Otoo, strictly enjoining him never to suffer them to be removed from Oparre, not even the Spanish bull, nor any of the sheep, till he should get a stock of young ones; which he might then dispose of to his friends, and send to the neighbouring islands.

This being settled, we left Etary and his party to ruminate upon their folly, and attended Otoo to another place hard by, where we found the servants of a chief, whose name I forgot to ask, waiting with a hog, a pig, and a dog, as a present from their master to the sovereign. These were delivered with the usual ceremonies, and with an harangue in form, in which the speaker, in his master's name, inquired after the health of Otoo, and of all the principal people about him. This compliment was echoed back in the name of Otoo, by one of his ministers; and then the dispute with Eimeo was discussed, with many arguments for and against it. The deputies of this chief were for prosecuting the war with vigour, and advised Otoo to offer a human sacrifice. On the other hand, a chief who was in constant attendance on Otoo's person opposed it, seemingly, with great strength of argument. This confirmed me in the opinion that Otoo himself never entered heartily into the spirit of this war. He now received repeated messages from Towha, strongly soliciting him to hasten to his assistance. We were told that his fleet was in a manner surrounded by that of Maheine; but that neither the one nor the other durst hazard an engagement.

After dining with Otoo we returned to Matavai, leaving him at Oparre. This day, and also the 19th, we were very sparingly supplied with fruit. Otoo hearing of this, he and his brother, who had attached himself to Captain Clerke, came from Oparre between nine and ten o'clock in the evening, with a large supply for both ships. This marked his humane attention more strongly than anything he had hitherto done for us. The next day, all the royal family came with presents, so that our wants were not only relieved, but we had more provisions than we could consume. Having got all our water on board, the ships being caulked, the rigging overhauled, and everything put in order, I began to think of leaving the island, that I might have sufficient time to spare for visiting others in this neighbourhood. With this view we removed from the shore our observatories and instruments, and bent the sails. Early the next morning Otoo came on board to acquaint me that all the war canoes of Matavai, and of the three other districts adjoining, were going to Oparre to join those belonging to that part of the island; and that there would be a general review there. Soon after, the squadron of Matavai was all in motion; and, after parading a while about the bay, assembled ashore near the middle of it. I now went in my boat to take a view of them.

Of those with stages on which they fight, or what they call their war-canoes, there were about sixty, with near as many more of a smaller size. I was ready to have attended them to Oparre; but, soon after, a resolution was taken by the chiefs that they should not move till the next day. I looked upon this to be a fortunate delay, as it afforded me a good opportunity to get some insight into their manner of fighting. With this view, I expressed my wish to Otoo that he would order some of them to go through the necessary manœuvres. Two were, accordingly ordered out into the bay, in one of which Otoo, Mr. King, and myself were embarked, and Omai went on board the other. When we had got sufficient sea-room, we faced and advanced upon each other, and retreated by turns, as quick as our rowers could paddle. During this, the warriors on the stages flourished their weapons, and played a hundred antic tricks, which could answer no other end, in my judgment, than to work up their passions and prepare them for fighting. Otoo stood by the side of our stage, and gave the necessary orders when to advance and when to retreat. In this, great judgment and a quick eye combined together seemed requisite to seize every advantage that might offer, and to avoid giving any advantage to the adversary. At last, after advancing and retreating from each other at least a dozen times, the two canoes closed head to head, or stage to stage; and, after a short conflict, the troops on our stage were supposed to be all killed, and we were boarded by Omai and his associates. At that very instant, Otoo and

all our paddlers leaped overboard, as if reduced to the necessity of endeavouring to save their lives by swimming.

If Omai's information is to be depended upon, their naval engagements are not always conducted in this manner. He told me, that they sometimes begin with lashing the two vessels together, head to head, and then fight till all the warriors are killed on one side or the other. But this close combat, I apprehend, is never practised but when they are determined to conquer or die. Indeed, one or the other must happen; for all agree that they never give quarter, unless it be to reserve their prisoners for a more cruel death the next day. The power and strength of these islands lie entirely in their navies. I never heard of a general engagement on land; and all their decisive battles are fought on the water*. If the time and place of conflict are fixed upon by both parties, the preceding day and night are spent in diversions and feasting. Toward morning they launch the canoes, put everything in order, and with the day begin the battle, the fate of which generally decides the dispute. The vanquished save themselves by a precipitate flight; and such as reach the s' ore fly with their friends to the mountains; for the victors, while their fury lasts, spare neither the aged, women, nor children. The next day they assemble at the *morai*, to return thanks to the *Eatooa* for the victory, and to offer up the slain as sacrifices, and the prisoners also, if they have any. After this, a treaty is set on foot, and the conquerors for the most part obtain their own terms, by which particular districts of lands, and sometimes whole islands, change their owners. Omai told us that he was once taken a prisoner by the men of Bolabola, and carried to that island, where he and some others would have been put to death the next day if they had not found means to escape in the night.

As soon as this mock fight was over, Omai put on his suit of armour, mounted a stage in one of the canoes, and was paddled all along the shore of the bay; so that every one had a full view of him. His coat of mail did not draw the attention of his countrymen so much as might have been expected. Some of them, indeed, had seen a part of it before; and there were others, again, who had taken such a dislike to Omai, from his imprudent conduct at this place, that they would hardly look at anything, however singular, that was exhibited by him.

CHAPTER IV.—THE DAY OF SAILING FIXED.—PEACE MADE WITH EIMEO.—DEBATES ABOUT IT, AND OTOO'S CONDUCT BLAMED.—A SOLEMNITY AT THE MORAI ON THE OCCASION, DESCRIBED BY MR. KING.—OBSERVATIONS UPON IT.—INSTANCE OF OTOO'S ART.—OMAI'S WAR-CANOE, AND REMARKS UPON HIS BEHAVIOUR.—OTOO'S PRESENT, AND MESSAGE TO THE KING OF GREAT BRITAIN.—REFLECTIONS ON OUR MANNER OF TRAFFIC, AND ON THE GOOD TREATMENT WE MET WITH AT OTAHEITE.—ACCOUNT OF THE EXPEDITION OF THE SPANIARDS.—THEIR FICTIONS TO DEPRECIATE THE ENGLISH.—WISHES EXPRESSED THAT NO SETTLEMENT MAY BE MADE.—OMAI'S JEALOUSY OF ANOTHER TRAVELLER.

Early in the morning of the 22nd, Otoo and his father came on board, to know when I proposed sailing. For, having been informed that there was a good harbour at Eimeo, I had told them that I should visit that island on my way to Huaheine; and they were desirous of taking a passage with me, and of their fleet sailing at the time to reinforce Towha. As I was ready to take my departure, I left it to them to name the day, and the Wednesday following was fixed upon, when I was to take on board Otoo, his father, mother, and, in short, the whole family. These points being settled, I proposed setting out immediately for Oparre, where all the fleet fitted out for the expedition was to assemble this day, and to be reviewed.

* This people have a natural aptitude for the sea. When the late lamented Mr. Williams published his "Narrative of Missionary Enterprises in the South Sea Islands," the natives had made great progress in many departments of useful knowledge, but especially in building small vessels of from twenty to fifty tons. "More than twenty of these," he stated, "were sailing from island to island when he left, two of which belonged to the queen, and were employed in fetching cargoes of pearl and pearl-shells from a group of islands to the eastward of Tahiti. These were exchanged with the English and American vessels for clothing and other articles." Such was the progress made in 1837, since which time the people have been on the advance.—Ed.

I had but just time to get into my boat, when news was brought that Towha had concluded a treaty with Maheine, and had returned with his fleet to Attahooroo. This unexpected event made all further proceedings in the military way quite unnecessary, and the war-canoes, instead of rendezvousing at Oparre, were ordered home to their respective districts. This alteration, however, did not hinder me from following Otoo to Oparre, accompanied by Mr. King and Omai. Soon after our arrival, and while dinner was preparing, a messenger arrived from Eimeo, and related the conditions of the peace, or rather of the truce, it being only for a limited time. The terms were disadvantageous to Otaheite; and much blame was thrown upon Otoo, whose delay in sending reinforcements had obliged Towha to submit to a disgraceful accommodation. It was even currently reported that Towha, resenting his not being supported, had declared, that as soon as I could leave the island he would join his forces to those of Tiaraboo, and attack Otoo at Matavai or Oparre. This called upon me to declare, in the most public manner, that I was determined to espouse the interest of my friend against any such combination; and that whoever presumed to attack him, should feel the weight of my heavy displeasure when I returned again to their island. My declaration probably had the desired effect; and if Towha had any such hostile intention at first, we soon heard no more of the report. Whappai, Otoo's father, highly disapproved of the peace, and blamed Towha very much for concluding it. This sensible old man wisely judged, that my going down with them to Eimeo must have been of singular service to their cause, though I should take no other part whatever in the quarrel. And it was upon this that he built his arguments, and maintained that Otoo had acted properly by waiting for me, though this had prevented his giving assistance to Towha so soon as he expected.

Our debates at Oparre, on this subject, were hardly ended before a messenger arrived from Towha, desiring Otoo's attendance the next day at the *morai* in Attahooroo, to give thanks to the gods for the peace he had concluded; at least, such was Omai's account to me of the object of this solemnity. I was asked to go; but being much out of order, was obliged to decline it. Desirous, however, of knowing what ceremonies might be observed on so memorable an occasion, I sent Mr. King and Omai, and returned on board my ship, attended by Otoo's mother, his three sisters, and eight more women. At first I thought that this numerous train of females came into my boat with no other view than to get a passage to Matavai. But when we arrived at the ship, they told me they intended passing the night on board, for the express purpose of undertaking the cure of the disorder I complained of; which was a pain of the rheumatic kind, extending from the hip to the foot. I accepted the friendly offer, had a bed spread for them upon the cabin floor, and submitted myself to their directions. I was desired to lay myself down amongst them. Then, as many of them as could get round me, began to squeeze me with both hands, from head to foot, but more particularly on the parts where the pain was lodged, till they made my bones crack, and my flesh became a perfect mummy. In short, after undergoing this discipline about a quarter of an hour, I was glad to get away from them. However, the operation gave me immediate relief, which encouraged me to submit to another rubbing-down before I went to bed; and it was so effectual, that I found myself pretty easy all the night after. My female physicians repeated their prescription the next morning before I went ashore, and again in the evening when they returned on board; after which I found the pains entirely removed; and the cure being perfected, they took their leave of me the following morning. This they call *romee;* an operation which, in my opinion, far exceeds the flesh-brush, or anything of the kind that we make use of externally. It is universally practised amongst these islanders; being sometimes performed by the men, but more generally by the women. If at any time one appears languid and tired, and sits down by any one of them, they immediately begin to practise the *romee* upon his legs; and I have always found it to have an exceeding good effect*.

In the morning of the 25th, Otoo, Mr. King, and Omai, returned from Attahooroo: and Mr. King gave me the following account of what he had seen: "Soon after you left me, a second messenger came from Towha, to Otoo, with a plantain-tree. It was sunset when we

* See Captain Wallis's account of the same operation performed on himself, and his first lieutenant, in "Hawkesworth's Collection," vol. i. p. 463. London edit.

embarked in a canoe and left Oparre: about nine o'clock we landed at Tettaha, at that extremity which joins to Attahooroo. Before we landed, the people called to us from the shore, probably to tell us that Towha was there. The meeting of Otoo and this chief I expected would afford some incident worthy of observation. Otoo and his attendants went and seated themselves on the bench, close to the canoe in which Towha was. He was then asleep; but his servants having awaked him, and mentioning Otoo's name, immediately a plantain-tree and a dog were laid at Otoo's feet; and many of Towha's people came and talked with him, as I conceived, about their expedition to Eimeo. After I had, for some time, remained seated close to Otoo, Towha neither stirring from his canoe, nor holding any conversation with us, I went to him. He asked me if *Toote* was angry with him. I answered, No: that he was his *taio;* and that he had ordered me to go to Attahooroo to tell him so. Omai now had a long conversation with this chief; but I could gather no information of any kind from him. On my returning to Otoo, he seemed desirous that I should go to eat, and then to sleep. Accordingly, Omai and I left him. On questioning Omai, he said, the reason of Towha's not stirring from his canoe was his being lame; but that, presently, Otoo and he would converse together in private. This seemed true; for, in a little time, those we left with Otoo came to us; and, about ten minutes after, Otoo himself arrived, and we all went to sleep in his canoe.

"The next morning, the *ava* was in great plenty. One man drank so much that he lost his senses. I should have supposed him to be in a fit, from the convulsions that agitated him. Two men held him, and kept plucking off his hair by the roots. I left this spectacle to see another more affecting. This was the meeting of Towha and his wife, and a young girl, whom I understood to be his daughter. After the ceremony of cutting their heads, and discharging a tolerable quantity of blood and tears, they washed, embraced the chief, and seemed unconcerned. But the young girl's sufferings were not yet come to an end. Terridiri* arrived; and she went, with great composure, to repeat the same ceremonies to him, which she had just performed on meeting her father. Towha had brought a large war-canoe from Eimeo, I inquired if he had killed the people belonging to her; and was told, that there was no man in her when she was captured.

"We left Tettaha, about ten or eleven o'clock, and landed, close to the *morai* of Attahooroo, a little after noon. There lay three canoes, hauled upon the beach, opposite the *morai*, with three hogs exposed in each: their sheds, or awnings, had something under them which I could not discern. We expected the solemnity to be performed the same afternoon; but as neither Towha nor Potatou had joined us, nothing was done. A chief from Eimeo came with a small pig, and a plantain-tree, and placed them at Otoo's feet. They talked some time together; and the Eimeo chief often repeating the words, *Warry, warry*, 'false,' I supposed that Otoo was relating to him what he had heard, and that the other denied it.

"The next day (Wednesday), Towha and Potatou, with about eight large canoes, arrived, and landed near the *morai*. Many plantain-trees were brought, on the part of different chiefs, to Otoo. Towha did not stir from his canoe. The ceremony began by the principal priest bringing out the *maro*, wrapped up, and a bundle shaped like a large sugar-loaf. These were placed at the head of what I understood to be a grave. Then three priests came and sat down opposite, that is, at the other end of the grave; bringing with them a plantain-tree, the branch of some other tree, and the sheath of the flower of the cocoa-nut tree. The priests, with these things in their hands, separately repeated sentences; and, at intervals, two, and sometimes all three, sung a melancholy ditty, little attended to by the people. This praying and singing continued for an hour. Then, after a short prayer, the principal priest uncovered the *maro;* and Otoo rose up, and wrapped it about him, holding, at the same time, in his hand, a cap or bonnet, composed of the red feathers of the tail of the tropic-bird, mixed with other feathers of a dark colour. He stood in the middle space, facing the three priests, who continued their prayers for about ten minutes; when a man, starting from the crowd, said something which ended with the word *heiva!* and the crowd echoed back

* Terridiri was Oberea's son. See an account of the royal family of Otaheite, Vol. I. p. 66.

to him, three times, *Earee!* This, as I had been told before, was the principal part of the solemnity.

"The company now moved to the opposite side of the great pile of stones, where is what they call the king's *morai;* which is not unlike a large grave. Here the same ceremony was performed over again, and ended in three cheers. The *maro* was now wrapped up, and increased in its splendour by the addition of a small piece of red feathers, which one of the priests gave Otoo when he had it on, and which he stuck into it. From this place the people went to a large hut, close by the *morai*, where they seated themselves in much greater order than is usual among them. A man of Tiaraboo then made an oration, which lasted about ten minutes. He was followed by an Attahooroo man; afterward Potatou spoke with much greater fluency and grace than any of them; for, in general, they spoke in short, broken sentences, with a motion of the hand that was rather awkward. Tooteo, Otoo's orator, spoke next, and after him a man from Eimeo. Two or three more speeches were made; but not much attended to. Omai told me, that the speeches declared that they should not fight, but all be friends. As many of the speakers expressed themselves with warmth, possibly there were some recriminations and protestations of their good intentions. In the midst of their speaking, a man of Attahooroo got up, with a sling fastened to his waist, and a large stone placed upon his shoulder. After parading near a quarter of an hour in the open space, repeating something in a singing tone, he threw the stone down. This stone, and a plantain-tree that lay at Otoo's feet, were, after the speeches ended, carried to the *morai;* and one of the priests, and Otoo with him, said something upon the occasion.

"On our return to Oparre, the sea-breeze having set in, we were obliged to land, and had a pleasant walk through almost the whole extent of Tettaha to Oparre. A tree, with two bundles of dried leaves suspended upon it, marked the boundary of the two districts. The man who had performed the ceremony of the stone and sling came with us. With him Otoo's father had a long conversation. He seemed very angry. I understood he was enraged at the part Towha had taken in the Eimeo business."

From what I can judge of this solemnity, as thus described by Mr. King, it had not been wholly a thanksgiving, as Omai told us, but rather a confirmation of the treaty, or perhaps both. The grave, which Mr. King speaks of, seems to be the very spot where the celebration of the rites began, when the human sacrifice, at which I was present, was offered, and before which the victim was laid, after being removed from the sea-side. It is at this part of the *morai*, also, that they first invest their kings with the *maro*. Omai, who had been present when Otoo was made king, described to me the whole ceremony, when we were here; and I find it to be almost the same as this that Mr. King has now described, though we understood it to be upon a very different occasion. The plantain-tree, so often mentioned, is always the first thing introduced, not only in all their religious ceremonies, but in all their debates, whether of a public or private nature. It is also used on other occasions; perhaps many more than we know of. While Towha was at Eimeo, one or more messengers came from him to Otoo every day. The messenger always came with a young plantain-tree in his hand, which he laid down at Otoo's feet, before he spoke a word; then seated himself before him, and related what he was charged with. I have seen two men in such high dispute that I expected they would proceed to blows; yet, on one laying a plantain-tree before the other, they have both become cool, and carried on the argument without farther animosity. In short, it is, upon all occasions, the olive-branch of these people.

The war with Eimeo, and the solemn rites which were the consequence of it, being thus finally closed, all our friends paid us a visit on the 26th; and, as they knew that we were upon the point of sailing, brought with them more hogs than we could take off their hands. For, having no salt left, to preserve any, we wanted no more than for present use. The next day, I accompanied Otoo to Oparre; and, before I left it, I looked at the cattle and poultry, which I had consigned to my friend's care, at that place. Every thing was in a promising way; and properly attended unto. Two of the geese and two of the ducks were sitting; but the pea and turkey hens had not begun to lay. I got from Otoo four goats; two of which I intended to leave at Ulietea, where none had as yet been introduced; and

the other two, I proposed to reserve for the use of any other islands I might meet with in my passage to the north.

A circumstance which I shall now mention of Otoo, will show that these people are capable of much address and art to gain their purposes. Amongst other things which, at different times, I had given to this chief, was a spying-glass. After having it in his possession two or three days, tired of its novelty, and probably finding it of no use to him, he carried it privately to Captain Clerke, and told him, that, as he had been his very good friend, he had got a present for him, which he knew would be agreeable. "But," says Otoo, "you must not let *Toote* know it; because he wants it, and I would not let him have it." He then put the glass into Captain Clerke's hands; at the same time, assuring him, that he came honestly by it. Captain Clerke at first declined accepting it; but Otoo insisted upon it, and left it with him. Some days after, he put Captain Clerke in mind of the glass; who, though he did not want it, was yet desirous of obliging Otoo; and thinking that a few axes would be of more use at this island, produced four to give him in return. Otoo no sooner saw this, than he said, "*Toote* offered me five for it." "Well," says Captain Clerke, "if that be the case, your friendship for me shall not make you a loser, and you shall have six axes." These he accepted; but desired again, that I might not be told what he had done.

Our friend Omai got one good thing at this island for the many good things he gave away. This was a very fine double sailing canoe, completely equipped, and fit for the sea. Some time before, I had made up for him, a suit of English colours; but he thought these too valuable to be used at this time; and patched up a parcel of colours, such as flags and pendants, to the number of ten or a dozen, which he spread on different parts of this vessel, all at the same time; and drew together as many people to look at her, as a man-of-war would, dressed, in a European port. These streamers of Omai were a mixture of English, French, Spanish, and Dutch, which were all the European colours that he had seen. When I was last at this island, I gave to Otoo an English jack and pendant, and to Towha a pendant; which I now found they had preserved with the greatest care. Omai had also provided himself with a good stock of cloth and cocoa-nut oil, which are not only in greater plenty, but much better, at Otaheite than at any of the Society Islands; insomuch, that they are articles of trade. Omai would not have behaved so inconsistently, and so much unlike himself, as he did, in many instances, but for his sister and brother-in-law, who, together with a few more of their acquaintance, engrossed him entirely to themselves, with no other view than to strip him of everything he had got. And they would, undoubtedly, have succeeded in their scheme, if I had not put a stop to it in time, by taking the most useful articles of his property into my possession. But even this would not have saved Omai from ruin, if I had suffered these relations of his to have gone with, or to have followed us to, his intended place of settlement, Huaheine. This they had intended; but I disappointed their farther views of plunder, by forbidding them to show themselves in that island, while I remained in the neighbourhood; and they knew me too well not to comply.

On the 28th, Otoo came on board, and informed me, that he had got a canoe, which he desired I would take with me, and carry home, as a present from him to the *Earee rahie no Pretane;* it being the only thing, he said, that he could send worth his Majesty's acceptance. I was not a little pleased with Otoo for this mark of his gratitude. It was a thought entirely his own, not one of us having given him the least hint about it; and it showed that he fully understood to whom he was indebted for the most valuable presents that he had received. At first, I thought that this canoe had been a model of one of their vessels of war; but I soon found that it was a small *ivahah*, about sixteen feet long. It was double, and seemed to have been built for the purpose; and was decorated with all those pieces of carved work, which they usually fix upon their canoes. As it was too large for me to take on board, I could only thank him for his good intentions; but it would have pleased him much better, if his present could have been accepted.

We were detained here some days longer than I expected, by light breezes from the west, and calms by turns; so that we could not get out of the bay. During this time, the ships were crowded with our friends, and surrounded by a multitude of canoes; for not one would leave the place till we were gone. At length, at three o'clock in the afternoon of

the 29th, the wind came at east, and we weighed anchor. As soon as the ships were under sail, at the request of Otoo, and to gratify the curiosity of his people, I fired seven guns, loaded with shot; after which, all our friends, except him, and two or three more, left us with such marks of affection and grief, as sufficiently showed how much they regretted our departure. Otoo being desirous of seeing the ship sail, I made a stretch out to sea, and then in again; when he also bid us farewell, and went ashore in his canoe. The frequent visits we have lately paid to this island, seem to have created a full persuasion that the intercourse will not be discontinued. It was strictly enjoined to me by Otoo, to request, in his name, the *Earee rahie no Pretane*, to send him, by the next ships, red feathers, and the birds that produce them; axes; half a dozen muskets, with powder and shot; and by no means to forget horses.

I have occasionally mentioned my receiving considerable presents from Otoo, and the rest of the family, without specifying what returns I made. It is customary for these people, when they make a present, to let us know what they expect in return; and we find it necessary to gratify them; so that what we get by way of present, comes dearer than what we get by barter. But as we were sometimes pressed by occasional scarcity, we could have recourse to our friends for a present, or supply, when we could not get our wants relieved by any other method; and therefore, upon the whole, this way of traffic was full as advantageous to us as to the natives. For the most part, I paid for each separate article as I received it, except in my intercourse with Otoo. His presents generally came so fast upon me, that no account was kept between us. Whatever he asked for, that I could spare, he had whenever he asked for it; and I always found him moderate in his demands.

If I could have prevailed upon Omai to fix himself at Otaheite, I should not have left it so soon as I did; for there was not a probability of our being better or cheaper supplied with refreshments at any other place, than we continued to be here, even at the time of our leaving it. Besides, such a cordial friendship and confidence subsisted between us and the inhabitants, as could hardly be expected anywhere else; and, it was a little extraordinary, that this friendly intercourse had never once been suspended by any untoward accident; nor had there been a theft committed that deserves to be mentioned. Not that I believe their morals, in this respect, to be much mended; but am rather of opinion, that their regularity of conduct was owing to the fear the chiefs were under of interrupting a traffic which they might consider as the means of securing to themselves a more considerable share of our commodities than could have been got by plunder or pilfering. Indeed, this point I settled at the first interview with their chiefs, after my arrival. For, observing the great plenty that was in the island, and the eagerness of the natives to possess our various articles of trade, I resolved to make the most of these two favourable circumstances, and explained myself, in the most decisive terms, that I would not suffer them to rob us, as they had done upon many former occasions. In this Omai was of great use, as I instructed him to point out to them the good consequences of their honest conduct; and the fatal mischiefs they must expect to suffer by deviating from it.

It is not always in the power of the chiefs to prevent robberies; they are frequently robbed themselves; and complain of it as a great evil. Otoo left the most valuable things he had from me in my possession, till the day before we sailed; and the reason he gave for it was, that they were nowhere so safe. Since the bringing in of new riches, the inducements to pilfering must have increased. The chiefs, sensible of this, are now extremely desirous of chests. They seemed to set much value upon a few the Spaniards had left amongst them; and they were continually asking us for some. I had one made for Otoo, the dimensions of which, according to his own directions, were eight feet in length, five in breadth, and about three in depth. Locks and bolts were not a sufficient security; but it must be large enough for two people to sleep upon, by way of guarding it in the night.

It will appear a little extraordinary, that we, who had a smattering of their language, and Omai, besides, for an interpreter, could never get any clear account of the time when the Spaniards arrived, how long they staid, and when they departed. The more we inquired into this matter, the more we were convinced of the inability of most of these

people to remember, or note the time, when past events happened; especially if it exceeded ten or twenty months. It, however, appeared, by the date of the inscription upon the cross, and by the information we received from the most intelligent of the natives, that two ships arrived at Oheitepeha in 1774, soon after I left Matavai, which was in May, the same year. They brought with them the house and live-stock before mentioned. Some said, that, after landing these things, and some men, they sailed in quest of me, and returned in about ten days. But I have some doubt of the truth of this, as they were never seen, either at Huaheine or at Ulietea. The live-stock they left here consisted of one bull, some goats, hogs, and dogs, and the male of some other animal; which we afterwards found to be a ram, and, at this time, was at Bolabola, whither the bull was also to have been transported.

The hogs are of a large kind; have already greatly improved the breed originally found by us upon the island; and, at the time of our late arrival, were very numerous. Goats are, also, in tolerable plenty; there being hardly a chief of any note that has not got some. As to the dogs that the Spaniards put ashore, which are of two or three sorts, I think they would have done the island a great deal more service, if they had hanged them all, instead of leaving them upon it. It was to one of them that my young ram fell a victim. When these ships left the islands, four Spaniards remained behind. Two were priests, one a servant, and the fourth made himself very popular among the natives, who distinguish him by the name of Mateema. He seems to have been a person who had studied their language; or, at least, to have spoken it so as to be understood; and to have taken uncommon pains to impress the minds of the islanders with the most exalted ideas of the greatness of the Spanish nation, and to make them think meanly of the English. He even went so far as to assure them, that we no longer existed as an independent nation; that *Pretane* was only a small island, which they, the Spaniards, had entirely destroyed; and for me, that they had met with me at sea, and, with a few shot, had sent my ship, and every soul in her, to the bottom; so that my visiting Otaheite, at this time, was, of course, very unexpected. All this, and many other improbable falsehoods, did this Spaniard make these people believe. If Spain had no other views in this expedition but to depreciate the English, they had better have kept their ships at home; for my returning again to Otaheite was considered as a complete confutation of all that Mateema had said.

With what design the priests staid, we can only guess. If it was to convert the natives to the catholic faith, they have not succeeded in any one instance. But it does not appear that they ever attempted it; for, if the natives are to be believed, they never conversed with them, either on this, or on any other subject. The priests resided constantly in the house at Oheitepeha; but Mateema roved about, visiting most parts of the island. At length, after he and his companions had staid ten months, two ships came to Oheitepeha, took them on board, and sailed again in five days. This hasty departure shows, that, whatever design the Spaniards might have had upon this island, they had now laid it aside. And yet, as I was informed by Otoo, and many others, before they went away, they would have the natives believe that they still meant to return, and to bring with them houses, all kinds of animals, and men and women, who were to settle, live, and die on the island. Otoo, when he told me this, added, that if the Spaniards should return, he would not let them come to Matavai Fort, which, he said, was ours. It was easy to see that the idea pleased him; little thinking that the completion of it would at once deprive him of his kingdom, and the people of their liberties. This shows with what facility a settlement might be made at Otaheite; which, grateful as I am for repeated good offices, I hope will never happen. Our occasional visits may, in some respects, have benefited its inhabitants; but a permanent establishment amongst them, conducted as most European establishments amongst Indian nations have unfortunately been, would, I fear, give them just cause to lament that our ships had ever found them out. Indeed, it is very unlikely that any measure of this kind should ever be seriously thought of, as it can neither serve the purposes of public ambition, nor of private avarice; and, without such inducements, I may pronounce that it will never be undertaken.

I have already mentioned the visit that I had from one of the two natives of this island, who had been carried by the Spaniards to Lima. I never saw him afterward; which I

rather wondered at, as I had received him with uncommon civility. I believe, however, that Omai had kept him at a distance from me, by some rough usage; jealous that there should be another traveller upon the island who might vie with himself. Our touching at Teneriffe was a fortunate circumstance for Omai; as he prided himself in having visited a place belonging to Spain as well as this man. I did not meet with the other, who had returned from Lima; but Captain Clerke, who had seen him, spoke of him as a low fellow, and as a little out of his senses. His own countrymen, I found, agreed in the same account of him. In short, these two adventurers seemed to be held in no esteem. They had not, indeed, been so fortunate as to return home with such valuable acquisitions of property as we had bestowed upon Omai; and with the advantages he reaped from his voyage to England, it must be his own fault if he should sink into the same state of insignificance.

CHAPTER V.—ARRIVAL AT EIMEO.—TWO HARBOURS THERE, AND AN ACCOUNT OF THEM.—VISIT FROM MAHEINE, CHIEF OF THE ISLAND.—HIS PERSON DESCRIBED.—A GOAT STOLEN, AND SENT BACK WITH THE THIEF.—ANOTHER GOAT STOLEN, AND SECRETED.—MEASURES TAKEN ON THE OCCASION.—EXPEDITION ACROSS THE ISLAND.—HOUSES AND CANOES BURNT.—THE GOAT DELIVERED UP, AND PEACE RESTORED.—SOME ACCOUNT OF THE ISLAND, ETC.

As I did not give up my design of touching at Eimeo, at daybreak, in the morning of the 30th, after leaving Otaheite, I stood for the north end of the island; the harbour, which I wished to examine, being at that part of it. Omai, in his canoe, having arrived there long before us, had taken some necessary measures to show us the place. However, we were not without pilots, having several men of Otaheite on board, and not a few women. Not caring to trust entirely to these guides, I sent two boats to examine the harbour, and, on their making the signal for safe anchorage, we stood in with the ships, and anchored close up to the head of the inlet, in ten fathoms water, over a bottom of soft mud, and moored with a hawser fast to the shore. This harbour, which is called Taloo, is situated upon the north side of the island, in the district of Oboonohoo, or Poonohoo. It runs in south, or south by east, between the hills, above two miles. For security and goodness of its bottom, it is not inferior to any harbour that I have met with at any of the islands in this ocean; and it has this advantage over most of them, that a ship can sail in and out with the reigning trade-wind; so that the access and recess are equally easy. There are several rivulets that fall into it. The one at the head is so considerable as to admit boats to go a quarter of a mile up, where we found the water perfectly fresh. Its banks are covered with the *pooroo* tree, as it is called by the natives, which makes good firing, and which they set no value upon; so that wood and water are to be got here with great facility. On the same side of the island, and about two miles to the eastward, is the harbour of Parowroah, much larger within than that of Taloo; but the entrance, or opening in the reef, (for the whole island is surrounded with a reef of coral rock,) is considerably narrower, and lies to leeward of the harbour. These two defects are so striking, that the harbour of Taloo must always have a decided preference. It is a little extraordinary, that I should have been three times at Otaheite before, and have once sent a boat to Eimeo, and yet not know till now that there was a harbour in it; on the contrary, I always understood there was not; whereas there are not only the two above mentioned, but one or two more on the south side of the island; but these last are not so considerable as the two we have just described.

We had no sooner anchored than the ships were crowded with the inhabitants, whom curiosity alone brought on board; for they had nothing with them for the purposes of barter. But, the next morning, this deficiency was supplied; several canoes then arriving from more distant parts, which brought with them abundance of bread-fruit, cocoa-nuts, and a few hogs. These they exchanged for hatchets, nails, and beads, for red feathers were not so much sought after here as at Otaheite. The ship being a good deal pestered with rats, I hauled her within thirty yards of the shore, as near as the depth of water would allow, and made a path for them to get to the land, by fastening hawsers to the trees. It is said that

this experiment has sometimes succeeded; but, I believe, we got clear of very few, if any, of the numerous tribe that haunted us.

In the morning of the 2d, Maheine, the chief of the island, paid me a visit. He approached the ship with great caution, and it required some persuasion to get him on board. Probably, he was under some apprehensions of mischief from us, as friends of the Otaheiteans; these people not being able to comprehend how we can be friends with any one, without adopting, at the same time, his cause against his enemies. Maheine was accompanied by his wife, who, as I was informed, is sister to Oamo of Otaheite, of whose death we had an account while we were at this island. I made presents to both of them, of such things as they seemed to set the highest value upon; and after a stay of about half an hour, they went away. Not long after, they returned with a large hog, which they meant as a return for my present; but I made them another present to the full value of it. After this, they paid a visit to Captain Clerke.

This chief, who with a few followers has made himself in a manner independent of Otaheite, is between forty and fifty years old. He is bald-headed, which is rather an uncommon appearance in these islands at that age. He wore a kind of turban, and seemed ashamed to show his head. But whether they themselves considered this deficiency of hair as a mark of disgrace, or whether they entertained a notion of our considering it as such, I cannot say. We judged that the latter supposition was the truth, from this circumstance, that they had seen us shave the head of one of their people, whom we had caught stealing. They therefore concluded that this was the punishment usully inflicted by us upon all thieves; and one or two of our gentlemen, whose heads were not overburthened with hair, we could observe, lay under violent suspicions of being *tetos*. In the evening, Omai and I mounted on horseback, and took a ride along the shore to the eastward. Our train was not very numerous, as Omai had forbid the natives to follow us; and many complied, the fear of giving offence getting the better of their curiosity. Towha had stationed his fleet in this harbour; and though the war lasted but a few days, the marks of its devastation were everywhere to be seen. The trees were stripped of their fruit; and all the houses in the neighbourhood had been pulled down or burnt.

Having employed two or three days in getting up all our spirit-casks to tar their heads, which we found necessary to save them from the efforts of a small insect to destroy them, we hauled the ship off into the stream on the 6th, in the morning, intending to put to sea the next day; but an accident happened that prevented it, and gave me a good deal of trouble. We had sent our goats ashore in the daytime to graze, with two men to look after them; notwithstanding which precaution, the natives had contrived to steal one of them this evening. The loss of this goat would have been of little consequence, if it had not interfered with my views of stocking other islands with these animals; but this being the case, it became necessary to recover it if possible. The next morning we got intelligence, that it had been carried to Maheine, the chief, who was at this time at Parowroah harbour. Two old men offered to conduct any of my people whom I might think proper to send to him, to bring back the goat. Accordingly, I despatched them in a boat, charged with a threatening message to Maheine, if the goat was not immediately given up to me, and also the thief.

It was only the day before, that this chief had requested me to give him two goats. But, as I could not spare them, unless at the expense of other islands that might never have another opportunity to get any, and had, besides, heard that there were already two upon this island, I did not gratify him. However, to show my inclination to assist his views in this respect, I desired Tidooa, an Otaheite chief who was present, to beg Otoo, in my name, to send two of these animals to Maheine; and, by way of insuring a compliance with this request, I sent to Otoo, by this chief, a large piece of red feathers, equal to the value of the two goats that I required. I expected that this arrangement would have been satisfactory to Maheine and all the other chiefs of the island; but the event showed that I was mistaken. Not thinking that any one would dare to steal a second, at the very time I was taking measures to recover the first, the goats were put ashore again this morning; and in

the evening a boat was sent to bring them on board. As our people were getting them into the boat, one was carried off undiscovered. It being immediately missed, I made no doubt of recovering it without much trouble, as there had not been time to carry it to any considerable distance. Ten or twelve of the natives set out soon after, different ways, to bring it back or to look for it; for not one of them would own that it was stolen, but all tried to persuade us that it had strayed into the woods; and, indeed, I thought so myself. I was convinced to the contrary, however, when I found that none of those who went in pursuit of it returned; so that their only view was to amuse me, till their prize was beyond my reach; and night coming on, put a stop to all further search. About this time the boat returned with the other goat, bringing also one of the men who had stolen it; the first instance of the kind that I had met with amongst these islands.

The next morning, I found that most of the inhabitants in the neighbourhood had moved off, carrying with them a corpse which lay on a *toopapaoo* opposite the ship; and that Maheine himself had retired to the most distant part of the island. It seemed now no longer doubtful, that a plan had been laid to steal what I had refused to give; and that, though they had restored one, they were resolved to keep the other, which was a she-goat and big with kid. I was equally fixed in my resolution that they should not keep it. I therefore applied to the two old men who had been instrumental in getting back the first. They told me that this had been carried to Watea, a district on the south side of the island, by Hamoa, the chief of that place; but that, if I would send anybody for it, it would be delivered up. They offered to conduct some of my people across the island; but on my learning from them that a boat might go and return the same day, I sent one, with two petty officers, Mr. Roberts and Mr. Shuttleworth; one to remain with the boat, in case she could not get to the place, while the other should go with the guides, and one or two of our people. Late in the evening the boat returned, and the officers informed me, that after proceeding as far in the boat as rocks and shoals would permit, Mr. Shuttleworth with two marines and one of the guides landed and travelled to Watea, to the house of Hamoa, where the people of the place amused them for some time, by telling them that the goat would soon be brought, and pretended they had sent for it. It, however, never came, and the approach of night obliged Mr. Shuttleworth to return to the boat without it.

I was now very sorry that I had proceeded so far, as I could not retreat with any tolerable credit, and without giving encouragement to the people of the other islands we had yet to visit, to rob us with impunity. I asked Omai and the two old men what methods I should next take; and they, without hesitation, advised me to go with a party of men into the country, and shoot every soul I should meet with. This bloody counsel I could not follow; but I resolved to march a party of men across the island; and at daybreak the next morning, set out with thirty-five of my people, accompanied by one of the old men, by Omai, and three or four of his attendants. At the same time, I ordered Lieutenant Williamson with three armed boats round the western part of the island to meet us.

I had no sooner landed with my party, than the few natives who still remained in the neighbourhood fled before us. The first man that we met with upon our march ran some risk of his life; for Omai, the moment he saw him, asked me if he should shoot him; so fully was he persuaded that I was going to carry his advice into execution. I immediately ordered both him and our guide to make it known, that I did not intend to hurt, much less to kill, a single native. These glad tidings flew before us like lightning, and stopped the flight of the inhabitants; so that no one quitted his house or employment afterward. As we began to ascend the ridge of hills over which lay our road, we got intelligence that the goat had been carried that way before us; and, as we understood, could not as yet have passed the hills; so that we marched up in great silence, in hopes of surprising the party who were bearing off the prize. But when we had got to the uppermost plantation on the side of the ridge, the people there told us, that what we were in search of had, indeed, been kept there the first night, but had been carried the next morning to Watea by Hamoa. We then crossed the ridge without making any further inquiry, till we came within sight of Watea, where some people showed us Hamoa's house, and told us that the goat was there,

so that I made no doubt of getting it immediately upon my arrival. But when I reached the house, to my very great surprise, the few people we met with denied that they had ever seen it, or knew anything about it; even Hamoa himself came and made the same declaration.

On our first coming to the place, I observed several men running to and fro in the woods, with clubs and bundles of darts in their hands; and Omai, who followed them, had some stones thrown at him, so that it seemed as if they had intended to oppose any step I should take by force; but, on seeing my party was too strong, had dropped the design. I was confirmed in this notion, by observing that all their houses were empty. After getting a few of the people of the place together, I desired Omai to expostulate with them on the absurdity of the conduct they were pursuing; and to tell them that, from the testimony of many on whom I could depend, I was well assured that the goat was in their possession, and, therefore, insisted upon its being delivered up, otherwise I would burn their houses and canoes. But notwithstanding all that I or Omai could say, they continued to deny their having any knowledge of it. The consequence was, that I set fire to six or eight houses, which were presently consumed, with two or three war-canoes that lay contiguous to them. This done, I marched off to join the boats, which were about seven or eight miles from us; and, in our way, we burned six more war-canoes, without any one attempting to oppose us; on the contrary, many assisted, though, probably, more out of fear than good-will. In one place, Omai, who had advanced a little before, came back with information that a great many men were getting together to attack us. We made ready to receive them, but instead of enemies we found petitioners with plantain-trees in their hands, which they laid down at my feet, and begged that I would spare a canoe that lay close by, which I readily complied with.

At length, about four in the afternoon, we got to the boats, that were waiting at Wharrarade, the district belonging to Tiarataboonoue; but this chief, as well as all the principal people of the place, had fled to the hills; though I touched not a single thing that was their property, as they were the friends of Otoo. After resting ourselves here about an hour, we set out for the ships, where we arrived about eight o'clock in the evening. At that time, no account of the goat had been received; so that the operations of this day had not produced the desired effect.

Early next morning, I despatched one of Omai's men to Maheine, with this peremptory message, that if he persisted in his refusal, I would not leave him a single canoe upon the island, and that he might expect a continuation of hostilities as long as the stolen animal remained in his possession. And, that the messenger might see that I was in earnest, before he left me I sent the carpenter to break up three or four canoes that lay ashore at the head of the harbour. The plank was carried on board, as materials for building a house for Omai, at the place where he intended to settle. I afterward went, properly accompanied, to the next harbour, where we broke up three or four more canoes, and burned an equal number; and then returned on board about seven in the evening. On my arrival I found that the goat had been brought back about half an hour before; and, on inquiry, it appeared that it had come from the very place where I had been told the day before, by the inhabitants, that they knew nothing of it. But in consequence of the message I sent to the chief in the morning, it was judged prudent to trifle with me no longer. Thus ended this troublesome and rather unfortunate business; which could not be more regretted on the part of the natives, than it was on mine. And it grieved me to reflect, that, after refusing the pressing solicitations of my friends at Otaheite, to favour their invasion of this island, I should so soon find myself reduced to the necessity of engaging in hostilities against its inhabitants, which, perhaps, did them more mischief than they had suffered from Towha's expedition.

The next morning our intercourse with the natives was renewed; and several canoes brought to the ships bread-fruit and cocoa-nuts to barter; from whence it was natural for me to draw this conclusion, that they were conscious it was their own fault if I had treated them with severity; and that the cause of my displeasure being removed, they had a full confidence that no further mischief would ensue. About nine o'clock we weighed, with a

breeze down the harbour; but it proved so faint and variable, that it was noon before we got out to sea, when I steered for Huaheine, attended by Omai in his canoe. He did not depend entirely upon his own judgment, but had got on board a pilot. I observed, that they shaped as direct a course for the island as I could do. At Eimeo we abundantly supplied the ships with fire-wood. We had not taken in any at Otaheite, where the procuring this article would have been very inconvenient; there not being a tree at Matavai but what is useful to the inhabitants. We also got here good store of refreshments, both in hogs and vegetables; that is, bread-fruit and cocoa-nuts; little else being in season. I do not know that there is any difference between the produce of this island and of Otaheite; but there is a very striking difference in their women, that I can by no means account for. Those of Eimeo are of low stature, have a dark hue, and, in general, forbidding features. If we met with a fine woman amongst them, we were sure, upon inquiry, to find that she had come from some other island.

The general appearance of Eimeo is very different from that of Otaheite. The latter rising in one steep hilly body, has little low land, except some deep valleys; and the flat border that surrounds the greatest part of it, toward the sea. Eimeo, on the contrary, has hills running in different directions, which are very steep and rugged, leaving in the interspaces very large valleys, and gently-rising grounds about their sides. These hills, though of a rocky disposition, are in general covered almost to their tops with trees; but the lower parts, on the sides, frequently only with fern. At the bottom of the harbour where we lay, the ground rises gently to the foot of the hills which run across nearly in the middle of the island; but its flat border, on each side, at a very small distance from the sea, becomes quite steep. This gives it a romantic cast, which renders it a prospect superior to anything we saw at Otaheite. The soil, about the low grounds, is a yellowish and pretty stiff mould; but, upon the lower hills, it is blacker and more loose; and the stone that composes the hills is, when broken, of a bluish colour, but not very compact texture, with some particles of *glimmer* interspersed. These particulars seem worthy of observation. Perhaps the reader will think differently of my judgment, when I add, that, near the station of our ships, were two large stones, or rather rocks, concerning which the natives have some superstitious notions. They consider them as *Eatooas*, or divinities; saying that they are brother and sister, and that they came, by some supernatural means, from Ulietea.

CHAPTER VI.—ARRIVAL AT HUAHEINE.—COUNCIL OF THE CHIEFS.—OMAI'S OFFERINGS, AND SPEECH TO THE CHIEFS.—HIS ESTABLISHMENT IN THIS ISLAND AGREED TO.—A HOUSE BUILT AND GARDEN PLANTED FOR HIM.—SINGULARITY OF HIS SITUATION—MEASURES TAKEN TO INSURE HIS SAFETY.—DAMAGE DONE BY COCKROACHES ON BOARD THE SHIPS.—A THIEF DETECTED AND PUNISHED.—FIRE-WORKS EXHIBITED.—ANIMALS LEFT WITH OMAI.—HIS FAMILY.—WEAPONS.—INSCRIPTIONS ON HIS HOUSE.—HIS BEHAVIOUR ON THE SHIP'S LEAVING THE ISLAND.—SUMMARY VIEW OF HIS CONDUCT AND CHARACTER.—ACCOUNT OF THE TWO NEW ZEALAND YOUTHS.

Having left Eimeo, with a gentle breeze and fine weather, at daybreak the next morning we saw Huaheine, extending from south-west by west, half west to west by north. At noon we anchored at the north entrance of Owharre harbour, which is on the west side of the island. The whole afternoon was spent in warping the ships into a proper berth, and mooring. Omai entered the harbour just before us, in his canoe, but did not land. Nor did he take much notice of any of his countrymen, though many crowded to see him; but far more of them came off to the ships, insomuch that we could hardly work on account of their numbers. Our passengers presently acquainted them with what we had done at Eimeo, and multiplied the number of houses and canoes that we had destroyed, by ten at least. I was not sorry for this exaggerated account; as I saw that it made a great impression upon all who heard it; so that I had hopes it would induce the inhabitants of this island to behave better to us than they had done during my former visits. While I was at Otaheite, I had learned that my old friend Oree was no longer the chief of Huaheine; and that, at

this time, he resided at Ulietea. Indeed, he never had been more than regent during the minority of Taireetareea, the present *Earee rahie;* but he did not give up the regency till he was forced. His two sons, Opoony and Towha, were the first who paid me a visit, coming on board before the ship was well in the harbour, and bringing a present with them.

Our arrival brought all the principal people of the island to our ships on the next morning, being the 13th. This was just what I wished, as it was high time to think of settling Omai; and the presence of these chiefs, I guessed, would enable me to do it in the most satisfactory manner. He now seemed to have an inclination to establish himself at Ulietea; and if he and I could have agreed about the mode of bringing that plan to bear, I should have had no objection to adopt it. His father had been dispossessed by the men of Bolabola, when they conquered Ulietea, of some land in that island; and I made no doubt of being able to get it restored to the son in an amicable manner. For that purpose it was necessary that he should be upon good terms with those who now were masters of the island; but he was too great a patriot to listen to any such thing, and was vain enough to suppose that I would reinstate him in his forfeited lands by force. This made it impossible to fix him at Ulietea, and pointed out to me Huaheine as the proper place. I therefore resolved to avail myself of the presence of the chief men of the island, and to make this proposal to them.

After the hurry of the morning was over, we got ready to pay a formal visit to Taireetareea, meaning then to introduce his business. Omai dressed himself very properly on the occasion, and prepared a handsome present for the chief himself, and another for his *Eatooa.* Indeed, after he had got clear of the gang that surrounded him at Otaheite, he behaved with such prudence as to gain respect. Our landing drew most of our visitors from the ships; and they, as well as those that were on shore, assembled in a large house. The concourse of people, on this occasion, was very great; and amongst them, there appeared to be a greater proportion of personable men and women than we had ever seen in one assembly at any of these new islands. Not only the bulk of the people seemed in general much stouter and fairer than those of Otaheite, but there was also a much greater number of men who appeared to be of consequence, in proportion to the extent of the island; most of whom had exactly the corpulent appearance of the chiefs of Wateeo. We waited some time for Taireetareea, as I would do nothing till the *Earee rahie* came; but when he appeared, I found that his presence might have been dispensed with, as he was not above eight or ten years of age. Omai, who stood at a little distance from this circle of great men, began with making his offering to the gods, consisting of red feathers, cloth, &c. Then followed another offering, which was to be given to the gods by the chief; and, after that, several other small pieces and tufts of red feathers were presented. Each article was laid before one of the company, who, I understood, was a priest, and was delivered with a set speech or prayer, spoken by one of Omai's friends, who sat by him, but mostly dictated by himself. In these prayers, he did not forget his friends in England, nor those who had brought him safe back. The *Earee rahie no Pretane*, Lord Sandwich, *Toote*, *Tatee**, were mentioned in every one of them. When Omai's offerings and prayers were finished, the priest took each article, in the same order in which it had been laid before him, and after repeating a prayer, sent it to the *morai;* which, as Omai told us, was at a great distance, otherwise the offerings would have been made there.

These religious ceremonies having been performed, Omai sat down by me, and we entered upon business, by giving the young chief my present, and receiving his in return; and, all things considered, they were liberal enough on both sides. Some arrangements were next agreed upon, as to the manner of carrying on the intercourse betwixt us; and I pointed out the mischievous consequences that would attend their robbing us, as they had done during my former visits. Omai's establishment was then proposed to the assembled chiefs.

He acquainted them, "That he had been carried by us into our country, where he was well received by the great king and his *Earees*, and treated with every mark of regard and affection, while he staid amongst us; that he had been brought back again, enriched by our liberality with a variety of articles, which would prove very useful to his countrymen; and

* Cook and Clerke.

that, besides the two horses which were to remain with him, several other new and valuable animals had been left at Otaheite, which would soon multiply, and furnish a sufficient number for the use of all the islands in the neighbourhood. He then signified to them, that it was my earnest request, in return for all my friendly offices, that they would give him a piece of land, to build a house upon, and to raise provisions for himself and servants; adding, that, if this could not be obtained for him at Huaheine, either by gift or by purchase, I was determined to carry him to Ulietea*, and fix him there."

Perhaps I have here made a better speech for my friend than he actually delivered; but these were the topics I dictated to him. I observed, that what he concluded with, about carrying him to Ulietea, seemed to meet with the approbation of all the chiefs; and I instantly saw the reason. Omai had, as I have already mentioned, vainly flattered himself, that I meant to use force in restoring him to his father's lands in Ulietea, and he had talked idly, and without any authority from me, on this subject, to some of the present assembly; who dreamed of nothing less than a hostile invasion of Ulietea, and of being assisted by me to drive the Bolabola men out of that island. It was of consequence, therefore, that I should undeceive them; and in order to this, I signified, in the most peremptory manner, that I neither would assist them in such an enterprise, nor suffer it to be put in execution, while I was in their seas; and that, if Omai fixed himself in Ulietea, he must be introduced as a friend, and not forced upon the Bolabola men as their conqueror.

This declaration gave a new turn to the sentiments of the council. One of the chiefs immediately expressed himself to this effect: "That the whole island of Huaheine, and everything in it, were mine; and that, therefore, I might give what portion of it I pleased to my friend." Omai, who, like the rest of his countrymen, seldom sees things beyond the present moment, was greatly pleased to hear this; thinking, no doubt, that I should be very liberal, and give him enough. But to offer what it would have been improper to accept, I considered as offering nothing at all; and, therefore, I now desired, that they would not only assign the particular spot, but also the exact quantity of land which they would allot for the settlement. Upon this, some chiefs, who had already left the assembly, were sent for, and after a short consultation among themselves, my request was granted, by general consent, and the ground immediately pitched upon, adjoining to the house where our meeting was held. The extent, along the shore of the harbour, was about two hundred yards, and its depth, to the foot of the hill, somewhat more; but a proportional part of the hill was included in the grant.

This business being settled to the satisfaction of all parties, I set up a tent ashore, established a post, and erected the observatories. The carpenters of both ships were also set to work, to build a small house for Omai, in which he might secure the European commodities that were his property. At the same time, some hands were employed in making a garden for his use; planting shaddocks, vines, pine-apples, melons, and the seeds of several other vegetable articles, all of which I had the satisfaction of observing to be in a flourishing state before I left the island. Omai now began seriously to attend to his own affairs, and repented heartily of his ill-judged prodigality while at Otaheite. He found at Huaheine, a brother, a sister, and a brother-in-law, the sister being married. But these did not plunder him, as he had lately been by his other relations. I was sorry, however, to discover, that though they were too honest to do him any injury, they were of too little consequence in the island to do him any positive good. They had neither authority nor influence to protect his person or his property; and in that helpless situation, I had reason to apprehend that he ran great risk of being stripped of everything he had got from us, as soon as he should cease to have us within his reach, to enforce the good behaviour of his countrymen, by an immediate appeal to our irresistible power.

A man who is richer than his neighbours is sure to be envied by numbers, who wish to see him brought down to their own level. But in countries where civilisation, law, and religion impose their restraints, the rich have a reasonable ground of security. And, besides,

* Now known as Iaretea or Raiatea. The difference in sound seems to arise from the same indistinctness of pronunciation which led Captain Cook to write "Bolabola" for "Borabora," and, as will be seen in a subsequent page, to call the god, called Oraa by Mr. Anderson, and Oro by the Missionaries, Olla.—Ed.

there being in all such communities a diffusion of property, no single individual need fear that the efforts of all the poorer sort can ever be united to injure him, exclusively of others who are equally the objects of envy. It was very different with Omai. He was to live amongst those who are strangers, in a great measure, to any other principle of action, besides the immediate impulse of their natural feelings. But what was his principal danger? He was to be placed in the very singular situation of being the only rich man in the community to which he was to belong; and having, by a fortunate connexion with us, got into his possession an accumulated quantity of a species of treasure which none of his countrymen could create, by any art or industry of their own,—while all coveted a share of this envied wealth, it was natural to apprehend, that all would be ready to join in attempting to strip its sole proprietor. To prevent this, if possible, I desired him to make a proper distribution of some of his moveables to two or three of the principal chiefs, who being thus gratified themselves, might be induced to take him under their patronage, and protect him from the injuries of others. He promised to follow my advice, and I heard, with satisfaction, before I sailed, that this very prudent step had been taken. Not trusting, however, entirely to the operation of gratitude, I had recourse to the more forcible motive of intimidation. With this view, I took every opportunity of notifying to the inhabitants, that it was my intention to return to their island again, after being absent the usual time; and that if I did not find Omai in the same state of security in which I was now to leave him, all those whom I should then discover to have been his enemies, might expect to feel the weight of my resentment. This threatening declaration will probably have no inconsiderable effect, for our successive visits of late years have taught these people to believe that our ships are to return at certain periods; and while they continue to be impressed with such a notion, which I thought it a fair stratagem to confirm, Omai has some prospect of being permitted to thrive upon his new plantation.

While we lay in this harbour, we carried ashore the bread remaining in the bread-room, to clear it of vermin. The number of cockroaches that infested the ship at this time is incredible; the damage they did us was very considerable, and every method devised by us to destroy them proved ineffectual. These animals, which at first were a nuisance, like all other insects, had now become a real pest, and so destructive that few things were free from their ravages; if food of any kind was exposed only for a few minutes, it was covered with them, and they soon pierced it full of holes resembling a honeycomb. They were particularly destructive to birds, which had been stuffed and preserved as curiosities, and, what was worse, were uncommonly fond of ink; so that the writing on the labels, fastened to different articles, was quite eaten out; and the only thing that preserved books from them was the closeness of the binding, which prevented these devourers getting between the leaves. According to Mr. Anderson's observations, they were of two sorts, the *Blatta orientalis* and *germanica*. The first of these had been carried home in the ship from her former voyage, where they withstood the severity of the hard winter in 1776, though she was in dock all the time. The others had only made their appearance since our leaving New Zealand, but had increased so fast, that they now not only did all the mischief mentioned above, but had even got amongst the rigging, so that when a sail was loosened, thousands of them fell upon the decks. The *orientales*, though in infinite numbers, scarcely came out but in the night, when they made everything in the cabins seem as if in motion, from the particular noise in crawling about; and, besides their disagreeable appearance, they did great mischief to our bread, which was so bespattered with their excrement, that it would have been badly relished by delicate feeders.

The intercourse of trade and friendly offices was carried on between us and the natives without being disturbed by any one accident, till the evening of the 22d, when a man found means to get into Mr. Bayly's observatory, and to carry off a sextant, unobserved. As soon as I was made acquainted with the theft, I went ashore, and got Omai to apply to the chiefs, to procure restitution. He did so, but they took no steps toward it, being more attentive to a *heiva* that was then acting, till I ordered the performers of the exhibition to desist. They were now convinced that I was in earnest, and began to make some inquiry after the thief, who was sitting in the midst of them quite unconcerned, inasmuch that I was in great doubt

of his being the guilty person, especially as he denied it. Omai, however, assuring me that he was the man, I sent him on board the ship, and there confined him. This raised a general ferment amongst the assembled natives, and the whole body fled, in spite of all my endeavours to stop them. Having employed Omai to examine the prisoner, with some difficulty he was brought to confess where he had laid the sextant; but, as it was now dark, he could not find it till daylight the next morning, when it was brought back unhurt. After this, the natives recovered from their fright, and began to gather about us as usual; and as to the thief, he appearing to be a hardened scoundrel, I punished him more severely than I had done any culprit before. Besides having his head and beard shaved, I ordered both his ears to be cut off, and then dismissed him.

This, however, did not deter him from giving us farther trouble; for, in the night between the 24th and 25th, a general alarm was spread, occasioned, as was said, by one of our goats being stolen by this very man; on examination, we found that all was safe in that quarter. Probably, the goats were so well guarded, that he could not put his design in execution. But his hostilities had succeeded against another object, and it appeared that he had destroyed and carried off several vines and cabbage-plants in Omai's grounds; and he publicly threatened to kill him, and to burn his house, as soon as we should leave the island. To prevent the fellow's doing me and Omai any more mischief, I had him seized and confined on board the ship, with a view of carrying him off the island; and it seemed to give general satisfaction to the chiefs that I meant thus to dispose of him. He was from Bolabola; but there were too many of the natives here ready to assist him in any of his designs, whenever he should think of executing them. I had always met with more troublesome people in Huaheine than in any other of the neighbouring islands; and it was only fear and the want of opportunities that induced them to behave better now. Anarchy seemed to prevail amongst them; their nominal sovereign, the *Earee rahie*, as I have before observed, was but a child, and I did not find that there was any one man, or set of men, who managed the government for him; so that, whenever any misunderstanding happened between us, I never knew, with sufficient precision, where to make application, in order to bring about an accommodation, or to procure redress. The young chief's mother would, indeed, sometimes exert herself; but I did not perceive that she had greater authority than many others.

Omai's house being nearly finished, many of his moveables were carried ashore on the 26th. Amongst a variety of other useless articles was a box of toys, which, when exposed to public view, seemed greatly to please the gazing multitude; but as to his pots, kettles, dishes, plates, drinking-mugs, glasses, and the whole train of our domestic accommodations, hardly any one of his countrymen would so much as look at them. Omai himself now began to think that they were of no manner of use to him,—that a baked hog was more savoury food than a boiled one,—that a plantain-leaf made as good a dish or plate as pewter,—and that a cocoa-nut shell was as convenient a goblet as a black-jack; and, therefore, he very wisely disposed of as many of these articles of English furniture for the kitchen and pantry, as he could find purchasers for, amongst the people of the ships, receiving from them, in return, hatchets, and other iron tools, which had a more intrinsic value in this part of the world, and added more to his distinguishing superiority over those with whom he was to pass the remainder of his days. In the long list of the presents bestowed upon him in England, fire-works had not been forgot. Some of these we exhibited in the evening of the 28th, before a great concourse of people, who beheld them with a mixture of pleasure and fear; what remained after the evening's entertainment, were put in order and left with Omai, agreeably to their original destination. Perhaps we need not lament it as a serious misfortune, that the far greater share of this part of his cargo had been already expended in exhibitions at other islands, or rendered useless by being kept so long.

Between midnight and four in the morning of the 30th, the Bolabola man, whom I had in confinement, found means to make his escape out of the ship. He carried with him the shackle of the bilboo bolt that was about his leg, which was taken from him as soon as he got on shore, by one of the chiefs, and given to Omai, who came on board very early in the morning, to acquaint me that his mortal enemy was again let loose upon him. Upon inquiry, it appeared that not only the sentry placed over the prisoner, but the whole watch upon the

quarter-deck where he was confined, had laid themselves down to sleep. He seized the opportunity to take the key of the irons out of the binnacle drawer, where he had seen it put, and set himself at liberty. This escape convinced me that my people had been very remiss in their night duty, which made it necessary to punish those who were now in fault, and to establish some new regulations to prevent the like negligence for the future. I was not a little pleased to hear afterward, that the fellow who escaped had transported himself to Ulietea; in this, seconding my views of putting him a second time in irons.

As soon as Omai was settled in his new habitation, I began to think of leaving the island, and got everything off from the shore this evening except the horse and mare, and a goat big with kid, which were left in the possession of our friend, with whom we were now finally to part. I also gave him a boar and two sows of the English breed, and he had got a sow or two of his own. The horse covered the mare while we were at Otaheite, so that I consider the introduction of a breed of horses into these islands as likely to have succeeded by this valuable present.

The history of Omai will, perhaps, interest a very numerous class of readers, more than any other occurrence of a voyage, the objects of which do not, in general, promise much entertainment. Every circumstance, therefore, which may serve to convey a satisfactory account of the exact situation in which he was left, will be thought worth preserving; and the following particulars are added, to complete the view of his domestic establishment. He had picked up at Otaheite four or five *Toutous;* the two New Zealand youths remained with him, and his brother and some others joined him at Huaheine, so that his family consisted already of eight or ten persons, if that can be called a family to which not a single female as yet belonged, nor, I doubt, was likely to belong, unless its master became less volatile; at present, Omai did not seem at all disposed to take unto himself a wife. The house which we erected for him was twenty-four feet by eighteen, and ten feet high. It was composed of boards, the spoils of our military operations at Eimeo; and, in building it, as few nails as possible were used, that there might be no inducement, from the love of iron, to pull it down. It was settled that, immediately after our departure, he should begin to build a large house after the fashion of his country, one end of which was to be brought over that which we had erected so as to enclose it entirely for greater security. In this work, some of the chiefs promised to assist him; and if the intended building should cover the ground which he marked out, it will be as large as most upon the island*.

His European weapons consisted of a musket, bayonet, and cartouch-box; a fowling-piece, two pairs of pistols, and two or three swords or cutlasses. The possession of these made him quite happy, which was my only view in giving him such presents; for I was always of opinion that he would have been happier without fire-arms, and other European weapons, than with them; as such implements of war, in the hands of one whose prudent use of them I had some grounds for mistrusting, would rather increase his dangers than establish his superiority. After he had got on shore everything that belonged to him, and was settled in his house, he had most of the officers of both ships, two or three times, to dinner; and his table was always well supplied with the very best provisions that the island produced. Before I sailed, I had the following inscription cut upon the outside of his house:—

GEORGIUS TERTIUS, REX, 2 NOVEMBRIS, 1777.
NAVES { RESOLUTION, JAC. COOK, PR.
DISCOVERY, CAR. CLERKE, PR.

* Some account of the subsequent career of Omai is given at page 5 of this volume. In addition to what is there stated, Mr. Ellis informs us that "within the limits of the grant made to Captain Cooke for his friend Mai, some of the missionaries who in 1809 took shelter in Huaheine, after their expulsion from Otaheite in 1808, erected their temporary habitations. A few yards distant from the spot in which Mai's house stood, and immediately in front of the dark and glossy-leaved shaddock here planted by Captain Cook, the first building for the worship of Jehovah was erected; and on the same spot the first school in Huaheine was opened, in which the use of letters and the principles of religion were inculcated. Nearly in front of the site of Mai's dwelling now stands the residence of Pohuetea and Teraimano, to whom, by right of patrimony, Beritani [the name given by Omai to his estate], belongs. It was, when I was last there, in 1824, one of the most neat, substantial, and convenient modern houses in the settlement, containing two stories and eight apartments. The district around, which when we arrived was altogether uncultivated, and overrun with brushwood growing in wild luxuriance, has been cleared; the garden has been again enclosed, and planted with many useful vegetable productions of the tropical regions. It is cultivated by two proprietors, who, there is reason to hope, are decided Christians."—Ed.

On the 2d of November, at four in the afternoon, I took the advantage of a breeze which then sprung up at east, and sailed out of the harbour. Most of our friends remained on board till the ships were under sail, when, to gratify their curiosity, I ordered five guns to be fired. They then all took their leave, except Omai, who remained till we were at sea. We had come to sail by a hawser fastened to the shore. In casting the ship it parted, being cut by the rocks, and the outer end was left behind, as those who cast it off did not perceive that it was broken; so that it became necessary to send a boat to bring it on board. In this boat Omai went ashore, after taking a very affectionate farewell of all the officers. He sustained himself with a manly resolution till he came to me. Then his utmost efforts to conceal his tears failed; and Mr. King, who went in the boat, told me that he wept all the time in going ashore.

It was no small satisfaction to reflect that we had brought him safe back to the very spot from which he was taken. And yet, such is the strange nature of human affairs, that it is probable we left him in a less desirable situation than he was in before his connexion with us. I do not by this mean, that because he has tasted the sweets of civilised life, he must become more miserable from being obliged to abandon all thoughts of continuing them. I confine myself to this single disagreeable circumstance, that the advantages he received from us have placed him in a more hazardous situation with respect to his personal safety. Omai, from being much caressed in England, lost sight of his original condition, and never considered in what manner his acquisitions, either of knowledge or of riches, would be estimated by his countrymen at his return; which were the only things he could have to recommend him to them now more than before, and on which he could build either his future greatness or happiness. He seemed even to have mistaken their genius in this respect, and, in some measure, to have forgotten their customs, otherwise he must have known the extreme difficulty there would be in getting himself admitted as a person of rank, where there is, perhaps, no instance of a man's being raised from an inferior station by the greatest merit. Rank seems to be the very foundation of all distinction here, and, of its attendant, power; and so pertinaciously, or rather blindly adhered to, that, unless a person has some degree of it, he will certainly be despised and hated if he assumes the appearance of exercising any authority. This was really the case, in some measure, with Omai; though his countrymen were pretty cautious of expressing their sentiments while we remained among them. Had he made a proper use of the presents he brought with him from England, this, with the knowledge he had acquired by travelling so far, might have enabled him to form the most useful connexions; but we have given too many instances, in the course of our narrative, of his childish inattention to this obvious means of advancing his interest. His schemes seemed to be of a higher, though ridiculous nature; indeed, I might say meaner, for revenge, rather than a desire of becoming great, appeared to actuate him from the beginning. This, however, may be excused, if we consider that it is common to his countrymen. His father was, doubtless, a man of considerable property in Ulietea, when that island was conquered by those of Bolabola, and, with many others sought refuge in Huaheine, where he died, and left Omai with some other children, who by that means became totally dependent. In this situation he was taken up by Captain Furneaux, and carried to England. Whether he really expected, from his treatment there, that any assistance would be given him against the enemies of his father and his country, or whether he imagined that his own personal courage and superiority of knowledge would be sufficient to dispossess the conquerors of Ulietea, is uncertain; but, from the beginning of the voyage, this was his constant theme. He would not listen to our remonstrances on so wild a determination, but flew into a passion if more moderate and reasonable counsels were proposed for his advantage. Nay, so infatuated and attached to his favourite scheme was he, that he affected to believe these people would certainly quit the conquered island as soon as they should hear of his arrival at Otaheite. As we advanced, however, on our voyage, he became more sensible of his error; and, by the time we reached the Friendly Islands, had even such apprehensions of his reception at home, that, as I have mentioned in my journal, he would fain have staid behind at Tongataboo, under Fenou's protection. At these islands he squandered away much of his European treasure very unnecessarily; and he was equally imprudent, as I also took notice of above, at Tiaraboo,

where he could have no view of making friends, as he had not any intention of remaining there. At Mataiva he continued the same inconsiderate behaviour, till I absolutely put a stop to his profusion; and he formed such improper connexions there, that Otoo, who was at first much disposed to countenance him, afterwards openly expressed his dislike of him, on account of his conduct. It was not, however, too late to recover his favour; and he might have settled to great advantage in Otaheite, as he had formerly lived several years there, and was now a good deal noticed by Towha, whose valuable present of a very large double canoe we have seen above. The objection to admitting him to some rank would have also been much lessened if he had fixed at Otaheite, as a native will always find it more difficult to accomplish such a change of state amongst his countrymen than a stranger, who naturally claims respect. But Omai remained undetermined to the last, and would not, I believe, have adopted my plan of settlement in Huaheine, if I had not so explicitly refused to employ force in restoring him to his father's possessions. Whether the remains of his European wealth, which, after all his improvident waste, was still considerable, will be more prudently administered by him, or whether the steps I took, as already explained, to insure him protection in Huaheine shall have proved effectual, must be left to the decision of future navigators of this ocean, with whom it cannot but be a principal object of curiosity to trace the future fortunes of our traveller At present, I can only conjecture that his greatest danger will arise from the very impolitic declarations of his antipathy to the inhabitants of Bolabola; for these people, from a principle of jealousy, will, no doubt, endeavour to render him obnoxious to those of Huaheine; as they are at peace with that island at present, and may easily effect their designs, many of them living there. This is a circumstance which, of all others, he might the most easily have avoided; for they were not only free from any aversion to him, but the person mentioned before, whom we found at Tiaraboo as an ambassador, priest, or god, absolutely offered to reinstate him in the property that was formerly his father's. But he refused this peremptorily; and, to the very last, continued determined to take the first opportunity that offered of satisfying his revenge in battle. To this, I guess, he is not a little spurred by the coat of mail he brought from England; clothed in which, and in possession of some fire-arms, he fancies that he shall be invincible.

Whatever faults belonged to Omai's character, they were more than overbalanced by his great good nature and docile disposition. During the whole time he was with me, I very seldom had reason to be seriously displeased with his general conduct. His grateful heart always retained the highest sense of the favours he had received in England; nor will he ever forget those who honoured him with their protection and friendship during his stay there. He had a tolerable share of understanding, but wanted application and perseverance to exert it; so that his knowledge of things was very general, and, in many instances, imperfect. He was not a man of much observation. There were many useful arts, as well as elegant amusements, amongst the people of the Friendly Islands, which he might have conveyed to his own, where they probably would have been readily adopted, as being so much in their own way. But I never found that he used the least endeavour to make himself master of any one. This kind of indifference is, indeed,

OMAI.

the characteristic foible of his nation. Europeans have visited them, at times, for these ten years past; yet we could not discover the slightest trace of any attempt to profit by this intercourse; nor have they hitherto copied after us in any one thing. We are not, therefore, to expect that Omai will be able to introduce many of our arts and customs among them, or much improve those to which they have been long habituated. I am confident, however, that he will endeavour to bring to perfection the various fruits and vegetables we planted, which will be no small acquisition. But the greatest benefit these islands are likely to receive from Omai's travels will be in the animals that have been left upon them, which, probably, they never would have got had he not come to England. When these multiply, of which I think there is little doubt, Otaheite and the Society Islands will equal, if not exceed, any place in the known world for provisions.

Omai's return, and the substantial proofs he brought back with him of our liberality, encouraged many to offer themselves as volunteers to attend me to *Pretane*. I took every opportunity of expressing my determination to reject all such applications. But, notwithstanding this, Omai, who was very ambitious of remaining the only great traveller, being afraid lest I might be prevailed upon to put others in a situation of rivalling him, frequently put me in mind, that Lord Sandwich had told him no others of his countrymen were to come to England.

If there had been the most distant probability of any ship being again sent to New Zealand, I would have brought the two youths of that country home with me, as both of them were very desirous of continuing with us. Tiarooa, the eldest, was an exceedingly well-disposed young man, with strong natural sense, and capable of receiving any instruction. He seemed to be fully sensible of the inferiority of his own country to these islands, and resigned himself, though perhaps with reluctance, to end his days in ease and plenty in Huaheine. But the other was so strongly attached to us, that he was taken out of the ship and carried ashore by force. He was a witty, smart boy; and on that account much noticed on board.

CHAPTER VII.—ARRIVAL AT ULIETEA.—ASTRONOMICAL OBSERVATIONS.—A MARINE DESERTS, AND IS DELIVERED UP.—INTELLIGENCE FROM OMAI.—INSTRUCTIONS TO CAPTAIN CLERKE.—ANOTHER DESERTION, OF A MIDSHIPMAN AND A SEAMAN.—THREE OF THE CHIEF PERSONS OF THE ISLAND CONFINED ON THAT ACCOUNT.—A DESIGN TO SEIZE CAPTAINS COOK AND CLERKE DISCOVERED.—THE TWO DESERTERS BROUGHT BACK, AND THE PRISONERS RELEASED.—THE SHIPS SAIL.—REFRESHMENTS RECEIVED AT ULIETEA.—PRESENT AND FORMER STATE OF THAT ISLAND.—ACCOUNT OF ITS DETHRONED KING, AND OF THE LATE REGENT OF HUAHEINE.

The boat which carried Omai ashore never to join us again, having returned to the ship with the remainder of the hawser, we hoisted her in, and immediately stood over for Ulietea, where I intended to touch next. At ten o'clock at night we brought to till four the next morning, when we made sail round the south end of the island for the harbour of Ohamaneno. We met with calms and light airs of wind from different directions, by turns, so that at noon we were still a league from the entrance of the harbour. While we were thus detained, my old friend Oreo, chief of the island, with his son, and Pootoe his son-in-law, came off to visit us. Being resolved to push for the harbour, I ordered all the boats to be hoisted out, and sent them ahead to tow, being assisted by a slight breeze from the southward. This breeze failed too soon, and being succeeded by one from the east, which blew right out of the harbour, we were obliged to come to an anchor at its entrance, at two o'clock, and to warp in, which employed us till night set in. As soon as we were within the harbour, the ships were surrounded with canoes filled with people, who brought hogs and fruit to barter with us for our commodities; so that, wherever we went, we found plenty.

Next morning, being the 4th, I moored the ship, head and stern, close to the north shore, at the head of the harbour; hauled up the cables on deck; and opened one of the ballast-ports. From this a slight stage was made to the land, being at the distance of about twenty

feet, with a view to get clear of some of the rats that continued to infest us. The Discovery moored alongside the south shore for the same purpose. While this work was going forward, I returned Oreo's visit. The present I made him, on the occasion, consisted of a linen gown, a shirt, a red-feathered cap from Tongataboo, and other things of less value. I then brought him, and some of his friends, on board to dinner.

On the 6th, we set up the observatories, and got the necessary instruments on shore. The two following days, we observed the sun's azimuths, both on board and ashore, with all the compasses, in order to find the variation; and in the night of the latter, we observed an occultation of *ε Capricorni*, by the moon's dark limb. Mr. Bayly and I agreed in fixing the time of its happening at six minutes and fifty-four seconds and a half past ten o'clock. Mr. King made it half a second sooner. Mr. Bayly observed with the achromatic telescope belonging to the Board of Longitude; Mr. King, with the reflector belonging to the board; and I made use of my own reflector, of eighteen inches. There was also an immersion of *π Capricorni* behind the moon's dark limb, some time before; but it was observed by Mr. Bayly alone. I attempted to trace it, with a small achromatic; but found its magnifying power not sufficient.

Nothing worthy of note happened, till the night between the 12th and 13th, when John Harrison, a marine, who was sentinel at the observatory, deserted; carrying with him his musket and accoutrements. Having in the morning got intelligence which way he had moved off, a party was sent after him; but they returned in the evening, after an ineffectual inquiry and search. The next day, I applied to the chief to interest himself in this matter. He promised to send a party of his men after him, and gave me hopes that he should be brought back the same day. But this did not happen; and I had reason to suspect that no steps had been taken by him. We had, at this time, a great number of the natives about the ships, and some thefts were committed; the consequence of which being dreaded by them, very few visitors came near us the next morning. The chief himself joined in the alarm, and he and his whole family fled. I thought this a good opportunity to oblige them to deliver up the deserter; and having got intelligence that he was at a place called Hamoa, on the other side of the island, I went thither with two armed boats, accompanied by one of the natives; and, in our way, we found the chief, who also embarked with me. I landed about a mile and a half from the place, with a few people, and marched quickly up to it, lest the sight of the boats should give the alarm, and allow the man time to escape to the mountains. But this precaution was unnecessary; for the natives there had got information of my coming, and were prepared to deliver him up. I found Harrison, with the musket lying before him, sitting down between two women, who, the moment that I entered the house, rose up to plead in his behalf. As it was highly proper to discourage such proceedings, I frowned upon them, and bid them be gone. Upon this they burst into tears, and walked off. Paha, the chief of the district, now came with a plantain tree, and a sucking pig, which he would have presented to me, as a peace-offering. I rejected it, and ordered him out of my sight; and having embarked with the deserter on board the first boat that arrived, returned to the ships. After this, harmony was again restored. The fellow had nothing to say in his defence, but that the natives had enticed him away; and this might in part be true, as it was certain that Paha, and also the two women above mentioned, had been at the ship the day before he deserted. As it appeared that he had remained upon his post till within a few minutes of the time when he was to have been relieved, the punishment that I inflicted upon him was not very severe.

Though we had separated from Omai, we were still near enough to have intelligence of his proceeding; and I had desired to hear from him. Accordingly, about a fortnight after our arrival at Ulietea, he sent two of his people in a canoe; who brought me the satisfactory intelligence, that he remained undisturbed by the people of the island, and that everything went well with him, except that his goat had died in kidding. He accompanied this intelligence with a request, that I would send him another goat, and two axes. Being happy to have this additional opportunity of serving him, the messengers were sent back to Huaheine, on the 18th, with the axes, and two kids, male and female, which were spared for him out of the Discovery.

The next day, I delivered to Captain Clerke instructions how to proceed, in case of being separated from me, after leaving these islands; and it may not be improper to give them a place here.

"BY CAPTAIN JAMES COOK,

COMMANDER OF HIS MAJESTY'S SLOOP THE RESOLUTION.

"Whereas the passage from the Society Islands to the northern coast of America is of considerable length, both in distance and in time, and as a part of it must be performed in the very depth of winter, when gales of wind and bad weather must be expected, and may, possibly, occasion a separation, you are to take all imaginable care to prevent this. But if, notwithstanding all our endeavours to keep company, you should be separated from me, you are first to look for me where you last saw me. Not seeing me in five days, you are to proceed (as directed by the Instructions of their Lordships, a copy of which you have already received) for the coast of New Albion; endeavouring to fall in with it in the latitude of 45°. In that latitude, and at a convenient distance from the land, you are to cruise for me ten days. Not seeing me in that time, you are to put into the first convenient port, in or to the north of that latitude, to recruit your wood and water, and to procure refreshments.

"During your stay in port, you are constantly to keep a good look-out for me. It will be necessary, therefore, to make choice of a station situated as near the sea-coast as is possible, the better to enable you to see me when I shall appear in the offing. If I do not join you before the 1st of next April, you are to put to sea, and proceed northward to the latitude 56°; in which latitude, and at a convenient distance from the coast, never exceeding fifteen leagues, you are to cruise for me till the 10th of May.

"Not seeing me in that time, you are to proceed northward, and endeavour to find a passage into the Atlantic Ocean, through Hudson's or Baffin's Bays, as directed by the above-mentioned Instructions. But if you should fail in finding a passage through either of the said bays, or by any other way, as the season of the year may render it unsafe for you to remain in high latitudes, you are to repair to the harbour of St. Peter and St. Paul, in Kamtschatka, in order to refresh your people, and to pass the winter.

"But, nevertheless, if you find that you cannot procure the necessary refreshments at the said port, you are at liberty to go where you shall judge most proper; taking care, before you depart, to leave with the governor an account of your intended destination, to be delivered to me upon my arrival: and in the spring of the ensuing year, 1779, you are to repair back to the above-mentioned port, endeavouring to be there by the 10th of May, or sooner. If, on your arrival, you receive no orders from, or account of me, so as to justify your pursuing any other measures than what are pointed out in the before-mentioned Instructions, your future proceedings are to be governed by them. You are also to comply with such parts of said Instructions as have not been executed, and are not contrary to these orders. And in case of your inability, by sickness or otherwise, to carry these, and the Instructions of their Lordships, into execution, you are to be careful to leave them with the next officer in command, who is hereby required to execute them in the best manner he can.

"Given under my hand, on board the Resolution, at Ulietea, the 18th day of November, 1777. "J. COOK.

"TO CAPTAIN CHARLES CLERKE,
Commander of His Majesty's Sloop The Discovery."

While we lay moored to the shore, we heeled, and scrubbed both sides of the bottoms of the ships. At the same time, we fixed some tin-plates under the binds; first taking off the old sheathing, and putting in a piece unfilled, over which the plates were nailed. These plates I had from the ingenious Mr. Pelham, secretary to the Commissioners for Victualling His Majesty's Navy; with a view of trying whether tin would answer the same end as copper, on the bottoms of ships.

On the 24th, in the morning, I was informed that a midshipman and a seaman, both belonging to the Discovery, were missing. Soon after, we learned from the natives, that they went away in a canoe the preceding evening, and were, at this time, at the other end

of the island. As the midshipman was known to have expressed a desire to remain at these islands, it seemed pretty certain that he and his companion had gone off with this intention; and Captain Clerke set out in quest of them with two armed boats, and a party of marines. His expedition proved fruitless; for he returned in the evening, without having got any certain intelligence where they were. From the conduct of the natives, Captain Clerke seemed to think, that they intended to conceal the deserters; and, with that view, had amused him with false information the whole day, and directed him to search for them in places where they were not to be found. The captain judged right; for the next morning we were told, that our runaways were at Otaha. As these two were not the only persons in the ships who wished to end their days at these favourite islands, in order to put a stop to any further desertion, it was necessary to get them back at all events; and that the natives might be convinced that I was in earnest, I resolved to go after them myself; having observed, from repeated instances, that they seldom offered to deceive me with false information. Accordingly, I set out the next morning with two armed boats; being accompanied by the chief himself. I proceeded, as he directed, without stopping anywhere, till we came to the middle of the east side of Otaha. There we put ashore; and Oreo despatched a man before us, with orders to seize the deserters, and keep them till we should arrive with the boats. But when we got to the place where we expected to find them, we were told that they had quitted this island, and gone over to Bolabola the day before. I did not think proper to follow them thither, but returned to the ships; fully determined, however, to have recourse to a measure which, I guessed, would oblige the natives to bring them back.

In the night, Mr. Bayly, Mr. King, and myself observed an immersion of Jupiter's third satellite. It happened by the observation of

Mr. Bayly, at	2^h	37^m	54^s	in the morning.
Mr. King, at	2	37	24	
Myself, at	2	37	44	

Mr. Bayly and Mr. King observed, with Dollond's three and a half feet achromatic telescope, and with the greatest magnifying power. I observed, with a two-feet Gregorian reflector, made by Bird.

Soon after daybreak, the chief, his son, daughter, and son-in-law, came on board the Resolution. The three last I resolved to detain, till the two deserters should be brought back. With this view, Captain Clerke invited them to go on board his ship; and as soon as they arrived there, confined them in his cabin. The chief was with me when the news reached him. He immediately acquainted me with it, supposing that this step had been taken without my knowledge, and consequently without my approbation. I instantly undeceived him; and then he began to have apprehensions as to his own situation, and his looks expressed the utmost perturbation of mind. But I soon made him easy as to this, by telling him, that he was at liberty to leave the ship whenever he pleased, and to take such measures as he should judge best calculated to get our two men back; that, if he succeeded, his friends on board the Discovery should be delivered up; if not, that I was determined to carry them away with me. I added, that his own conduct, as well as that of many of his people, in not only assisting these two men to escape, but in being, even at this very time, assiduous in enticing others to follow them, would justify any step I could take to put a stop to such proceedings. This explanation of the motives upon which I acted, and which we found means to make Oreo and his people, who were present, fully comprehend, seemed to recover them, in a great measure, from that general consternation into which they were at first thrown. But, if relieved from apprehensions about their own safety, they continued under the deepest concern for those who were prisoners. Many of them went under the Discovery's stern in canoes, to bewail their captivity, which they did with long and loud exclamations. Poedooa! for so the chief's daughter was called, resounded from every quarter; and the women seemed to vie with each other in mourning her fate, with more significant expressions of their grief than tears and cries; for there were many bloody heads upon the occasion. Oreo himself did not give way to unavailing lamentations, but instantly began his exertions to recover our deserters, by despatching a canoe to Bolabola, with a

message to Opoony, the sovereign of that island, acquainting him with what had happened, and requesting him to seize the two fugitives, and send them back. The messenger, who was no less a man than the father of Pootoe, Oreo's son-in-law, before he set out came to receive my commands. I strictly enjoined him not to return without the deserters; and to tell Opoony from me, that if they had left Bolabola, he must send canoes to bring them back; for I suspected that they would not long remain in one place.

The consequence, however, of the prisoners was so great, that the natives did not think proper to trust to the return of our people for their release; or, at least, their impatience was so great, that it hurried them to make an attempt which might have involved them in still greater distress, had it not been fortunately prevented. Between five and six o'clock in the evening, I observed that all their canoes in and about the harbour began to move off, as if some sudden panic had seized them. I was ashore, abreast of the ship at the time, and inquired in vain to find out the cause; till our people called to us from the Discovery, and told us that a party of the natives had seized Captain Clerke and Mr. Gore, who had walked out a little way from the ships. Struck with the boldness of this plan of retaliation, which seemed to counteract me so effectually in my own way, there was no time to deliberate. I instantly ordered the people to arm; and, in less than five minutes, a strong party, under the command of Mr. King, was sent to rescue our two gentlemen. At the same time, two armed boats and a party under Mr. Williamson went after the flying canoes, to cut off their retreat to the shore. These several detachments were hardly out of sight, before an account arrived, that we had been misinformed; upon which I sent and called them all in.

It was evident, however, from several corroborating circumstances, that the design of seizing Captain Clerke had really been in agitation amongst the natives. Nay, they made no secret in speaking of it the next day. But their first and great plan of operations was to have laid hold of me. It was my custom every evening to bathe in the fresh water. Very often I went alone, and always without arms. Expecting me to go as usual this evening, they had determined to seize me, and Captain Clerke too, if he had accompanied me. But I had, after confining Oreo's family, thought it prudent to avoid putting myself in their power; and had cautioned Captain Clerke and the officers not to go far from the ships. In the course of the afternoon, the chief asked me, three several times, if I would not go to the bathing-place; and when he found, at last, that I could not be prevailed upon, he went off with the rest of his people, in spite of all I could do or say to stop him. But as I had no suspicion at this time of their design, I imagined that some sudden fright had seized them, which would, as usual, soon be over. Finding themselves disappointed as to me, they fixed on those who were more in their power. It was fortunate for all parties, that they did not succeed; and not less fortunate that no mischief was done on the occasion; for not a musket was fired, except two or three to stop the canoes. To that firing, perhaps, Messrs. Clerke and Gore owed their safety*; for at that very instant, a party of the natives armed with clubs were advancing toward them; and on hearing the report of the muskets, they dispersed. This conspiracy, as it may be called, was first discovered by a girl, whom one of the officers had brought from Huaheine. She, overhearing some of the Ulieteans say, that they would seize Captain Clerke and Mr. Gore, ran to acquaint the first of our people that she met with. Those who were charged with the execution of the design threatened to kill her, as soon as we should leave the island, for disappointing them. Being aware of this, we contrived that her friends should come some days after and take her out of the ship, to convey her to a place of safety, where she might lie concealed, till they should have an opportunity of sending her back to Huaheine.

On the 27th, our observatories were taken down, and every thing we had ashore carried on board; the moorings of the ships were cast off, and we transported them a little way down the harbour, where they came to an anchor again. Toward the afternoon, the natives began to shake off their fears, gathering round and on board the ships as usual; and the awkward transaction of the day before seemed to be forgotten on both sides. The following

* Perhaps they owed their safety principally to Captain Clerke's walking with a pistol in his hand, which he once fired. This circumstance is omitted both in Captain Cook's and in Mr. Anderson's journal; but is here mentioned on the authority of Captain King.

night, the wind blew in hard squalls from south to east, attended with heavy showers of rain. In one of the squalls, the cable, by which the Resolution was riding, parted just without the hawse. We had another anchor ready to let go, so that the ship was presently brought up again. In the afternoon, the wind became moderate; and we hooked the end of the best small bower cable, and got it again into the hawse.

Oreo, the chief, being uneasy as well as myself, that no account had been received from Bolabola, set out this evening for that island, and desired me to follow down the next day with the ships. This was my intention; but the wind which kept us in the harbour, brought Oreo back from Bolabola with the two deserters. They had reached Otaha the same night they deserted; but finding it impossible to get to any of the islands to the eastward (which was their intention), for want of wind, they had proceeded to Bolabola, and from thence to the small island Toobace, where they were taken by the father of Pootoe, in consequence of the first message sent to Opoony. As soon as they were on board, the three prisoners were released. Thus ended an affair which had given me much trouble and vexation. Nor would I have exerted myself so resolutely on the occasion, but for the reason before mentioned, and to save the son of a brother officer from being lost to his country.

The wind continued constantly between the north and west, and confined us in the harbour till eight o'clock in the morning of the 7th of December; when we took the advantage of a light breeze which then sprung up at north-east, and with the assistance of all the boats got out to sea, with the Discovery in company.

During the last week, we had been visited by people from all parts of the island, who furnished us with a large stock of hogs and green plantains. So that the time we lay windbound in the harbour was not entirely lost; green plantains being an excellent substitute for bread, as they will keep good a fortnight or three weeks. Besides this supply of provisions, we also completed our wood and water.

The inhabitants of Ulietea seemed, in general, smaller and blacker than those of the other neighbouring islands, and appeared also less orderly, which, perhaps, may be considered as the consequence of their having become subject to the natives of Bolabola. Oreo, their chief, is only a sort of deputy of the sovereign of that island; and the conquest seems to have lessened the number of subordinate chiefs resident among them; so that they are less immediately under the inspection of those whose interest it is to enforce due obedience to authority. Ulietea, though now reduced to this humiliating state, was formerly, as we were told, the most eminent of this cluster of islands; and, probably, the first seat of government; for they say, that the present royal family of Otaheite is descended from that which reigned here before the late revolution. Ooroo, the dethroned monarch of Ulietea, was still alive when we were at Huaheine, where he resides a royal wanderer, furnishing, in his person, an instance of the instability of power; but what is more remarkable, of the respect paid by these people to particular families, and to the customs which have once conferred sovereignty; for they suffer Ooroo to preserve all the ensigns which they appropriate to majesty, though he has lost his dominions.

We saw a similar instance of this while we were at Ulietea. One of the occasional visitors I now had was my old friend Oree, the late chief of Huaheine. He still preserved his consequence; came always at the head of a numerous body of attendants; and was always provided with such presents as were very acceptable. This chief looked much better now than I had ever seen him during either of my former voyages*. I could account for his improving in health as he grew older, only from his drinking less copiously of the *ava* in his present station as a private gentleman, than he had been accustomed to do when he was regent.

* Captain Cook had seen Oree in 1769, when he commanded the Endeavour; also twice during his second voyage in 1772.

CHAPTER VIII.—ARRIVAL AT BOLABOLA.—INTERVIEW WITH OPOONY.—REASONS FOR PURCHASING MONSIEUR BOUGAINVILLE'S ANCHOR.—DEPARTURE FROM THE SOCIETY ISLANDS.—PARTICULARS ABOUT BOLABOLA.—HISTORY OF THE CONQUEST OF OTAHA AND ULIETEA.—HIGH REPUTATION OF THE BOLABOLA MEN.—ANIMALS LEFT THERE AND AT ULIETEA.—PLENTIFUL SUPPLY OF PROVISIONS, AND MANNER OF SALTING PORK ON BOARD.—VARIOUS REFLECTIONS RELATIVE TO OTAHEITE AND THE SOCIETY ISLANDS.—ASTRONOMICAL AND NAUTICAL OBSERVATIONS MADE THERE.

As soon as we had got clear of the harbour, we took leave of Ulietea, and steered for Bolabola. The chief if not sole object I had in view by visiting that island, was to procure from its monarch, Opoony, one of the anchors which Monsieur de Bougainville had lost at Otaheite. This having afterward been taken up by the natives there, had, as they informed me, been sent by them as a present to that chief. My desire to get possession of it did not arise from our being in want of anchors; but having expended all the hatchets and other iron tools which we had brought from England, in purchasing refreshments, we were now reduced to the necessity of creating a fresh assortment of trading articles, by fabricating them out of the spare iron we had on board; and, in such conversions, and in the occasional uses of the ships, great part of that had been already expended. I thought that M. de Bougainville's anchor would supply our want of this useful material; and I made no doubt that I should be able to tempt Opoony to part with it.

Oreo, and six or eight men more from Ulietea, took a passage with us to Bolabola. Indeed, most of the natives in general, except the chief himself, would have gladly taken a passage with us to England. At sunset, being the length of the south point of Bolabola, we shortened sail, and spent the night making short boards. At day-break, on the 8th, we made sail for the harbour, which is on the west side of the island. The wind was scant, so that we had to ply up, and it was nine o'clock before we got near enough to send away a boat to sound the entrance; for I had thoughts of running the ships in, and anchoring for a day or two. When the boat returned, the master who was in her reported, that though, at the entrance of the harbour the bottom was rocky, there was good ground within, and the depth of water twenty-seven and twenty-five fathoms; and that there was room to turn the ships in, the channel being one-third of a mile broad. In consequence of this report, we attempted to work the ships in; but the tide, as well as the wind, being against us, after making two or three trips, I found that it could not be done, till the tide should turn in our favour. Upon this, I gave up the design of carrying the ships into the harbour; and having ordered the boats to be got ready, I embarked in one of them, accompanied by Oreo and his companions; and was rowed in for the island.

We landed where the natives directed us; and soon after I was introduced to Opoony, in the midst of a great concourse of people. Having no time to lose, as soon as the necessary formality of compliments was over, I asked the chief to give me the anchor, and produced the present I had prepared for him, consisting of a linen night-gown, a shirt, some gauze handkerchiefs, a looking-glass, some beads, and other toys, and six axes. At the sight of these last, there was a general outcry. I could only guess the cause, by Opoony's absolutely refusing to receive my present, till I should get the anchor. He ordered three men to go and deliver it to me; and, as I understood, I was to send, by them, what I thought proper in return. With these messengers, we set out in our boats for an island, lying at the north side of the entrance into the harbour, where the anchor had been deposited. I found it to be neither so large, nor so perfect, as I expected. It had originally weighed seven hundred pounds, according to the mark that was upon it; but the ring, with part of the shank, and the two points were now wanting. I was no longer at a loss to guess the reason of Opoony refusing my present. He doubtless thought that it so much exceeded the value of the anchor in its present state, that I should be displeased when I saw it. Be this as it may, I took the anchor as I found it, and sent him every article of the present that I at first intended. Having thus completed my negotiation, I returned on board; and having hoisted

in the boats, made sail from the island to the north. While the boats were hoisting in, some of the natives came off, in three or four canoes, to see the ships, as they said. They brought with them a few cocoa-nuts, and one pig, which was the only one we got at the island. I make no doubt, however, that, if we had staid till the next day, we should have been plentifully supplied with provisions; and, I think, the natives would feel themselves disappointed, when they found that we were gone. But as we had already a very good stock both of hogs and of fruit on board, and very little of anything left to purchase more, I could have no inducement to defer any longer the prosecution of our voyage.

The harbour of Bolabola, called Oteavanooa, situated on the west side of the island, is one of the most capacious that I ever met with; and though we did not enter it, it was a satisfaction to me, that I had an opportunity of employing my people to ascertain its being a proper place for the reception of ships. The high double-peaked mountain, which is in the middle of the island, appeared to be barren on the east side; but on the west side, has trees or bushes on its most craggy parts. The lower grounds, all round, towards the sea, are covered with cocoa-palms and bread-fruit trees, like the other islands of this ocean; and the many little islets that surround it on the inside of the reef, add both to the amount of its vegetable productions, and to the number of its inhabitants. But still, when we consider its very small extent, being not more than eight leagues in compass, it is rather remarkable, that its people should have attempted, or have been able to achieve the conquest of Ulietea and Otaha, the former of which islands is, of itself, at least double its size. In each of my three voyages, we had heard much of the war that produced this great revolution. The result of our inquiries, as to the circumstances attending it, may amuse the reader; and I give it as a specimen of the history of our friends in this part of the world, as related to us * by themselves.

Ulietea and Otaha, which adjoins it, lived long in friendship, or, as the natives express it, were considered as two brothers, inseparable by any interested views. They also admitted the island of Huaheine as their friend, though not so intimate. Otaha, however, like a traitor, leagued with Bolabola, and they resolved jointly to attack Ulietea; whose people called in their friends of Huaheine, to assist them against these two powers. The men of Bolabola were encouraged by a priestess, or rather prophetess, who foretold, that they should be successful; and as a proof of the certainty of her prediction, she desired, that a man might be sent to the sea, at a particular place, where, from a great depth, a stone would ascend. He went, accordingly, in a canoe to the place mentioned; and was going to dive to see where this stone lay, when, behold, it started up to the surface spontaneously into his hand! The people were astonished at the sight; the stone was deposited as sacred in the house of the *Eatooa;* and is still preserved at Bolabola, as a proof of this woman's influence with the divinity. Their spirits being thus elevated with the hopes of victory, the canoes of Bolabola set out to engage those of Ulietea and Huaheine, which being strongly fastened together with ropes, the encounter lasted long, and would probably, notwithstanding the prediction and the miracle, have ended in the overthrow of the Bolabola fleet, if that of Otaha had not, in the critical moment, arrived. This turned the fortune of the day, and their enemies were defeated with great slaughter. The men of Bolabola, prosecuting their victory, invaded Huaheine two days after, which they knew must be weakly defended, as most of its warriors were absent. Accordingly, they made themselves masters of that island. But many of its fugitives having got to Otaheite, there told their lamentable story; which so grieved those of their countrymen, and of Ulietea, whom they met with in that island, that they obtained some assistance from them. They were equipped with only ten fighting canoes, but, though their force was so inconsiderable, they conducted the expedition with so much prudence, that they landed at Huaheine at night, when dark, and falling upon the Bolabola men by surprise, killed many of them, forcing the rest to fly. So that, by this means, they got possession of their island again, which now remains independent, under the government of its own chiefs. Immediately after the defeat of the united fleets of Ulietea and Huaheine, a proposal was made to the Bolabola men by their allies of Otaha, to be admitted to an equal share of the conquests. The refusal of this

* For this, as for many other particulars about these people, we are indebted to Mr. Anderson.

broke the alliance; and in the course of the war, Otaha itself, as well as Ulietea, was conquered; and both now remain subject to Bolabola; the chiefs who govern them being only deputies of Opoony, the sovereign of that island. In the reduction of the two islands, five battles were fought, at different places, in which great numbers were slain on both sides.

Such was the account we received. I have more than once remarked, how very imperfectly these people recollect the exact dates of past events. And with regard to this war, though it happened not many years ago, we could only guess at the time of its commencement and its conclusion, from collateral circumstances, furnished by our own observation, as the natives could not satisfy our inquiries with any precision. The final conquest of Ulietea, which closed the war, we know, had been made before I was there in the Endeavour, in 1769; but we may infer, that peace had not been very long restored, as we could see marks of recent hostilities having been committed upon that island. Some additional light may be thrown upon this inquiry, by attending to the age of Teereetareea, the present chief of Huaheine. His looks showed, that he was not above ten or twelve years old; and we were informed, that his father had been killed at one of the battles. As to the time when the war began, we had no better rule for judging than this, that the young people of about twenty years of age, of whom we made inquiries, could scarcely remember the first battles: and I have already mentioned, that Omai's countrymen, whom we found at Wateeo[illegible] nothing of this war; so that its commencement was subsequent to their voyage.

Ever since the conquest of Ulietea and Otaha, the Bolabola men have been considered by their neighbours as invincible; and such is the extent of their fame, that even at Otaheite, which is almost out of their reach, if they are not dreaded, they are at least respected for their valour. It is said, that they never fly in battle, and that they always beat an equal number of the other islanders. But, besides these advantages, their neighbours seem to ascribe a great deal to the superiority of their god, who, they believed, detained us at Ulietea by contrary winds, as being unwilling that we should visit an island under his special protection. How high the Bolabola men are now in estimation at Otaheite, may be inferred from Monsieur de Bougainville's anchor having been conveyed to them. To the same cause we must ascribe the intention of transporting to their island the Spanish bull. And they had already got possession of a third European curiosity, the male of another animal, brought to Otaheite by the Spaniards. We had been much puzzled, by the imperfect description of the natives, to guess what this could be. But Captain Clerke's deserters, when brought back from Bolabola, told me, that the animal had been there shown to them, and that it was a ram. It seldom happens but that some good arises out of evil; and if our two men had not deserted, I should not have known this. In consequence of their information, at the same time that I landed to meet Opoony, I carried ashore a ewe, which we had brought from the Cape of Good Hope; and I hope that, by this present, I have laid the foundation for a breed of sheep at Bolabola. I also left at Ulietea, under the care of Oreo, an English boar and sow, and two goats. So that, not only Otaheite, but all the neighbouring islands will, in a few years, have their race of hogs considerably improved; and, probably, be stocked with all the valuable animals which have been transported hither by their European visitors. When once this comes to pass, no part of the world will equal these islands in variety and abundance of refreshments for navigators. Indeed, even in their present state, I know no place that excels them. After repeated trials, in the course of several voyages, we find, when they are not disturbed by intestine broils, but live in amity with one another, which has been the case for some years past, that their productions are in the greatest plenty; and, particularly, the most valuable of all the articles, their hogs.

If we had had a larger assortment of goods, and a sufficient quantity of salt on board, I make no doubt that we might have salted as much pork as would have served both ships near twelve months. But our visiting the Friendly Islands, and our long stay at Otaheite and the neighbourhood, quite exhausted our trading commodities; particularly our axes, with which alone hogs, in general, were to be purchased. And we had hardly salt enough to cure fifteen puncheons of meat. Of these, five were added to our stock of provisions at the Friendly Islands, and the other ten at Otaheite. Captain Clerke also salted a propor-

tionable quantity for his ship. The process was the same that had been adopted by me in my last voyage; and it may be worth while to describe it again. The hogs were killed in the evening; as soon as they were cleaned they were cut up, the bones taken out, and the meat salted when it was hot. It was then laid in such a position as to permit the juices to drain from it, till the next morning, when it was again salted, packed into a cask, and covered with pickle. Here it remained for four or five days, or a week; after which it was taken out and examined, piece by piece, and if there was any found to be in the least tainted, as sometimes happened, it was separated from the rest, which was repacked into another cask, headed up, and filled with good pickle. In about eight or ten days' time it underwent a second examination; but this seemed unnecessary, as the whole was generally found to be perfectly cured. A mixture of bay and of white salt answers the best, but either of them will do alone. Great care should be taken that none of the large blood-vessels remain in the meat; nor must too great a quantity be packed together at the first salting, lest the pieces in the middle should heat, and by that means prevent the salt from penetrating them. This once happened to us, when we killed a larger quantity than usual. Rainy, sultry weather, is unfavourable for salting meat in tropical climates.

Perhaps the frequent visits Europeans have lately made to these islanders may be one great inducement to their keeping a large stock of hogs, as they have had experience enough to know, that whenever we come, they may be sure of getting from us what they esteem a valuable consideration for them. At Otaheite, they expect the return of the Spaniards every day; and they will look for the English two or three years hence, not only there but at the other islands. It is to no purpose to tell them that you will not return: they think you must; though not one of them knows, or will give himself the trouble to inquire the reason of your coming.

I own I cannot avoid expressing it as my real opinion, that it would have been far better for these poor people never to have known our superiority in the accommodations and arts that make life comfortable, than, after once knowing it, to be again left and abandoned to their original incapacity of improvement. Indeed, they cannot be restored to that happy mediocrity in which they lived before we discovered them, if the intercourse between us should be discontinued. It seems to me that it has become, in a manner, incumbent on the Europeans to visit them once in three or four years, in order to supply them with those conveniences which we have introduced among them, and have given them a predilection for. The want of such occasional supplies will, probably, be very heavily felt by them, when it may be too late to go back to their old less perfect contrivances, which they now despise, and have discontinued, since the introduction of ours. For, by the time that the iron tools, of which they are now possessed, are worn out, they will have almost lost the knowledge of their own. A stone hatchet is, at present, as rare a thing amongst them as an iron one was eight years ago; and a chisel of bone, or stone, is not to be seen. Spike-nails have supplied the place of the last; and they are weak enough to fancy that they have got an inexhaustible store of them, for these were not now at all sought after. Sometimes, however, nails, much smaller than a spike, would still be taken in exchange for fruit. Knives happened, at present, to be in great esteem at Ulietea; and axes and hatchets remained unrivalled by any other of our commodities at all the islands. With respect to articles of mere ornament, these people are as changeable as any of the polished nations of Europe; so that what pleases their fancy while a fashion is in vogue, may be rejected when another whim has supplanted it. But our iron tools are so strikingly useful, that they will, we may confidently pronounce, continue to prize them highly; and be completely miserable if, neither possessing the materials, nor trained up to the art of fabricating them, they should cease to receive supplies of what may now be considered as having become necessary to their comfortable existence.

Otaheite, though not comprehended in the number of what we have called the Society Islands, being inhabited by the same race of men, agreeing in the same leading features of character and manners, it was fortunate that we happened to discover this principal island before the others, as the friendly and hospitable reception we there met with, of course, led us to make it the principal place of resort in our successive visits to this part of the Pacific

Ocean. By the frequency of this intercourse, we have had better opportunities of knowing something about it and its inhabitants, than about the other similar, but less considerable islands in its vicinity. Of these, however, we have seen enough to satisfy us that all that we observed and have related of Otaheite, may, with trifling variations, be applied to them. Too much seems to have been already known, and published in our former relations, about some of the modes of life that made Otaheite so agreeable an abode to many on board our ships; and if I could add any finishing strokes to a picture, the outlines of which have been already drawn with sufficient accuracy, I should still have hesitated to make this journal the place for exhibiting a view of licentious manners, which could only serve to disgust those for whose information I write. There are, however, many parts of the domestic, political, and religious institutions of these people, which, after all our visits to them, are but imperfectly understood. The foregoing narrative of the incidents that happened during our stay, will probably be thought to throw some additional light; and, for further satisfaction, I refer to Mr. Anderson's remarks.

Amidst our various subordinate employments while at these islands, the great objects of our duty were always attended to. No opportunity was lost of making astronomical and nautical observations; from which the following table was drawn up:

Place.	Latitude. South.	Longitude. East.	Variation of the Compass.	Dip of the Needle.
Matavai Point, Otaheite	17° 29¼′	210° 22′ 28″	5° 34′ East	29° 12′
Owharree Harbour, Huaheine	16 42¾	208 52 24	5 13½ East	28 28
Ohamaneno Harbour, Ulietea	16 45½	208 25 22	6 19 East	29 5

The longitude of the three several places is deduced from the mean of 145 sets of observations made on shore; some at one place and some at another; and carried on to each of the stations by the time-keeper. As the situation of these places was very accurately settled during my former voyages, the above observations were now made chiefly with a view of determining how far a number of lunar observations might be depended upon, and how near they would agree with those made upon the same spot in 1769, which fixed Matavai Point to be 210° 27′ 30″. The difference, it appears, is only of 5′ 2″; and, perhaps, no other method could have produced a more perfect agreement. Without pretending to say which of the two computations is the nearest the truth, the longitude of 210° 22′ 28″, or, which is the same thing, 208° 25′ 22″, will be the longitude we shall reckon from with the time-keeper, allowing it to be losing, on mean time, 1.60″ each day, as found by the mean of all the observations made at these islands for that purpose.

On our arrival at Otaheite, the error of the time-keeper in longitude was,

By Greenwich rate	1° 18′ 58″
Tongataboo rate	0 16 40

Some observations were also made on the tide; particularly at Otaheite and Ulietea; with a view of ascertaining its greatest rise at the first place. When we were there, in my second voyage, Mr. Wales thought he had discovered that it rose higher than I had observed it to do, when I first visited Otaheite in 1769. But the observations we now made, proved that it did not; that is, that it never rose higher than twelve or fourteen inches at most. And it was observed to be high-water nearly at noon, as well at the quadratures, as at the full and change of the moon.

To verify this, the following observations were made at Ulietea:

Day of the Month.	Water at stand, from	to	Mean time of High Water.	Perpendicular rise.
No. 6.	11 15^m	12^h 20^m	11^h 48^m	5, 5 in.
7.	11 40	1 0	12 20	5, 2
8.	11 35	12 50	12 12	5, 0
9.	11 40	1 16	12 28	5, 5
10.	11 25	1 10	12 18	6, 5
11.	12 0	1 40	12 20	5, 0
12.	11 0	1 5	12 2	5, 7
13.	9 30	11 40	10 35	8, 0
14.	11 10	12 50	12 0	8, 0
15.	9 20	11 30	10 25	9, 2
16.	10 0	12 0	11 0	9, 0

Day of the Month.	Water at stand, from	to	Mean time of High Water.	Perpendicular rise.
No. 17.	10^h 45^m	12^h 15^m	11^h 30^m	8, 5 in.
18.	10 25	12 10	11 18	9, 0
19.	11 0	1 0	12 0	8, 0
20.	11 30	2 0	12 45	7, 0
21.	11 0	1 0	12 0	8, 0
22.	11 30	1 7	12 18	8, 0
23.	12 0	1 30	12 45	6, 5
24.	11 30	1 40	12 35	5, 5
25.	11 40	1 50	12 45	4, 7
26.	11 0	1 30	12 15	5, 2

Having now finished all that occurs to me with regard to these islands, which make so conspicuous a figure in the list of our discoveries, the reader will permit me to suspend the prosecution of my Journal, while he pursues the following chapter, for which I am indebted to Mr. Anderson.

CHAPTER IX.—ACCOUNTS OF OTAHEITE STILL IMPERFECT.—THE PREVAILING WINDS.—BEAUTY OF THE COUNTRY.—CULTIVATION.—NATURAL CURIOSITIES.—THE PERSONS OF THE NATIVES.—DISEASES.—GENERAL CHARACTER.—LOVE OF PLEASURE.—LANGUAGE.—SURGERY AND PHYSIC.—ARTICLES OF FOOD.—EFFECTS OF DRINKING AVA.—TIMES AND MANNER OF EATING.—CONNEXIONS WITH THE FEMALES.—CIRCUMCISION.—SYSTEM OF RELIGION.—NOTIONS ABOUT THE SOUL AND A FUTURE LIFE.—VARIOUS SUPERSTITIONS.—TRADITIONS ABOUT THE CREATION.—AN HISTORICAL LEGEND.—HONOURS PAID TO THE KING.—DISTINCTION OF RANKS.—PUNISHMENT OF CRIMES.—PECULIARITIES OF THE NEIGHBOURING ISLANDS.—NAMES OF THEIR GODS.—NAMES OF ISLANDS THEY VISIT.—EXTENT OF THEIR NAVIGATION.

"To what has been said of Otaheite, in the accounts of the successive voyages of Captain Wallis, Monsieur de Bougainville, and Captain Cook, it would, at first sight, seem superfluous to add anything; as it might be supposed, that little could be now produced, but a repetition of what has been told before. I am, however, far from being of that opinion; and will venture to affirm, though a very accurate description of the country, and of the most obvious customs of its inhabitants, has been already given, especially by Captain Cook, that much still remains untouched; that, in some instances, mistakes have been made, which later and repeated observation has been able to rectify; and that, even now, we are strangers to many of the most important institutions that prevail amongst these people. The truth is, our visits, though frequent, have been but transient; many of us had no inclination to make inquiries; more of us were unable to direct our inquiries properly; and we all laboured, though not to the same degree, under the disadvantages attending an imperfect knowledge of the language of those from whom alone we could receive any information. The Spaniards had it more in their power to surmount this bar to instruction; some of them having resided at Otaheite much longer than any other European visitors *. As, with their superior advantages, they could not but have had an opportunity of obtaining the fullest information on most subjects relating to this island, their account of it would, probably, convey more authentic and accurate intelligence than, with our best endeavours, any of us could possibly obtain. But as I look upon it to be very uncertain, if not very unlikely, that we shall ever have any communication from that quarter, I have here put together what additional intelligence about Otaheite and its neigh-

* An account of the visit of these Spaniards to Otaheite is given in an appendix to a description of the province and archipelago of Chiloe, published in the Spanish language, in 1791, by P. Fray P. Gonz. de Agueros, from which the following particulars furnished in Burney's Voyages and Discoveries in the South Sea, 4to. 1816, vol. iv. p. 570, is derived. "In 1772, the viceroy of Peru, Don Manuel de Amat, sent two ships 'to make an exact survey of the many islands in the Pacific Ocean.' They saw a great number of islands, and visited Otaheite, whence they took two natives, who were carried to Lima and baptised by the names of Tomas Paulo and Manuel Amat. In 1774, another voyage was made from Peru to the islands, and two missionaries were sent with the two natives. A house was built at the smaller division of Otaheite for the missionaries, whom the eries or chiefs took under their protection. Before the Spanish ships departed, the commander called a meeting of the chiefs, to whom he described the grandeur of his sovereign, and informed them of his right to all the islands. 'The natives,' the account says, 'demonstrated great complaisance, and by acclamation acknowledged the king of Spain king of Otaheite and all the islands.' Whereupon the Spanish captain informed them, that if they preserved their fidelity and fulfilled their promises, they should be frequently visited by the ships of the king of Spain. The captain of one of the ships died and was buried on shore. In January 1775, the ships departed to return to Peru. They took two other islanders with them. Thomas Paulo, it appears, had profited little from the instruction given him; he rather chose to profit by his native habits, for he robbed the missionary house and absconded."

This account differs slightly from that given p. 164, where it is stated, and probably correctly, that the missionaries were left on the first visit of the Spanish ships, and taken away on the second. The Spaniards do not appear to have attempted a third expedition, nor, beyond making many particular inquiries concerning the position of the neighbouring islands, to have interested themselves much in affording instruction to the natives, or in investigating the products of the island, or the manners of its inhabitants.—Ed.

bouring islands I was able to procure, either from Omai while on board the ship, or by conversing with the other natives while we remained amongst them.

The wind, for the greatest part of the year, blows from between east-south-east, and east-north-east. This is the true trade-wind, or what the natives call *Maaraee;* and it sometimes blows with considerable force. When this is the case, the weather is often cloudy, with showers of rain; but when the wind is more moderate, it is clear, settled, and serene. If the wind should veer farther to the southward, and become south-east, or south-south-east, it then blows more gently, with a smooth sea, and is called *Maoai.* In those months, when the sun is nearly vertical, that is, in December and January, the winds and weather are both very variable; but it frequently blows from west-north-west, or north-west. This wind is what they call *Toerou;* and is generally attended by dark cloudy weather, and frequently by rain. It sometimes blows strong, though generally moderate; but seldom lasts longer than five or six days without interruption; and is the only wind in which the people of the islands to leeward come to this, in their canoes. If it happens to be still more northerly, it blows with less strength, and has the different appellation of *Erapotai;* which they feign to be the wife of the *Toerou;* who, according to their mythology, is a male.

The wind from south-west, and west-south-west, is still more frequent than the former; and though it is, in general, gentle, and interrupted by calms, or breezes from the eastward, yet it sometimes blows in brisk squalls. The weather attending it is commonly dark, cloudy, and rainy, with a close hot air; and often accompanied by a great deal of lightning and thunder. It is called *Etoa,* and often succeeds the *Toerou;* as does also the *Farooa,* which is still more southerly, and, from its violence, blows down houses and trees, especially the cocoa-palms, from their loftiness; but it is only of short duration. The natives seem not to have a very accurate knowledge of these changes, and yet pretend to have drawn some general conclusions from their effects; for they say when the sea has a hollow sound, and dashes slowly on the shore, or rather on the reef without, that it portends good weather; but, if it has a sharp sound, and the waves succeed each other fast, that the reverse will happen.

Perhaps there is scarcely a spot in the universe that affords a more luxuriant prospect than the south-east part of Otaheite. The hills are high and steep; and, in many places, craggy. But they are covered to the very summits with trees and shrubs, in such a manner, that the spectator can scarcely help thinking that the very rocks possess the property of producing and supporting their verdant clothing. The flat land which bounds those hills toward the sea, and the interjacent valleys, also teem with various productions that grow with the most exuberant vigour; and at once fill the mind of the beholder with the idea that no place upon earth can outdo this in the strength and beauty of vegetation. Nature has been no less liberal in distributing rivulets, which are found in every valley; and as they approach the sea, often divide into two or three branches, fertilising the flat lands through which they run. The habitations of the natives are scattered, without order, upon the flats; and many of them appearing toward the shore, presented a delightful scene, viewed from our ships; especially as the sea, within the reef, which bounds the coast, is perfectly still, and affords a safe navigation at all times for the inhabitants, who are often seen paddling in their canoes indolently along, in passing from place to place, or in going to fish. On viewing these charming scenes, I have often regretted my inability to transmit to those who have had no opportunity of seeing them, such a description as might, in some measure, convey an impression similar to what must be felt by every one who has been fortunate enough to be upon the spot.

It is, doubtless, the natural fertility of the country, combined with the mildness and serenity of the climate, that renders the natives so careless in their cultivation, that, in many places, though overflowing with the richest productions, the smallest traces of it cannot be observed. The cloth plant, which is raised by seeds brought from the mountains, and the *ava,* or intoxicating pepper, which they defend from the sun when very young, by covering them with leaves of the bread-fruit-tree, are almost the only things to which they seem to pay any attention; and these they keep very clean. I have inquired very carefully into

their manner of cultivating the bread-fruit-tree; but was always answered, that they never planted it. This, indeed, must be evident to every one who will examine the places where the young trees come up. It will be always observed, that they spring from the roots of the old ones, which run along near the surface of the ground. So that the bread-fruit-trees may be reckoned those that would naturally cover the plains, even supposing that the island was not inhabited; in the same manner that the white-barked trees, found at Van Diemen's Land, constitute the forests there. And from this we may observe, that the inhabitant of Otaheite, instead of being obliged to plant his bread, will rather be under a necessity of preventing its progress; which I suppose is sometimes done, to give room for trees of another sort, to afford him some variety in his food. The chief of these are the cocoa-nut and plantain; the first of which can give no trouble, after it has raised itself a foot or two above the ground; but the plantain requires a little more care. For, after it is planted, it shoots up, and, in about three months, begins to bear fruit; during which time it gives young shoots, which supply a succession of fruit. For the old stocks are cut down, as the fruit is taken off.

The products of the island, however, are not so remarkable for their variety as great abundance; and curiosities of any kind are not numerous. Amongst these we may reckon a pond or lake of fresh water, at the top of one of the highest mountains, to go to and to return from which takes three or four days. It is remarkable for its depth, and has eels of an enormous size in it, which are sometimes caught by the natives, who go upon this water in little floats of two or three wild plantain-trees fastened together. This is esteemed one of the greatest natural curiosities of the country; insomuch, that travellers who come from the other islands are commonly asked, amongst the first things by their friends at their return, if they have seen it. There is also a sort of water of which there is only one small pond upon the island, as far distant as the lake, and to appearance very good, with a yellow sediment at the bottom; but it has a bad taste, and proves fatal to those who drink any quantity; or makes them break out in blotches if they bathe in it.

Nothing could make a stronger impression at first sight on our arrival here, than the remarkable contrast between the robust make and dark colour of the people of Tongataboo, and a sort of delicacy and whiteness which distinguish the inhabitants of Otaheite. It was even some time before that difference could preponderate in favour of the Otaheitans; and then only, perhaps because we became accustomed to them, the marks which had recommended the others began to be forgotten. Their women, however, struck us as superior in every respect; and as possessing all those delicate characteristics which distinguish them from the other sex in many countries. The beard, which the men here wear long, and the hair which is not cut so short as is the fashion at Tongataboo, made also a great difference; and we could not help thinking, that on every occasion they showed a greater degree of timidity and fickleness. The muscular appearance so common amongst the Friendly Islanders, and which seems a consequence of their being accustomed to much action, is lost here, where the superior fertility of their country enables the inhabitants to lead a more indolent life; and its place is supplied by a plumpness and smoothness of the skin, which, though perhaps more consonant with our ideas of beauty, is no real advantage, as it seems attended with a kind of languor in all their motions not observable in the others. This observation is fully verified in their boxing and wrestling, which may be called little better than the feeble efforts of children, if compared to the vigour with which these exercises are performed at the Friendly Islands.

Personal endowments being in great esteem amongst them, they have recourse to several methods of improving them, according to their notions of beauty. In particular it is a practice, especially amongst the *Erreoes*, or unmarried men of some consequence, to undergo a kind of physical operation to render them fair. This is done by remaining a month or two in the house; during which time they wear a great quantity of clothes, eat nothing but bread-fruit, to which they ascribe a remarkable property in whitening them. They also speak as if their corpulence and colour, at other times, depended upon their food; as they are obliged, from the change of seasons, to use different sorts at different times. Their common diet is made up of at least nine-tenths of vegetable food; and, I believe, more particularly the *mahee* or

fermented bread-fruit, which enters almost every meal, has a remarkable effect upon them, preventing a costive habit, and producing a very sensible coolness about them, which could not be perceived in us who fed on animal food. And it is perhaps owing to this temperate course of life that they have so few diseases among them. They only reckon five or six, which might be called chronic, or national disorders; amongst which are the dropsy, and the *fefai*, or indolent swellings before mentioned as frequent at Tongataboo. But this was before the arrival of the Europeans; for we have added to this short catalogue a disease which abundantly supplies the place of all others, and is now almost universal. For this they seem to have no effectual remedy. The priests, indeed, sometimes give them a medley of simples; but they own that it never cures them. And yet they allow that, in a few cases, nature, without the assistance of a physician, exterminates the poison of this fatal disease, and a perfect recovery is produced. They say that if a man is infected with it, he will often communicate it to others in the same house, by feeding out of the same utensils, or handling them; and that in this case, they frequently die while he recovers; though we see no reason why this should happen.

Their behaviour on all occasions seems to indicate a great openness and generosity of disposition. Omai, indeed, who as their countryman should be supposed rather willing to conceal any of their defects, has often said that they are sometimes cruel in punishing their enemies. According to his representation they torment them very deliberately; at one time tearing out small pieces of flesh from different parts, at another taking out the eyes, then cutting off the nose, and lastly killing them by opening the belly. But this only happens on particular occasions. If cheerfulness argues a conscious innocence, one would suppose that their life is seldom sullied by crimes. This, however, I rather impute to their feelings, which, though lively, seem in no case permanent; for I never saw them in any misfortune labour under the appearance of anxiety after the critical moment was past. Neither does care ever seem to wrinkle their brow. On the contrary, even the approach of death does not appear to alter their usual vivacity. I have seen them, when brought to the brink of the grave by disease, and when preparing to go to battle; but in neither case ever observed their countenances overclouded with melancholy or serious reflection.

Such a disposition leads them to direct all their aims only to what can give them pleasure and ease. Their amusements all tend to excite and continue their amorous passions; and their songs, of which they are immoderately fond, answer the same purpose. But as a constant succession of sensual enjoyments must cloy, we found that they frequently varied them to more refined subjects, and had much pleasure in chanting their triumphs in war, and their occupations in peace; their travels to other islands, and adventures there; and the peculiar beauties and superior advantages of their own island over the rest, or of different parts of it over other less favourable districts. This marks that they receive great delight from music; and though they rather expressed a dislike to our complicated compositions, yet were they always delighted with the more melodious sounds produced singly on our instruments, as approaching nearer to the simplicity of their own.

Neither are they strangers to the soothing effects produced by particular sorts of motion; which, in some cases, seem to allay any perturbation of mind with as much success as music. Of this, I met with a remarkable instance. For on walking one day about Matavai Point, where our tents were erected, I saw a man paddling in a small canoe, so quickly, and looking about him with such eagerness on each side, as to command all my attention. At first I imagined he had stolen something from one of the ships, and was pursued; but, on waiting patiently, saw him repeat his amusement. He went out from the shore, till he was near the place where the swell begins to take its rise; and, watching its first motion very attentively, paddled before it with great quickness, till he found that it overlooked him, and had acquired sufficient force to carry his canoe before it, without passing underneath. He then sat motionless, and was carried along, at the same swift rate as the wave, till it landed him upon the beach. Then he started out, emptied his canoe, and went in search of another swell. I could not help concluding that this man felt the most supreme pleasure, while he was driven on so fast and so smoothly by the sea; especially as, though the tents and ships were so near, he did not seem in the least to envy, or even to take

any notice of, the crowds of his countrymen collected to view them as objects which were rare and curious. During my stay, two or three of the natives came up, who seemed to share his felicity, and always called out when there was an appearance of a favourable swell, as he sometimes missed it, by his back being turned, and looking about for it. By them I understood that this exercise, which is called *choroee*, was frequent amongst them; and they have probably more amusements of this sort, which afford them at least as much pleasure as skaiting, which is the only one of ours with whose effects I could compare it *.

The language of Otaheite, though doubtless radically the same with that of New Zealand and the Friendly Islands, is destitute of that guttural pronunciation, and of some consonants, with which those latter dialects abound. The specimens we have already given, are sufficient to mark wherein the variation chiefly consists, and to show that, like the manners of the inhabitants, it has become soft and soothing. During the former voyage, I had collected a copious vocabulary, which enabled me the better to compare this dialect with that of the other islands; and, during this voyage, I took every opportunity of improving my acquaintance with it, by conversing with Omai before we arrived, and by my daily intercourse with the natives while we now remained there. It abounds with beautiful and figurative expressions, which, were it perfectly known, would, I have no doubt, put it upon a level with many of the languages that are most in esteem for their warmth and bold images. For instance, the Otaheitans express their notions of death very emphatically, by saying, "That the soul goes into darkness; or rather into night." And, if you seem to entertain any doubt in asking the question, "if such a person is their mother," they immediately reply with surprise, "Yes; the mother that bore me." They have one expression that corresponds exactly with the phraseology of the Scriptures, where we read of the "yearning of the bowels." They use it on all occasions, when the passions give them uneasiness; as they constantly refer pain from grief, anxious desire, and other affections, to the bowels, as its seat; where they likewise suppose all operations of the mind are performed. Their language admits of that inverted arrangement of words which so much distinguishes the Latin and Greek from most of our modern European tongues, whose imperfections require a more orderly construction, to prevent ambiguities. It is so copious, that for the bread-fruit alone, in its different states, they have above twenty names; as many for the *taro* root; and about ten for the cocoa-nut. Add to this, that, besides the common dialect, they often expostulate, in a kind of stanza or recitative, which is answered in the same manner.

Their arts are few and simple; yet, if we may credit them, they perform cures in surgery which our extensive knowledge in that branch has not as yet enabled us to imitate. In simple fractures they bind them up with splints; but if part of the substance of the bone be lost, they insert a piece of wood between the fractured ends, made hollow like the deficient part. In five or six days the *rapaoo*, or surgeon, inspects the wound, and finds the wood partly covered with the growing flesh. In as many more days it is generally entirely covered; after which, when the patient has acquired some strength, he bathes in the water and recovers. We know that wounds will heal over leaden bullets; and sometimes, though rarely, over other extraneous bodies. But what makes me entertain some doubt of the

* This sport was more frequently practised with a board generally about five or six feet long, and rather more than a foot wide, sometimes flat, but more frequently slightly convex on both sides; the management of a canoe in such circumstances requiring a greater degree of skill than the *papa fahee*, or surf-board. Great numbers would join in this amusement, which was common at the Sandwich as well as the Society Islands, openings in the reef or the entrance to some of the bays being generally chosen as the scene of the sport, which was partaken by young, old, the common people, and the most dignified chiefs and members of the royal family. The only danger apprehended was from sharks, for whom a bright look out was kept; the cry of *moo*, a shark, once raised, was echoed throughout the assembly, who rushed to the shore, while endeavouring to alarm their dreaded enemy by shouts and splashing the water around them. This in common with all the other "sources of entertainment, in their juvenile or more advanced periods of life," has been discouraged among the Tahitians since their conversion to Christianity. Mr. Ellis, after giving a particular account of their different sports and amusements, tells us that "with the exception of one or two they have all, however, been discontinued, especially among the adults; and the number of those followed by the children" (even to their swings and kites, both which are spoken of in the past tense), "is greatly diminished." This Mr. Ellis considers to be "on no account matter of regret." The abolition of all the superstitious and occasionally obscene rites which were connected with some of these games was undoubtedly necessary, but the total abolition of all kinds of sports, especially in such a clime and among such a people, appears to us a proceeding of very doubtful policy.—Ed.

truth of so extraordinary skill, as in the above instance, is, that in other cases which fell under my own observation, they are far from being so dexterous. I have seen the stump of an arm, which was taken off after being shattered by a fall from a tree, that bore no marks of skilful operation, though some allowance be made for their defective instruments. And I met with a man going about with a dislocated shoulder, some months after the accident, from their being ignorant of a method to reduce it; though this be considered as one of the simplest operations of our surgery. They know that fractures or luxations of the spine are mortal, but not fractures of the skull; and they likewise know, from experience, in what parts of the body wounds prove fatal. They have sometimes pointed out those inflicted by spears, which, if made in the direction they mentioned, would certainly have been pronounced deadly by us; and yet these people have recovered. Their physical knowledge seems more confined; and that, probably, because their diseases are fewer than their accidents. The priests, however, administer the juices of herbs in some cases; and women who are troubled with after-pains, or other disorders after child-bearing, use a remedy which one would think needless in a hot country. They first heat stones, as when they bake their food; then they lay a thick cloth over them, upon which is put a quantity of a small plant of the mustard kind; and these are covered with another cloth. Upon this they seat themselves, and sweat plentifully, to obtain a cure. The men have practised the same method for the venereal *lues*, but find it ineffectual. They have no emetic medicines*.

Notwithstanding the extreme fertility of the island, a famine frequently happens, in

* Mr. Ellis bears ample testimony as to the surgical skill possessed by the Otaheitans, and relates some facts so singular, that whilst we feel bound to transcribe them, we must do so without comment. He informs us that "the diseases formerly prevailing among the South Sea Islanders were comparatively few; those they now suffer are principally pulmonary, intermittent, and cutaneous." The priests were the physicians, and "an invocation to some spirit or god attended the administration of every medicine. No animal or mineral substances were admitted into their pharmacopœia; vegetable substances alone were used, and these simply pulverized, infused, heated on the fire or with red hot stones, and often fermented. Many of their applications, however, were powerful, especially a species of gourd or wild cucumber.

"There were persons among them celebrated as oculists, but their skill principally consisted in removing foreign substances from the eye; and when applied to for this purpose, they, as well as others, received the payment or fee before they commenced their operations; but if the present did not please them, they, to satisfy their employers, sometimes took one splinter, &c., out of the eye, and left another in, that they might be sent for again. Their surgeons were remarkably dexterous in closing a cut or thrust, by drawing the edges carefully together, and applying the pungent juice of the ape, *arum costatum*, to the surface. This, acting like caustic, must have caused great pain. A fractured limb they set without much trouble; applying splinters of bamboo-cane to the sides, and keeping it bound up till healed. A dislocation they usually succeeded in reducing; but the other parts of their surgical practice were marked by a rude promptness, temerity, and barbarism, almost incredible. A man one day fell from a tree and dislocated some part of his neck. His companions, on perceiving it, instantly took him up; one of them placed his head between his own knees and held it firmly, while the others, taking hold of his body, twisted the joint into its proper place. On another occasion a number of young men, in the district of Tare, were carrying large stones suspended from each end of a pole across their shoulders, their usual mode of carrying a burden: one of them so injured the vertebræ as to be almost unable to move; he had, as they expressed it, *fati to tua*, broken the back. His fellow workmen laid him flat on his face on the grass, one grasped and pulled his shoulders, and the other his legs, while a third actually pressed with both knees his whole weight upon the back, where the bones appeared displaced. It was not far from Mr. Barff's house where the accident occurred, and observing the people assembled, he went to inquire the cause, and saw them thus engaged. On his asking what they were doing, they coolly replied, that they were only straightening the man's back, which had been broken with carrying stones. The vertebræ appeared to be replaced; they bound a long girdle repeatedly round the body, led him home, and without any other treatment, in a short time, able to resume his employment.

"The operation of trepanning they sometimes attempted, and say they have practised it with success. It is reported that there are persons living in the island of Borabora on whom it has been performed, or at least an operation very much resembling it: the bones of the skull having been fractured in battle, they have cleared away the skin and coverings, and, having removed the fractured piece of bone, have carefully fitted in a piece of cocoa-nut shell, and replaced the covering and skin; on the healing of which the man has recovered. I never saw any individual who had undergone this operation, but, from the concurrent testimony of the people, I have no doubt they have performed it. It is also related, although I confess I can scarcely believe it, that on some occasions, when the brain has been injured as well as the bone, they have opened the skull, taken out the injured portion of the brain, and, having a pig ready, have killed it, taken out the pig's brains, put them in the man's head, and covered them up. They persist in stating that this has been done; but add, that the persons always became furious with madness, and died. They had no idea of phlebotomy as a remedy for disease, but were clever at lancing an abscess, which was generally effected with the thorn from a kind of bramble, or a shark's tooth.

"However great the influence of those persons who administered medicine, or practised surgery, might formerly have been, it has entirely ceased since the people have been acquainted with the more certain and efficacious application of English remedies. Like the priests in their temples formerly, the minister of their religion, at every station, is now sought in all cases of sickness as their physician; and no small portion of our time was occupied in administering medicine, so far as our scanty means would admit."—Ellis's Polynesian Researches, vol. 3, pp. 37, 42, 44.

which, it is said, many perish. Whether this be owing to the failure of some seasons, to over population, which must sometimes almost necesssarily happen, or to wars, I have not been able to determine; though the truth of the fact may be fairly inferred, from the great economy that they observe with respect to their food, even when there is plenty. In times of scarcity, after their bread-fruit and yams are consumed, they have recourse to various roots which grow without cultivation upon the mountains. The *patarra*, which is found in vast quantities, is what they use first. It is not unlike a very large potatoe or yam, and good when in its growing state; but when old is full of hard stringy fibres. They then eat two other roots, one not unlike *taro;* and lastly, the *ehoee.* This is of two sorts; one of them possessing deleterious qualities, which obliges them to slice and macerate it in water a night before they bake and eat it. In this respect it resembles the *cassava* root of the West Indies; but it forms a very insipid, moist paste, in the manner they dress it. However, I have seen them eat it at times when no such scarcity reigned. Both this and the *patarra* are creeping plants; the last with ternate leaves.

Of animal food a very small portion falls, at any time, to the share of the lower class of people; and then it is either fish, sea-eggs, or other marine productions; for they seldom or ever eat pork. The *Eree de hoi** alone is able to furnish pork every day; and inferior chiefs, according to their riches, once a week, fortnight, or month. Sometimes they are not even allowed that; for when the island is impoverished by war, or other causes, the chief prohibits his subjects to kill any hogs; and this prohibition, we were told, is in force sometimes for several months, or even for a year or two. During that restraint the hogs multiply so fast, that there are instances of their changing their domestic state and turning wild. When it is thought proper to take off the prohibition, all the chiefs assemble at the king's place of abode; and each brings with him a present of hogs. The king then orders some of them to be killed, on which they feast; and, after that, every one returns home with liberty to kill what he pleases for his own use. Such a prohibition was actually in force on our arrival here; at least, in all those districts of the island that are immediately under the direction of Otoo. And, lest it should have prevented our going to Matavai after leaving Oheitepeha, he sent a message to assure us that it should be taken off as soon as the ships arrived there. With respect to us, we found it so; but we made such a consumption of them that, I have no doubt, it would be laid on again as soon as we sailed. A similar prohibition is also sometimes extended to fowls.

It is also amongst the better sort that the *ava* is chiefly used. But this beverage is prepared somewhat differently from that which we saw so much of at the Friendly Islands. For they pour a very small quantity of water upon the root here; and sometimes roast or bake and bruise the stalks, without chewing it previously to its infusion. They also use the leaves of the plant here, which are bruised and water poured upon them, as upon the root. Large companies do not assemble to drink it, in that sociable way which is practised at Tongataboo. But its pernicious effects are more obvious here; perhaps owing to the manner of preparing it; as we often saw instances of its intoxicating, or rather stupifying powers. Some of us who had been at these islands before, were surprised to find many people who, when we saw them last, were remarkable for their size and corpulency, now almost reduced to skeletons; and, upon inquiring into the cause of this alteration, it was universally allowed to be the use of the *ava.* The skins of these people were rough, dry, and covered with scales; which, they say, every now and then fall off, and their skin is, as it were, renewed. As an excuse for a practice so destructive, they allege that it is adopted to prevent their growing too fat; but it evidently enervates them, and in all probability shortens their days. As its effects had not been so visible during our former visits, it is not unlikely that this article of luxury had never been so much abused as at this time. If it continues to be so fashionable, it bids fair to destroy great numbers.

The times of eating, at Otaheite, are very frequent. Their first meal, or (as it may rather be called) their last, as they go to sleep after it, is about two o'clock in the morning;

* Mr. Anderson invariably, in his manuscript, writes *Eree de hoi.* According to Captain Cook's mode, it is *Eree rahie.* This is one of the numerous instances that perpetually occur of our people's representing the same word differently.—[See note, Vol. I., p. 106. Ed.

and the next is at eight. At eleven, they dine, and again, as Omai expressed it, at two, and at five; and sup at eight. In this article of domestic life, they have adopted some customs which are exceedingly whimsical. The women, for instance, have not only the mortification of being obliged to eat by themselves, and in a different part of the house from the men; but by a strange kind of policy, are excluded from a share of most of the better sorts of food. They dare not taste turtle, nor fish of the tunny kind, which is much esteemed; nor some particular sorts of the best plantains; and it is very seldom that even those of the first rank are suffered to eat pork. The children of each sex also eat apart; and the women, generally, serve up their own victuals; for they would certainly starve before any grown man would do them such an office. In this, as well as in some other customs relative to their eating, there is a mysterious conduct which we could never thoroughly comprehend. When we inquired into the reasons of it, we could get no other answer, but that it is right and necessary it should be so*.

In other customs respecting the females, there seems to be no such obscurity; especially as to their connexions with the men. If a young man and woman, from mutual choice, cohabit, the man gives the father of the girl such things as are necessary in common life; as hogs, cloth, or canoes, in proportion to the time they are together; and if he thinks that he has not been sufficiently paid for his daughter, he makes no scruple of forcing her to leave her friend, and to cohabit with another person, who may be more liberal. The man, on his part, is always at liberty to make a new choice; but should his consort become pregnant, he may kill the child; and, after that, either continue his connexion with the mother, or leave her. But if he should adopt the child, and suffer it to live, the parties are then considered as in the married state, and they commonly live together ever after. However, it is thought no crime in the man to join a more youthful partner to his first wife, and to live with both. The custom of changing their connexions is, however, much more general than this last; and it is a thing so common, that they speak of it with great indifference. The *Erreoes* are only those of the better sort, who, from their fickleness, and their possessing the means of purchasing a succession of fresh connexions, are constantly roaming about; and, from having no particular attachment, seldom adopt the more settled method mentioned above. And so agreeable is this licentious plan of life to their disposition, that the most beautiful of both sexes thus commonly spend their youthful days, habituated to the practice of enormities which would disgrace the most savage tribes; but are peculiarly shocking amongst a people whose general character, in other respects, has evident traces of the prevalence of humane and tender feelings. When an *Erreoe* woman is delivered of a child, a piece of cloth, dipped in water, is applied to the mouth and nose, which suffocates it.

As in such a life their women must contribute a very large share of its happiness, it is rather surprising, besides the humiliating restraints they are laid under with regard to food, to find them often treated with a degree of harshness, or rather brutality, which one would scarcely suppose a man would bestow on an object for whom he had the least affection. Nothing, however, is more common, than to see the men beat them without mercy; and,

* "The institutes of Oro and Tane, inexorably required, not only that the wife should not eat those kinds of food of which the husband partook, but that she should not eat in the same place, or prepare her food at the same fire. This restriction applied not only to the wife with regard to her husband, but to all the individuals of the female sex, from their birth to their death. In sickness or pain, or whatever other circumstances the mother, the wife, the sister or the daughter might be brought into, it was never relaxed. The men, especially those who occasionally attended on the service of idol worship in the temple, were considered *ra*, or sacred; while the female sex was considered *noa*, or common: the men were allowed to eat the flesh of the pig and of fowls, and a variety of fish, cocoa-nuts and plantains, and whatever was presented as an offering to the gods: these the females, on pain of death, were forbidden to touch, as it was supposed they would pollute them. The fires at which the men's food was cooked, were also sacred, and were forbidden to be used by the females. The baskets in which their provision was kept, and the house in which the men ate, were also sacred, and prohibited to the females under the same cruel penalty. Hence the inferior food, both for wives, daughters, &c., was cooked at separate fires, deposited in distinct baskets, and eaten in lonely solitude by the females, in little huts erected for the purpose. The most offensive and frequent imprecations, which the men were accustomed to use towards each other, referred also to this degraded condition of the females. *E taha miti noa oe na to medua!* Mayest thou become a bottle to hold salt water for thy mother! or another, Mayest thou be baked as food for thy mother! were imprecations they were accustomed to denounce upon each other; or, Take out your eye-ball and give it to your mother to eat. Their domestic habits were not only unsocial, but irregular, alike in their periods for refreshment and sleep, and their seasons of labour and amusement."—Ellis's Polynesian Researches, vol. i. p. 129.

unless this treatment is the effect of jealousy, which both sexes at least pretend to be sometimes infected with, it will be difficult to admit this as the motive, as I have seen several instances where the women have preferred personal beauty to interest; though I must own, that, even in these cases, they seem scarcely susceptible of those delicate sentiments that are the result of mutual affection; and, I believe, that there is less Platonic love in Otaheite than in any other country.

Cutting or inciding the fore-skin should be mentioned here as a practice adopted amongst them, from a notion of cleanliness; and they have a reproachful epithet in their language for those who do not observe that custom. When there are five or six lads, pretty well grown up in a neighbourhood, the father of one of them goes to a *Tahoua*, or man of knowledge, and lets him know. He goes with the lads to the top of the hills, attended by a servant; and seating one of them properly, introduces a piece of wood underneath the fore-skin, and desires him to look aside at something he pretends is coming. Having thus engaged the young man's attention to another object, he cuts through the skin upon the wood with a shark's tooth, generally at one stroke. He then separates, or rather turns back the divided parts; and, having put on a bandage, proceeds to perform the same operation on the other lads. At the end of five days they bathe, and the bandages being taken off, the matter is cleaned away. At the end of five days more, they bathe again, and are well; but a thickness of the prepuce where it was cut, remaining, they go again to the mountains with the *Tahoua* and servant; and a fire being prepared, and some stones heated, the *Tahoua* puts the prepuce between two of them, and squeezes it gently, which removes the thickness. They return home, having their heads and other parts of their bodies adorned with odoriferous flowers; and the *Tahoua* is rewarded for his services by their fathers, in proportion to their several abilities, with presents of hogs and cloth; and if they be poor, their relations are liberal on the occasion.

Their religious system is extensive, and, in many instances, singular; but few of the common people have a perfect knowledge of it; that being confined chiefly to their priests, who are pretty numerous *. They do not seem to pay any respect to one god as possessing

* "Among the multitude of their gods, there was no one whom they regarded as a supreme intelligence or presiding spiritual being, possessing any moral perfections, resembling those which are inseparable from every sentiment we entertain of the true God. Like the most ancient nations, they ascribe the origin of all things to a state of chaos, or darkness, and even the first existence of their principal deities refer to this source. Taoroa, Oro, and Tane, with other deities of the highest order, are on this account said to be *fanan po*, born of night. But the origin of the gods, and their priority of existence in comparison with the formation of the earth, being a matter of uncertainty even among the native priests, involves the whole in obscurity. Taaroa, the Tanaroa of the Hawaiians, and the Tangaroa of the Western Isles, is generally spoken of by the Tahitians as the first and principal god, uncreated, and existing from the beginning, or from the time he emerged from the *po*, or world of darkness.

"Several of their *taata-paari*, or wise men, pretend that, according to other traditions, Taaroa was only a man who was deified after death. By some he is spoken of as the progenitor of the other gods, the creator of the heavens, the earth, the sea, man, beasts, fowls, fishes, &c.; while by others it is stated, that the existence of the land, or the universe, was anterior to that of the gods.

"There does not appear to be anything in the Tahitian mythology corresponding with the doctrine of the Trinity, or the Hindoo traditions of Brahma, Vishnou, and Siva. Taaroa was the former and father of the gods; Oro was his first son: but there were three classes or orders between Taaroa and Oro. As in the theogony of the ancients, a bird was a frequent emblem of deity; and in the body of a bird they supposed the god often approached the marae, where it left the bird, and entered the *too*, or image, through which it was supposed to communicate with the priest. The inferior gods and men, the animals, the air, earth, and sea, were by some supposed to originate in the procreative power of the supreme god. One of the legends of their origin and descent, furnished to some of the missionaries, by whom it has been recorded, states, that Taaroa was born of night, or proceeded from chaos, and was not made by any other god. His consort, Ofeufeumaitorai, also uncreated, proceeded from the *po*, or night. Oro, the great national idol of Raiatea, Tahiti, Eimeo, and some other islands, was the son of Taaroa and Ofeufeumaitorai. Oro took a goddess to wife, who became the mother of two sons. These four male and two female deities constituted the whole of their highest rank of divinities, according to the traditions of the priests of Tahiti—though the late king informed Mr. Nott that there was another god, superior to them all, whose name was Rumia; he did not, however, meet with any of their priests or bards who knew anything about him. The tradition most generally received in the Windward Islands, ascribed the origin of the world, and all that adorn or inhabit it, to the procreative power of Taaroa, who is said to have embraced a rock, the imagined foundation of all things, which afterwards brought forth the earth and sea. It states that soon after this, the heralds of day, the dark and light blue sky, appeared before Taaroa, and solicited a soul for his offspring, the then inanimate universe. The foundation of all replied, It is done, and directed his son, the sky-producer, to accomplish his will. In obedience to the mandate of Taaroa, his son looked up into the heavens, and the heavens received the power of bringing forth new skies and clouds, sun moon and stars, thunder and lightning, rain and wind. He then looked downwards, and the unformed mass received the power to bring forth earth, mountains, rocks, trees, herbs and flowers, beasts, birds, and insects, fountains, rivers, and fish. Raitubu, or sky-producer, then looked to the abyss, and imparted to it

pre-eminence, but believe in a plurality of divinities, who are all very powerful; and in this case, as in different parts of the island, and the other islands in the neighbourhood, have different ones, the inhabitants of each, no doubt, think that they have chosen the most eminent, or, at least, one who is invested with power sufficient to protect them, and to supply all their wants. If he should not answer their expectations, they think it no impiety to change, as has very lately happened in Tiaraboo, where in the room of the two divinities formerly honoured there, Oraa, god of Bolabola, has been adopted, I should suppose, because he is the protector of a people who have been victorious in war; and as, since they have made this change, they have been very successful themselves against the inhabitants of *Otaheite-nooe*, they impute it entirely to *Oraa*, who, as they literally say, fights their battles. Their assiduity in serving their gods is remarkably conspicuous. Not only the *whattas*, or offering-places of the *morais*, are commonly loaded with fruit and animals, but there are few houses where you do not meet with a small place of the same sort near them. Many of them are so rigidly scrupulous, that they will not begin a meal without first laying aside a morsel for the *Eatooa;* and we had an opportunity, during this voyage, of seeing their superstitious zeal carried to a most pernicious height in the instance of human sacrifices; the occasions of offering which, I doubt, are too frequent. Perhaps they have recourse to them when misfortunes occur; for they asked if one of our men, who happened to be confined when we were detained by a contrary wind, was *taboo?* Their prayers are also very frequent, which they chant, much after the manner of the songs in their festive entertainments. And the women, as in other cases, are also obliged to show their inferiority in religious observances; for it is required of them that they should partly uncover themselves, as they pass the *morais;* or take a considerable circuit to avoid them. Though they have no notion that their god must always be conferring benefits without sometimes forgetting them, or suffering evil to befall them, they seem to regard this less than the attempts of some more inauspicious being to hurt them. They tell us that *Etee* is an evil spirit, who sometimes does them mischief; and to whom, as well as to their god, they make offerings. But the mischiefs they apprehend from any superior invincible beings, are confined to things merely temporal.

They believe the soul to be both immaterial and immortal. They say that it keeps fluttering about the lips during the pangs of death; and that then it ascends and mixes with, or, as they express it, is eaten by the deity. In this state it remains for some time; after which, it departs to a certain place destined for the reception of the souls of men, where it exists in eternal night; or, as they sometimes say, in twilight or dawn. They have no idea of any permanent punishment after death for crimes that they have committed on earth; for the souls of good and bad men are eat indiscriminately by God. But they certainly consider this coalition with the deity as a kind of purification necessary to be undergone, before they enter a state of bliss. For, according to their doctrine, if a man refrain from all connexion with women some months before death, he passes immediately into his eternal mansion without such a previous union; as if already by this abstinence he were pure enough to be exempted from the general lot. They are, however, far from entertaining those sublime conceptions of happiness which our religion, and, indeed, reason, gives us room to expect hereafter. The only great privilege they seem to think they shall acquire by death, is immortality; for they speak of spirits being, in some measure, not totally divested of those passions which actuated them when combined with material vehicles. Thus, if souls who were formerly enemies should meet, they have many conflicts; though, it should seem, to no purpose, as they are accounted invulnerable in this invisible state. There is a similar reasoning with regard to the meeting of man and wife. If the husband

power to bring forth the purple water, rocks and corals, and all the inhabitants of the ocean. Some of the gods are said to have been produced in the same way, namely, by the god Taaroa looking at the goddess his wife, who afterwards became the mother of his children.

"Raa was also ranked among the principal deities, although inferior to Taaroa and Oro, and he was supposed to be an independent being; but nothing of consequence is ascribed to him in the native fables. His wife, Otupapa, who was also a divinity, bore him three sons and two daughters. Tane, the tutelar idol of Huahine, was also numbered among the uncreated gods, considered as having proceeded from the state of night, or chaos. His goddess was called Taufai. They were the parents of eight sons, who were all cla..d with the most powerful gods, and received the highest honours."—Ellis's Polynesian Researches, vol. i., p. 326, 12mo. ed. 1831.

dies first, the soul of his wife is known to him on its arrival in the land of spirits. They resume their former acquaintance in a spacious house, called *Tourooa*, where the souls of the deceased assemble to recreate themselves with the gods. She then retires with him to his separate habitation, where they remain for ever, and have an offspring; which, however, is entirely spiritual; as they are neither married, nor are their embraces supposed to be the same as with corporeal beings.

Some of their notions about the deity are extravagantly absurd. They believe, that he is subject to the power of those very spirits to whom he has given existence; and that, in their turn, they frequently eat or devour him, though he possesses the power of recreating himself. They doubtless use this mode of expression, as they seem incapable of conversing about immaterial things without constantly referring to material objects to convey their meaning. And in this manner they continue the account, by saying, that, in the *Tourooa*, the deity inquires, if they intend or not to destroy him? And that he is not able to alter their determination. This is known to the inhabitants on earth, as well as to the spirits; for when the moon is in its wane, it is said, that they are then devouring their *Eatooa;* and that, as it increases, he is renewing himself. And to this accident, not only the inferior, but the most eminent gods are liable. They also believe that there are other places for the reception of souls at death. Thus, those who are drowned in the sea, remain there; where they think that there is a fine country, houses, and every thing that can make them happy. But what is more singular, they maintain that not only all other animals, but trees, fruit, and even stones, have souls, which at death, or upon being consumed or broken, ascend to the divinity, with whom they first mix, and afterwards pass into the mansion allotted to each.

They imagine that their punctual performance of religious offices procures for them every temporal blessing. And as they believe, that the animating and powerful influence of the divine spirit is everywhere diffused, it is no wonder that they join to this many superstitious opinions about its operations. Accordingly, they believe that sudden deaths, and all other accidents, are effected by the immediate action of some divinity. If a man only stumble against a stone and hurt his toe, they impute it to an *Eatooa;* so that they may be literally said, agreeable to their system, to tread enchanted ground. They are startled, in the night, on approaching a *toopapaoo*, where the dead are exposed, in the same manner that many of our ignorant and superstitious people are with the apprehensions of ghosts, and at the sight of a church-yard; and they have an equal confidence in dreams, which they suppose to be communications either from their god, or from the spirits of their departed friends, enabling those favoured with them to foretel future events; but this kind of knowledge is confined to particular people. Omai pretended to have this gift. He told us that the soul of his father had intimated to him in a dream, on the 26th of July, 1776, that he should go on shore, at some place, within three days; but he was unfortunate in this first attempt to persuade us that he was a prophet; for it was the 1st of August before we got into Teneriffe. Amongst them, however, the dreamers possess a reputation little inferior to that of their inspired priests and priestesses, whose predictions they implicitly believe, and are determined by them in all undertakings of consequence. The priestess who persuaded Opoony to invade Ulietea, is much respected by him; and he never goes to war without consulting her. They also, in some degree, maintain our old doctrine of planetary influence; at least, they are sometimes regulated, in their public counsels, by certain appearances of the moon; particularly when lying horizontally, or much inclined on the convex part, on its first appearance after the change, they are encouraged to engage in war, with confidence of success.

They have traditions concerning the creation, which, as might be expected, are complex and clouded with obscurity. They say, that a goddess, having a lump or mass of earth suspended in a cord, gave it a swing, and scattered about pieces of land, thus constituting Otaheite, and the neighbouring islands, which were all peopled by a man and a woman originally fixed at Otaheite. This, however, only respects their own immediate creation; for they have notions of an universal one before this; and of lands, of which they have now no other knowledge than what is mentioned in the tradition. Their most remote account reaches to Tatooma, and Tapuppa, male and female stones or rocks, who support

the congeries of land and water, or our globe underneath. These produced Totorro, who was killed, and divided into land; and, after him, Otaia and Oroo were begotten, who were afterwards married, and produced, first land, and then a race of gods. Otai is killed, and Oroo marries a god, her son, called Teorraha, whom she orders to create more land, the animals, and all sorts of food upon the earth; as also the sky, which is supported by men called Teeferei. The spots observed in the moon are supposed to be groves of a sort of trees which once grew in Otaheite, and being destroyed by some accident, their seeds were carried up thither by doves, where they now flourish.

They have also many legends, both religious and historical; one of which latter, relative to the practice of eating human flesh, I shall give the substance of, as a specimen of their method. A long time since, there lived in Otaheite two men called *Taheeai;* the only name they yet have for cannibals. None knew from whence they came, or in what manner they arrived at the island. Their habitation was in the mountains, from whence they used to issue, and kill many of the natives, whom they afterwards devoured, and by that means prevented the progress of population. Two brothers, determined to rid their country of such a formidable enemy, used a stratagem for their destruction with success. These still lived farther upward than the *Taheeai*, and in such a situation, that they could speak to them without greatly hazarding their own safety. They invited them to accept of an entertainment that should be provided for them, to which these readily consented. The brothers then taking some stones, heated them in a fire, and thrusting them into pieces of *mahee*, desired one of the *Taheeai* to open his mouth. On which, one of these pieces was dropped in, and some water poured down, which made a boiling or hissing noise in quenching the stone, and killed him. They intreated the other to do the same; but he declined it, representing the consequences of his companion's eating. However, they assured him that the food was excellent, and its effects only temporary; for that the other would soon recover. His credulity was such, that he swallowed the bait, and shared the fate of the first. The natives then cut them in pieces, which they buried; and conferred the government of the island on the brothers, as a reward for delivering them from such monsters. Their residence was in the district called Whapaeenoo; and, to this day, there remains a bread-fruit tree, once the property of the *Taheeais*. They had also a woman, who lived with them, and had two teeth of a prodigious size. After they were killed, she lived at the island Otaha, and, when dead, was ranked amongst their deities. She did not eat human flesh, as the men; but, from the size of her teeth, the natives still call any animal that has a fierce appearance, or is represented with large tusks, *Taheeai*.

Every one must allow, that this story is just as natural as that of Hercules destroying the Hydra, or the more modern one of Jack the giant-killer. But I do not find, that there is any moral couched under it, any more than under most old fables of the same kind, which have been received as truths only during the prevalence of the same ignorance that marked the character of the ages in which they were invented. It, however, has not been improperly introduced, as serving to express the horror and detestation entertained here against those who feed upon human flesh. And yet, from some circumstances, I have been led to think, that the natives of these isles were formerly cannibals. Upon asking Omai, he denied it stoutly; yet mentioned a fact, within his own knowledge, which almost confirms such an opinion. When the people of Bolabola, one time, defeated those of Huaheine, a great number of his kinsmen were slain. But one of his relations had, afterward, an opportunity of revenging himself, when the Bolabola men were worsted in their turn, and cutting a piece out of the thigh of one of his enemies, he broiled and eat it. I have also frequently considered the offering of the person's eye who is sacrificed to the chief, as a vestige of a custom which once really existed to a greater extent, and is still commemorated by this emblematical ceremony.*

* Mr. Ellis, when alluding to this conjecture of Mr. Anderson's, expresses his opinion that the fact of offering the eye to the king does not afford any very strong evidence of the existence of cannibalism among the Tahitians, although he entertained no doubt that the inhabitants of several of the South-sea Islanders have eaten human flesh. The eye was regarded by the natives as the "organ or emblem of power," and as such was offered to the king. Whether the Tahitians ever indulged in human banquets seems still doubtful, but the practice was common in the Marquesas and the Hervey Islands, the inhabitants of the latter group being frequently driven to resort to the horrid

The being invested with the *maro*, and the presiding at human sacrifices, seem to be the peculiar characteristics of the sovereign. To these, perhaps, may be added, the blowing a conch-shell, which produces a very loud sound. On hearing it, all his subjects are obliged to bring food of every sort to his royal residence in proportion to their abilities. On some other occasions, they carry their veneration for his very name to an extravagant and very destructive pitch. For if, on his accession to the *maro*, any words in their language be found to have a resemblance to it in sound, they are changed for others; and if any man be bold enough not to comply, and continue to use those words, not only he, but all his relations, are immediately put to death. The same severity is exercised toward those who shall presume to apply this sacred name to any animal. And, agreeably to this custom of his countrymen, Omai used to express his indignation, that the English should give the names of prince or princess to their favourite horses or dogs. But while death is the punishment for making free with the name of their sovereign, if abuse be only levelled at his government, the offender escapes with the forfeiture of land and houses.

The king never enters the house of any of his subjects; but has, in every district, where he visits, houses belonging to himself. And if, at any time, he should be obliged by accident to deviate from this rule, the house thus honoured with his presence and every part of its furniture is burnt. His subjects not only uncover to him, when present, down to the waist; but if he be at any particular place, a pole, having a piece of cloth tied to it, is set up somewhere near, to which they pay the same honours. His brothers are also entitled to the first part of the ceremony; but the women only uncover to the females of the royal family. In short, they seem even superstitious in their respect to him, and esteem his person little less than sacred. And it is, perhaps to these circumstances, that he owes the quiet possession of his dominions. For even the people of Tiraboo allow him the same honours as his right, though at the same time they look upon their own chief as more powerful; and say, that he would succeed to the government of the whole island, should the present reigning family become extinct. This is the more likely, as Waheiadooa not only possesses Tiaraboo, but many districts of Opooreanoo. His territories, therefore, are almost equal in extent to those of Otoo; and he has besides the advantage of a more populous and fertile part of the island. His subjects, also, have given proofs of their superiority, by frequent victories over those of Otaheite-nooe, whom they affect to speak of as contemptible warriors, easily to be worsted, if, at any time, their chief should wish to put it to the test.

The ranks of people, besides the *Eree de hoi*, and his family, are the *Erees*, or powerful chiefs; the *Manahoone*, or vassals; and the *Teou*, or *Toutou*, servants, or rather slaves*. The men of each of these, according to the regular institution, form their connexions with women of their respective ranks; but if with any inferior one, which frequently happens, and a child be born, it is preserved, and has the rank of the father, unless he happens to be an *Eree*, in which case it is killed. If a woman of condition should choose an inferior person to officiate as a husband, the children he has by her are killed. And if a *Teou* be caught in an intrigue with a woman of the blood royal, he is put to death. The son of the *Eree de hoi* succeeds his father in title and honours as soon as he is born; but if he should have no children, the brother assumes the government at his death. In other families, possessions always descend to the eldest son; but he is obliged to maintain his brothers and sisters, who are allowed houses on his estates.

The boundaries of the several districts into which Otaheite is divided, are, generally, either

practice by sheer hunger. It is stated that in times of famine "the husband preyed upon the body of his wife, and the parent upon his child, in a most revolting manner, without subjecting it to any previous preparation." The luxuriant vegetation of Otaheite saves the inhabitants from enduring such straits, and they probably went no farther than devouring human bodies symbolically; but the reluctance felt by the islanders to confess the enormities formerly practised, has prevented even the missionaries from procuring precise information on this point. The following passage contains the sum of the information which is afforded on the subject by Mr. Ellis. "Their mythology led them to suppose, that the spirits of the dead are eaten by the gods or demons; and that the spiritual part of their sacrifices is eaten by the spirit of the idol before whom it is presented. Birds resorting to the temple, were said to feed upon the bodies of the human sacrifices, and it was imagined the god approached the temple in the bird, and thus devoured the victims placed upon the altar. In some of the islands, 'man-eater' was an epithet of the principal deities; and it was probably in connexion with this, that the king, who often personated the god, appeared to eat the human eye. Part of some human victims were eaten by the priests."—Ed.

* See note, vol. i. p. 106.

rivulets, or low hills, which, in many places, jut out into the sea. But the subdivisions into particular property are marked by large stones, which have remained from one generation to another. The removal of any of these gives rise to quarrels, which are decided by arms; each party bringing his friends into the field. But if any one complain to the *Eree de hoi*, he terminates the difference amicably. This is an offence, however, not common; and long custom seems to secure property here as effectually as the most severe laws do in other countries. In conformity also to ancient practice established amongst them, crimes of a less general nature are left to be punished by the sufferer, without referring them to a superior. In this case, they seem to think that the injured person will judge as equitably as those who are totally unconcerned; and as long custom has allotted certain punishments for crimes of different sorts, he is allowed to inflict them, without being amenable to any other person. Thus, if any one be caught stealing, which is commonly done in the night, the proprietor of the goods may put the thief instantly to death; and if any one should inquire of him after the deceased, it is sufficient to acquit him, if he only inform them of the provocation he had to kill him. But so severe a punishment is seldom inflicted, unless the articles that are stolen be reckoned very valuable; such as breast-plates and plaited hair. If only cloth, or even hogs be stolen, and the thief escape, upon his being afterward discovered, if he promise to return the same number of pieces of cloth, or of hogs, no farther punishment is inflicted. Sometimes, after keeping out of the way for a few days, he is forgiven, or, at most, gets a slight beating. If a person kill another in a quarrel, the friends of the deceased assemble, and engage the survivor and his adherents. If they conquer, they take possession of the house, lands, and goods of the other party; but if conquered, the reverse takes place. If a *Manahoone* kill the *Toutou*, or slave of a chief, the latter sends people to take possession of the lands and house of the former, who flies either to some other part of the island, or to some of the neighbouring islands. After some months he returns, and finding his stock of hogs much increased, he offers a large present of those, with some red feathers, and other valuable articles, to the *Toutou's* master, who generally accepts the compensation, and permits him to repossess his house and lands. This practice is the height of venality and injustice; and the slayer of the slave seems to be under no farther necessity of absconding, than to impose upon the lower class of people who are the sufferers. For it does not appear, that the chief has the least power to punish this *Manahoone;* but the whole management marks a collusion between him and his superior, to gratify the revenge of the former, and the avarice of the latter. Indeed, we need not wonder that the killing of a man should be considered as so venial an offence, amongst a people who do not consider it as any crime at all to murder their own children. When talking to them about such instances of unnatural cruelty, and asking, whether the chiefs, or principal people were not angry, and did not punish them? I was told, that the chief neither could nor would interfere in such cases; and that every one had a right to do with his own child what he pleased.

Though the productions, the people, and the customs and manners of all the islands in the neighbourhood, may, in general, be reckoned the same as at Otaheite, there are a few differences which should be mentioned, as this may lead to an inquiry about more material ones hereafter, if such there be, of which we are now ignorant. With regard to the little island Mataia, or Osnaburgh Island, which lies twenty leagues east of Otaheite, and belongs to a chief of that place, who gets from thence a kind of tribute, a different dialect from that of Otaheite is there spoken. The men of Mataia also wear their hair very long, and when they fight, cover their arms with a substance which is beset with shark's teeth, and their bodies with a sort of shagreen, being skin of fishes. At the same time, they are ornamented with polished pearl shells, which make a prodigious glittering in the sun; and they have a very large one that covers them before like a shield or breast-plate.

The language of Otaheite has many words, and even phrases, quite unlike those of the islands to the westward of it, which all agree; and it is remarkable for producing great quantities of that delicious fruit we called apples, which are found in none of the others, except Eimeo. It has also the advantage of producing an odoriferous wood, called *eahoi*, which is highly valued at the other isles where there is none; nor even in the south-east peninsula, or Tiaraboo, though joining it. And at Mouroa there is a particular bird found

upon the hills, much esteemed for its white feathers; at which place there is also said to be some of the apples, though it be the most remote of the Society Islands from Otaheite and Eimeo, where they are produced.

Though the religion of all the islands be the same, each of them has its particular tutelar god; whose names, according to the best information I could receive, are set down in the following list:

GODS OF THE ISLES.

Huaheine, *Tanne.*—Ulietea, *Oroo.*—Otaha, *Tanne.*—Bolabola, *Oraa.*—Mourooa, *Ottoo, ee weiahoo.*—Toobaee, *Tamouee.*—Tabooymanoo, or Saunders' Island, which is subject to Huaheine, *Taroa.*—Eimeo, *Oroo hadoo.*—Otaheite, Otaheite-nooe, *Ooroo.*—Otaheite, Tiaraboo, *Opoonoa*, and *Whatooteerre*, (whom they have lately changed for Orna, god of Bolabola). Matai, or Osnaburgh Island, *Toobo, tooboaio, Ry maraiva.*—The low isles, eastward, *Tammaree.*

Besides the cluster of high islands from Mataia to Mourooa inclusive, the people of Otaheite are acquainted with a low uninhabited island, which they name Mopeeha, and seems to be Howe's Island, laid down to the westward of Mourooa in our late charts of this ocean. To this the inhabitants of the most leeward islands sometimes go. There are also several low islands, to the north-eastward of Otaheite, which they have sometimes visited, but not constantly; and are said to be only at the distance of two days' sail with a fair wind. They were thus named to me:

Mataeeva, Oanaa (called Oanna in Dalrymple's Letter to Hawkesworth), Taboohoe, Awehee, Kaoora, Orootooa, Otavaoo, where are large pearls.

The inhabitants of these isles come more frequently to Otaheite, and the other neighbouring high islands, from whose natives they differ in being of a darker colour, with a fiercer aspect, and differently punctured. I was informed, that at Mataeeva and others of them, it is a custom for the men to give their daughters to strangers who arrive amongst them; but the pairs must be five nights lying near each other, without presuming to proceed farther. On the sixth evening, the father of the young woman treats his guest with food, and informs his daughter that she must that night receive him as her husband. The stranger, however, must not offer to express the least dislike, though the bed-fellow allotted to him should be ever so disagreeable; for this is considered as an unpardonable affront, and is punished with death. Forty men of Bolabola, who, incited by curiosity, had roamed as far as Mataeeva in a canoe, were treated in this manner; one of them having incautiously mentioned his dislike of the woman who fell to his lot, in the hearing of a boy who informed her father. In consequence of this, the Mataeevans fell upon them; but these warlike people killed three times their own number; though with the loss of all their party except five. These hid themselves in the woods, and took an opportunity, when the others were burying their dead, to enter some houses, where, having provided themselves with victuals and water, they carried them on board a canoe, in which they made their escape; and after passing Mataia, at which they would not touch, at last arrived safe at Eimeo. The Bolabolans, however, were sensible enough that their travellers had been to blame; for a canoe from Mataeeva, arriving some time after at Bolabola, so far were they from retaliating upon them for the death of their countrymen, that they acknowledged they had deserved their fate, and treated their visitors kindly.

These low isles are, doubtless, the farthest navigation, which those of Otaheite and the Society Islands perform at present. It seems to be a groundless supposition, made by Mons. de Bougainville, that they made voyages of the prodigious extent* he mentions; for I found, that it is reckoned a sort of prodigy that a canoe, once driven by a storm from Otaheite, should have fallen in with Mopeeha, or Howe's Island, though so near, and directly to leeward. The knowledge they have of other distant islands is no doubt traditional, and has been communicated to them by the natives of those islands, driven accidentally upon their coasts, who besides giving them the names, could easily inform them of the direction in which the places lie from whence they came, and of the number of days they had been upon the sea. In this manner, it may be supposed that the natives of Wateeoo have increased their

* See Bougainville's Voyage autour du Monde, p. 228, where we are told that these people sometimes navigate at the distance of more than three hundred leagues.

catalogue by the addition of Otaheite and its neighbouring isles, from the people we met with there, and also of the other islands these had heard of. We may thus account for that extensive knowledge attributed by the gentlemen of the Endeavour* to Tupia in such matters. And with all due deference to his veracity, I presume that it was by the same means of information that he was able to direct the ship to Oheteroa, without having ever been there himself, as he pretended; which, on many accounts, is very improbable."

CHAPTER X.—PROGRESS OF THE VOYAGE, AFTER LEAVING THE SOCIETY ISLANDS.—CHRISTMAS ISLAND DISCOVERED, AND STATION OF THE SHIPS THERE.—BOATS SENT ASHORE.—GREAT SUCCESS IN CATCHING TURTLE.—AN ECLIPSE OF THE SUN OBSERVED.—DISTRESS OF TWO SEAMEN, WHO HAD LOST THEIR WAY.—INSCRIPTION LEFT IN A BOTTLE.—ACCOUNT OF THE ISLAND.—ITS SOIL.—TREES AND PLANTS.—BIRDS.—ITS SIZE.—FORM.—SITUATION.—ANCHORING GROUND.

After leaving Bolabola, I steered to the northward, close-hauled, with the wind between N.E. and E., hardly ever having it to the southward of E., till after we crossed the line, and had got into north latitudes. So that our course, made good, was always to the W. of N., and sometimes no better than N.W. Though seventeen months had now elapsed since our departure from England, during which we had not, upon the whole, been unprofitably employed, I was sensible that, with regard to the principal object of my instructions, our voyage was at this time only beginning; and, therefore, my attention to every circumstance that might contribute toward our safety and our ultimate success, was now to be called forth anew. With this view I had examined into the state of our provisions at the last islands; and as soon as I had left them and got beyond the extent of my former discoveries, I ordered a survey to be taken of all the boatswain's and carpenter's stores that were in the ships, that I might be fully informed of the quantity, state, and condition of every article; and, by that means, know how to use them to the greatest advantage.

Before I sailed from the Society Islands, I lost no opportunity of inquiring of the inhabitants, if there were any islands in a N. or N.W. direction from them; but I did not find that they knew of any. Nor did we meet with anything that indicated the vicinity of land, till we came to about the latitude of 8° S., where we began to see birds, such as boobies, tropic, and men-of-war birds, tern, and some other sorts. At this time, our longitude was 205° E. Mendana, in his first voyage in 1568 †, discovered an island which he named Isla de Jesus, in latitude 6° 45′ S., and 1450 leagues from Callao, which is 200° E. longitude from Greenwich. We crossed this latitude nearly a hundred leagues to the eastward of this longitude, and saw there many of the above-mentioned birds; which are seldom known to go very far from land. In the night, between the 22nd and 23rd, we crossed the line in the longitude of 203° 15′ E. Here the variation of the compass was 6° 30′ E. nearly.

On the 24th, about half an hour after daybreak, land was discovered bearing N.E. by E. ½ E. Upon a nearer approach, it was found to be one of those low islands so common in this ocean; that is, a narrow bank of land inclosing the sea within. A few cocoa-nut-trees were seen in two or three places; but in general the land had a very barren appearance. At noon, it extended from N.E. by E. to S. by E. ½ E., about four miles distant. The wind was at E.S.E.; so that we were under a necessity of making a few boards to get up to the lee or west side, where we found from forty to twenty and fourteen fathoms water, over a bottom of find sand; the least depth about half a mile from the breakers, and the greatest about one mile. The meeting with soundings determined me to anchor, with a view to try to get some turtle; for the island seemed to be a likely place to meet with them, and to be without inhabitants. Accordingly, we dropped anchor in thirty fathoms;

* Vol. I. p. 118. We shall have occasion to notice various well-authenticated accounts of voyages of great extent performed in open canoes and boats, in the Appendix, to which we must refer our readers. Mr. Anderson was probably mistaken in undervaluing the information afforded by Tupia.—Ed.

† See Dalrymple's Collection, vol. i. p. 45.

and then a boat was despatched to examine whether it was practicable to land, of which I had some doubt, as the sea broke in a dreadful surf all along the shore. When the boat returned, the officer whom I had intrusted with this examination, reported to me that he could see no place where a boat could land; but that there was great abundance of fish in the shoal water, without the breakers.

At daybreak the next morning I sent two boats, one from each ship, to search more accurately for a landing-place; and, at the same time, two others to fish at a grappling near the shore. These last returned about eight o'clock with upward of two hundredweight of fish. Encouraged by this success, they were despatched again after breakfast, and I then went in another boat, to take a view of the coast and attempt landing; but this I found to be wholly impracticable. Toward noon, the two boats sent on the same search returned. The master, who was in that belonging to the Resolution, reported to me, that about a league and a half to the north, was a break in the land, and a channel into the lagoon, consequently, that there was a fit place for landing; and that he had found the same soundings off this entrance as we had where we now lay. In consequence of this report the ships weighed anchor, and after two or three trips came-to again in twenty fathoms water, over a bottom of fine dark sand, before a small island that lies at the entrance of the lagoon; and on each side of which there is a channel leading into it; but only fit for boats. The water in the lagoon itself is all very shallow.

On the 26th, in the morning, I ordered Captain Clerke to send a boat with an officer to the S.E. part of the lagoon, to look for turtle; and Mr. King and I went each in a boat to the N.E. part. I intended to have gone to the most easterly extremity; but the wind blew too fresh to allow it, and obliged us to land more to leeward, on a sandy flat, where we caught one turtle, the only one that we saw in the lagoon. We walked, or rather waded, through the water, to an island; where, finding nothing but a few birds, I left it, and proceeded to the land that bounds the sea to the N.W., leaving Mr. King to observe the sun's meridian altitude. I found this land to be even more barren than the island I had been upon; but walking over to the sea-coast, I saw five turtles close to the shore. One of these we caught, and the rest made their escape. Not seeing any more, I returned on board, as did Mr. King soon after, without having seen one turtle. We, however, did not despair of getting a supply, for some of Captain Clerke's officers who had been ashore on the land to the southward of the channel leading into the lagoon, had been more fortunate, and caught several there.

In the morning of the 27th, the pinnace and cutter, under the command of Mr. King, were sent to the S.E. part of the island, within the lagoon, and the small cutter to the northward where I had been the day before; both parties being ordered upon the same service, to catch turtle. Captain Clerke having had some of his people on shore all night, they had been so fortunate as to turn between forty and fifty on the sand, which were brought on board with all expedition this day. And in the afternoon, the party I had sent northward returned with six. They were sent back again and remained there till we left the island, having in general pretty good success. On the 28th, I landed in company with Mr. Bayly, on the island which lies between the two channels into the lagoon, to prepare the telescopes for observing the approaching eclipse of the sun; which was one great inducement to my anchoring here. About noon, Mr. King returned with one boat and eight turtles, leaving seven behind to be brought by the other boat, whose people were employed in catching more; and, in the evening, the same boat was sent with water and provisions for them. Mr. Williamson now went to superintend this duty in the room of Mr. King, who remained on board, to attend the observation of the eclipse. The next day, Mr. Williamson despatched the two boats back to the ship, laden with turtle. At the same time, he sent me a message, desiring that the boats might be ordered round by sea, as he had found a landing-place on the S.E. side of the island, where most of the turtle were caught; so that, by sending the boats thither, the trouble would be saved of carrying them over the land to the inside of the lagoon, as had been hitherto done. The boats were accordingly despatched to the place which he pointed out.

On the morning of the 30th, the day when the eclipse was to happen, Mr. King,

Mr. Bayly, and myself went ashore on the small island above-mentioned, to attend the observation. The sky was overcast till past nine o'clock, when the clouds about the sun dispersed long enough to take its altitude, to rectify the time by the watch we made use of. After this it was again obscured, till about thirty minutes past nine, and then we found that the eclipse was begun. We now fixed the micrometers to the telescopes, and observed or measured the uneclipsed part of the sun's disk. At these observations, I continued about three quarters of an hour before the end, when I left off, being, in fact, unable to continue them longer, on account of the great heat of the sun, increased by the reflection from the sand. The sun was clouded at times, but was clear when the eclipse ended, the time of which was observed as follows:—

		H. M. S.	
By Mr. Bayly	at	0 26 3	Apparent time P.M.
Mr. King	,,	0 26 1	
Myself	,,	0 25 37	

Mr. Bayly and I observed with the large achromatic telescopes, and Mr. King with a reflector. As Mr. Bayly's telescope and mine were of the same magnifying power, I ought not to have differed so much from him as I did. Perhaps it was in part, if not wholly, owing to a protuberance in the moon which escaped my notice, but was seen by both the other gentlemen.

In the afternoon the boats and turtling party, at the south-east part of the island, all returned on board except a seaman belonging to the Discovery, who had been missing two days. There were two of them, at first, who had lost their way; but disagreeing about the most probable track to bring them back to their companions, they had separated; and one of them joined the party, after having been absent twenty-four hours, and been in great distress. Not a drop of fresh water could be had, for there is none upon the whole island; nor was there a single cocoa-nut tree on that part of it. In order to allay his thirst, he had recourse to the singular expedient of killing turtle, and drinking their blood. His mode of refreshing himself when weary, of which he said he felt the good effects, was equally whimsical. He undressed himself and lay down for some time in the shallow water upon the beach. It was a matter of surprise to every one, how these two men could contrive to lose themselves. The land over which they had to travel, from the sea-coast to the *lagoon*, where the boats lay, was not more than three miles across; nor was there anything to obstruct their view; for the country was a flat, with a few shrubs scattered upon it; and from many parts of it the masts of the ships could easily be seen. But this was a rule of direction they never once thought of; nor did they recollect in what quarter of the island the ships had anchored; and they were as much at a loss how to get back to them, or to the party they had straggled from, as if they had just dropped from the clouds. Considering how strange a set of beings the generality of seamen are, when on shore, instead of being surprised that these two men should thus lose their way, it is rather to be wondered at that no more of the party were missing. Indeed, one of those who landed with me, was in a similar situation; but he had sagacity enough to know that the ships were to leeward, and got on board almost as soon as it was discovered that he had been left behind. As soon as Captain Clerke knew that one of the stragglers was still in this awkward situation, he sent a party in search of him; but neither the man nor the party having come back, the next morning I ordered two boats into the *lagoon*, to go different ways in prosecution of the search. Not long after, Captain Clerke's party returned with their lost companion; and my boats having now no object left, I called them back by signal. This poor fellow must have suffered far greater distress than the other straggler; not only as having been lost a longer time, but as we found that he was too squeamish to drink turtle's blood.

Having some cocoa-nuts and yams on board, in a state of vegetation, I ordered them to be planted on the little island where we had observed the eclipse; and some melon seeds were sown in another place. I also left, on the little island, a bottle containing this inscription:

GEORGIUS TERTIUS REX, 31 DECEMBRIS, 1777.
NAVES { RESOLUTION, JAC. COOK, PR.
DISCOVERY, CAR. CLERKE, PR.

On the 1st of January, 1778, I sent boats to bring on board all our parties from the land, and the turtle they had caught. Before this was completed, it was late in the afternoon; so that I did not think proper to sail till next morning. We got at this island, to both ships, about three hundred turtle, weighing, one with another, about ninety or a hundred pounds. They were all of the green kind; and perhaps as good as any in the world. We also caught, with hook and line, as much fish as we could consume, during our stay. They consisted principally of cavallies, of different sizes; large and small snappers; and a few of two sorts of rock-fish; one with numerous spots of blue, and the other with whitish streaks scattered about.

The soil of this island, in some places, is light and black, evidently composed of decayed vegetables, the dung of birds, and sand. There are other places again, where nothing but marine productions, such as broken coral stones, and shells, are to be seen. These are deposited in long narrow ridges, lying in a parallel direction with the sea-coast, not unlike a ploughed field; and must have been thrown up by the waves, though, at this time, they do not reach within a mile of some of these places. This seems to furnish an incontestable proof, that the island has been produced by accessions from the sea, and is in a state of increase; for not only the broken pieces of coral, but many of the shells, are too heavy and too large to have been brought by any birds, from the beach, to the places where they now lie. Not a drop of fresh water was anywhere to be found, though frequently dug for. We met with several ponds of salt water, which had no visible communication with the sea, and must, therefore, in all probability, be filled by the water filtrating through the sand, in high tides. One of the lost men found some salt on the south-east part of the island. But, though this was an article of which we were in want, a man who could lose himself as he did, and not know whether he was travelling east, west, north, or south, was not to be depended upon as a fit guide to conduct us to the place.

There were not the smallest traces of any human being having ever been here before us; and, indeed, should any one be so unfortunate as to be accidentally driven upon the island, or left there, it is hard to say that he could be able to prolong existence. There is, indeed, abundance of birds and fish; but no visible means of allaying thirst, nor any vegetable that could supply the place of bread, or correct the bad effects of an animal diet; which in all probability would soon prove fatal alone. On the few cocoa-trees upon the island, the number of which did not exceed thirty, very little fruit was found; and, in general, what was found was either not fully grown, or had the juice salt, or blackish. So that a ship touching here, must expect nothing but fish and turtle; and of these an abundant supply may be depended upon.

On some parts of the land were a few low trees. Mr. Anderson gave me an account, also, of two small shrubs, and of two or three small plants; all which we had seen on Palmerston's Island, and Otakootaia. There was also a species of *sida* or Indian mallow; a sort of purslain; and another small plant that seemed from its leaves a *mesembryanthemum;* with two species of grass. But each of these vegetable productions was in so small a quantity, and grew with so much languor, that one is almost surprised that the species do not become extinct. Under the low trees above-mentioned, sat infinite numbers of tern, or egg-birds. These are black above, and white below, with a white arch on the forehead; and are rather larger than the common noddy. Most of them had lately hatched their young: which lay under the old ones, upon the bare ground. The rest had eggs; of which they only lay one, larger than that of a pigeon, bluish and speckled with black. There were also a good many common boobies; a sort that are almost like a gannet; and a sooty or chocolate coloured one, with a white belly. To this list we must add men-of-war-birds; tropic birds; curlews; sand-pipers; a small land-bird like a hedge-sparrow; land-crabs; small lizards; and rats.

As we kept our Christmas here, I called this discovery Christmas Island. I judge it to be about fifteen or twenty leagues in circumference. It seemed to be of a semicircular form; or like the moon in the last quarter, the two horns being the north and south points; which bear from each other nearly north by east, and south by west, four or five leagues distant. This west side, or the little isle at the entrance into the lagoon, upon which we observed the eclipse, lies in the latitude of 1° 59′ north, and in the longitude of 202° 30′ east, determined

by a considerable number of lunar observations, which differed only 7′ from the time-keeper; it being so much less. The variation of the compass was 6° 22½′ E.; and the dip of the north end of the needle 11° 54′. Christmas Island, like most others in this ocean, is bounded by a reef of coral rocks, which extends but a little way from the shore. Farther out than this reef, on the west side, is a bank of sand, extending a mile into the sea. On this bank is good anchorage, in any depth between eighteen and thirty fathoms. In less than the first-mentioned depth, the reef would be too near; and in more than the last, the edge of the bank would not be at a sufficient distance. During the time we lay here, the wind blew constantly a fresh gale at east, or east by south, except one or two days. We had, always, a great swell from the northward, which broke upon the reef, in a prodigious surf. We had found this swell before we came to the island; and it continued for some days after we left it.

CHAPTER XI.—SOME ISLANDS DISCOVERED.—ACCOUNT OF THE NATIVES OF ATOOI, WHO COME OFF TO THE SHIPS, AND THEIR BEHAVIOUR ON GOING ON BOARD.—ONE OF THEM KILLED.—PRECAUTIONS USED TO PREVENT INTERCOURSE WITH THE FEMALES.—A WATERING-PLACE FOUND.—RECEPTION UPON LANDING.—EXCURSION INTO THE COUNTRY.—A MORAI VISITED AND DESCRIBED.—GRAVES OF THE CHIEFS, AND OF THE HUMAN SACRIFICES THERE BURIED.—ANOTHER ISLAND, CALLED ONEEHOW, VISITED.—CEREMONIES PERFORMED BY THE NATIVES, WHO GO OFF TO THE SHIPS.—REASONS FOR BELIEVING THAT THEY ARE CANNIBALS.—A PARTY SENT ASHORE, WHO REMAIN TWO NIGHTS.—ACCOUNT OF WHAT PASSED ON LANDING.—THE SHIPS LEAVE THE ISLANDS, AND PROCEED TO THE NORTH.

On the 2nd of January, at day-break, we weighed anchor, and resumed our course to the north; having fine weather, and a gentle breeze at east, and east-south-east, till we got into the latitude of 7° 45′ N. and the longitude of 205° E., where we had one calm day. This was succeeded by a north-east by east, and east-north-east wind. At first it blew faint, but freshened as we advanced to the north. We continued to see birds every day, of the sorts last mentioned; sometimes in greater numbers than others; and between the latitude of 10° and 11°, we saw several turtle. All these are looked upon as signs of the vicinity of land. However, we discovered none till day-break, in the morning of the 18th, when an island made its appearance, bearing north-east by east; and, soon after, we saw more land bearing north, and entirely detached from the former. Both had the appearance of being high land. At noon, the first bore north-east by east, half east, by estimation about eight or nine leagues distant; and an elevated hill, near the east end of the other, bore north, half west. Our latitude, at this time, was 21° 12′ N.; and longitude 200° 41′ E. We had now light airs and calms, by turns; so that at sunset, we were not less than nine or ten leagues from the nearest land. On the 19th, at sunrise, the island first seen, bore east several leagues distant. This being directly to windward, which prevented our getting near it, I stood for the other, which we could reach; and not long after discovered a third island in the direction of west-north-west, as far distant as land could be seen. We had now a fine breeze at east by north; and I steered for the east end of the second island; which at noon extended from north, half east, to west-north-west, a quarter west, the nearest part being about two leagues distant. At this time, we were in some doubt whether or no the land before us was inhabited; but this doubt was soon cleared up, by seeing some canoes coming off from the shore, toward the ships. I immediately brought-to, to give them time to join us. They had from three to six men each; and, on their approach, we were agreeably surprised to find, that they spoke the language of Otaheite, and of the other islands we had lately visited. It required but very little address, to get them to come alongside; but no entreaties could prevail upon any of them to come on board. I tied some brass medals to a rope, and gave them to those in one of the canoes, who, in return, tied some small mackerel to the rope as an equivalent. This was repeated; and some small nails, or bits of iron, which they valued more than any other article, were given them. For these they exchanged more fish, and a sweet-potato; a sure sign that they had some notion of bartering; or, at least, of returning one present for another. They had nothing else in their canoes, except some large gourd shells, and a kind of fishing-

net; but one of them offered for sale the piece of stuff that he wore round his waist, after the manner of the other islands. These people were of a brown colour; and, though of the common size, were stoutly made. There was little difference in the cast of their colour, but a considerable variation in their features; some of their visages not being very unlike those of Europeans. The hair of most of them was cropt pretty short; others had it flowing loose; and with a few, it was tied in a bunch on the crown of the head. In all, it seemed to be naturally black; but most of them had stained it, as is the practice of the Friendly Islanders, with some stuff which gave it a brown or burnt colour. In general they wore their beards. They had no ornaments about their persons, nor did we observe that their ears were perforated; but some were punctured on the hands, or near the groin, though in a small degree; and the bits of cloth which they wore were curiously stained with red, black, and white colours. They seemed very mild; and had no arms of any kind, if we except some small stones, which they had evidently brought for their own defence; and these they threw overboard, when they found that they were not wanted.

Seeing no signs of an anchoring place at this eastern extreme of the island, I bore away to leeward, and ranged along the south-east side, at the distance of half a league from the shore. As soon as we made sail, the canoes left us; but others came off as we proceeded along the coast, bringing with them roasting pigs and some very fine potatoes, which they exchanged, as the others had done, for whatever was offered to them. Several small pigs were purchased for a sixpenny nail, so that we again found ourselves in a land of plenty; and just at the time when the turtle, which we had so fortunately procured at Christmas Island, were nearly expended. We passed several villages; some seated near the sea, and others farther up the country. The inhabitants of all of them crowded to the shore, and collected themselves on the elevated places to view the ships. The land upon this side of the island rises in a gentle slope from the sea to the foot of the mountains, which occupy the centre of the country, except at one place near the east end, where they rise directly from the sea, and seemed to be formed of nothing but stone, or rocks lying in horizontal strata. We saw no wood but what was up in the interior part of the island, except a few trees about the villages; near which, also, we could observe several plantations of plantains and sugar-canes, and spots that seemed cultivated for roots.

We continued to sound without striking ground with a line of fifty fathoms, till we came abreast of a low point which is about the middle of this side of the island, or rather nearer the north-west end. Here we met with twelve and fourteen fathoms, over a rocky bottom. Being past this point, from which the coast trended more northerly, we had twenty, then sixteen, twelve, and at last five fathoms, over a sandy bottom. The last soundings were about a mile from the shore. Night now put a stop to any farther researches; and we spent it standing off and on. The next morning we stood in for the land, and were met with several canoes filled with people; some of whom took courage and ventured on board.

In the course of my several voyages, I never before met with the natives of any place so much astonished as these people were upon entering a ship. Their eyes were continually flying from object to object; the wildness of their looks and gestures fully expressing their entire ignorance about everything they saw, and strongly marking to us, that till now they had never been visited by Europeans, nor been acquainted with any of our commodities except iron, which, however, it was plain they had only heard of, or had known it in some small quantity brought to them at some distant period. They seemed only to understand that it was a substance much better adapted to the purposes of cutting, or of boring of holes, than anything their own country produced. They asked for it by the name of *hamaite*, probably referring to some instrument, in the making of which iron could be usefully employed; for they applied that name to the blade of a knife, though we could be certain that they had no idea of that particular instrument; nor could they at all handle it properly. For the same reason they frequently called iron by the name of *toe*, which in their language signifies a hatchet, or rather a kind of adze. On asking them what iron was, they immediately answered, "We do not know; you know what it is, and we only understand it as *toe*, or

hamaite." When we showed them some beads, they asked first, "What they were; and then whether they should eat them?" But on their being told that they were to be hung in their ears, they returned them as useless. They were equally indifferent as to a looking-glass which was offered them, and returned it for the same reason; but sufficiently expressed their desire for *hamaite* and *toe*, which they wished might be very large. Plates of earthenware, china cups, and other such things, were so new to them that they asked if they were made of wood; but wished to have some, that they might carry them to be looked at on shore. They were in some respects naturally well bred; or at least fearful of giving offence, asking where they should sit down, whether they might spit upon the deck, and the like. Some of them repeated a long prayer before they came on board; and others afterward sung and made motions with their hands, such as we had been accustomed to see in the dances of the islands we had lately visited. There was another circumstance in which they also perfectly resembled those other islanders. At first, on their entering the ship, they endeavoured to steal everything they came near; or rather to take it openly, as what we either should not resent, or not hinder. We soon convinced them of their mistake; and if they, after some time, became less active in appropriating to themselves whatever they took a fancy to, it was because they found that we kept a watchful eye over them.

At nine o'clock, being pretty near the shore, I sent three armed boats, under the command of Lieutenant Williamson, to look for a landing-place and for fresh water. I ordered him, that if he should find it necessary to land in search of the latter, not to suffer more than one man to go with him out of the boats. Just as they were putting off from the ship, one of the natives having stolen the butcher's cleaver, leaped overboard, got into his canoe, and hastened to the shore, the boats pursuing him in vain. The order not to permit the crews of the boats to go on shore was issued, that I might do everything in my power to prevent the importation of a fatal disease into this island, which I knew some of our men laboured under, and which, unfortunately, had been already communicated by us to other islands in these seas. With the same view, I ordered all female visitors to be excluded from the ships. Many of them had come off in the canoes. Their size, colour, and features did not differ much from those of the men; and though their countenances were remarkably open and agreeable, there were few traces of delicacy to be seen, either in their faces or other proportions. The only difference in their dress, was their having a piece of cloth about the body, reaching from near the middle to half-way down the thighs, instead of the *maro* worn by the other sex. They would as readily have favoured us with their company on board as the men; but I wished to prevent all connexion which might, too probably, convey an irreparable injury to themselves, and through their means to the whole nation. Another necessary precaution was taken, by strictly enjoining that no person known to be capable of propagating the infection should be sent upon duty out of the ships.

Whether these regulations, dictated by humanity, had the desired effect or not, time only can discover. I had been equally attentive to the same object when I first visited the Friendly Islands; yet I afterwards found, with real concern, that I had not succeeded. And I am much afraid that this will always be the case in such voyages as ours, whenever it is necessary to have a number of people on shore. The opportunities and inducements to an intercourse between the sexes are then too numerous to be guarded against; and however confident we may be of the health of our men, we are often undeceived too late. It is even a matter of doubt with me, if it be always in the power of the most skilful of the faculty to pronounce, with any certainty, whether a person who has been under their care, in certain stages of this malady, is so effectually cured as to leave no possibility of his being still capable of communicating the taint. I think I could mention some instances which justify my presuming to hazard this opinion. It is likewise well known, that amongst a number of men, there are generally to be found some so bashful as to endeavour to conceal their labouring under any symptoms of this disorder. And there are others, again, so profligate as not to care to whom they communicate it. Of this last we had an instance at Tongataboo, in the gunner of the Discovery, who had been stationed on shore to manage the trade for that ship. After he knew that he had contracted this disease, he continued to have con-

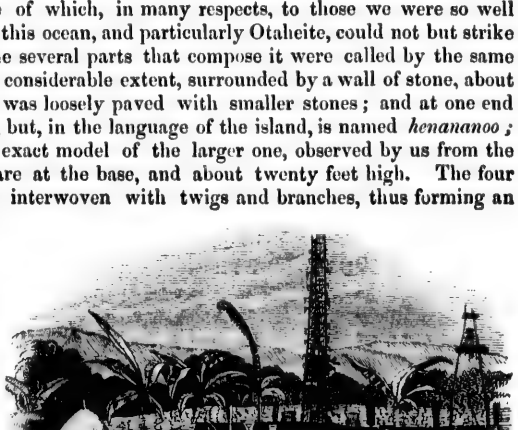
nexions with different women, who were supposed not to have already contracted it. His companions expostulated with him without effect, till Captain Clerke, hearing of this dangerous irregularity of conduct, ordered him on board.

While the boats were occupied in examining the coast, we stood on and off with the ships, waiting for their return. About noon Mr. Williamson came back, and reported that he had seen a large pond behind a beach near one of the villages, which the natives told him contained fresh water; and that there was anchoring-ground before it. He also reported that he had attempted to land in another place, but was prevented by the natives, who, coming down to the boats in great numbers, attempted to take away the oars, muskets, and, in short, everything that they could lay hold of; and pressed so thick upon him that he was obliged to fire, by which one man was killed. But this unhappy circumstance I did not know till after we had left the island; so that all my measures were directed as if nothing of the kind had happened. Mr. Williamson told me, that after the man fell, his countrymen took him up, carried him off, and then retired from the boat; but still they made signals for our people to land, which he declined. It did not appear to Mr. Williamson, that the natives had any design to kill, or even to hurt, any of his party; but they seemed excited by mere curiosity to get from them what they had, being at the same time ready to give in return anything of their own. After the boats were on board, I despatched one of them to lie in the best anchoring-ground; and as soon as she had got to this station, I bore down with the ships, and anchored in twenty-five fathoms water; the bottom a fine grey sand. The east point of the road, which was the low point before mentioned, bore S. 51° E.; the west point, N. 65° W.; and the village, behind which the water was said to be, N.E. by E., distant one mile. But little more than a quarter of a mile from us there were breakers, which I did not see till after the Resolution was placed. The Discovery anchored to the eastward of us, and farther from the land. The ships being thus stationed, between three and four o'clock I went ashore with three armed boats, and twelve marines, to examine the water, and to try the disposition of the inhabitants, several hundred of whom were assembled on a sandy beach before the village; behind it was a narrow valley, the bottom of which was occupied by the piece of water.

The very instant I leaped on shore, the collected body of the natives all fell flat upon their faces, and remained in that very humble posture, till, by expressive signs, I prevailed upon them to rise. They then brought a great many small pigs, which they presented to me, with plantain trees, using much the same ceremonies that we had seen practised, on such occasions, at the Society and other islands; and a long prayer being spoken by a single person, in which others of the assembly sometimes joined, I expressed my acceptance of their proffered friendship, by giving them, in return, such presents as I had brought with me from the ship for that purpose. When this introductory business was finished, I stationed a guard upon the beach, and got some of the natives to conduct me to the water, which proved to be very good, and in a proper situation for our purpose. It was so considerable, that it may be called a lake; and it extended farther up the country than we could see. Having satisfied myself about this very essential point, and about the peaceable disposition of the natives, I returned on board; and then gave orders that everything should be in readiness for landing and filling our water-casks in the morning, when I went ashore with the people employed in that service, having a party of marines with us for a guard, who were stationed on the beach.

As soon as we landed, a trade was set on foot for hogs and potatoes, which the people of the island gave us in exchange for nails and pieces of iron, formed into something like chisels. We met with no obstruction in watering; on the contrary, the natives assisted our men in rolling the casks to and from the pool; and readily performed whatever we required. Every thing thus going on to my satisfaction, and considering my presence on the spot as unnecessary, I left the command to Mr. Williamson, who had landed with me, and made an excursion into the country, up the valley, accompanied by Mr. Anderson and Mr. Webber; the former of whom was as well qualified to describe with the pen, as the latter was to represent with his pencil, every thing we might meet with worthy of observation. A numerous train of natives followed us; and one of them, whom I had distinguished for his activity in keeping the rest in order, I made choice of as our guide. This man, from time to time, proclaimed

our approach; and every one whom we met fell prostrate upon the ground, and remained in that position till we had passed. This, as I afterward understood, is the mode of paying their respect to their own great chiefs. As we ranged down the coast from the east, in the ships, we had observed at every village one or more elevated white objects, like pyramids or rather obelisks; and one of these, which I guessed to be at least fifty feet high, was very conspicuous from the ship's anchoring station, and seemed to be at no great distance up this valley. To have a nearer inspection of it, was the principal object of my walk. Our guide perfectly understood that we wished to be conducted to it. But it happened to be so placed that we could not get at it, being separated from us by the pool of water. However, there being another of the same kind within our reach, about half a mile off, upon our side of the valley, we set out to visit that. The moment we got to it, we saw that it stood in a burying-ground, or *morai;* the resemblance of which, in many respects, to those we were so well acquainted with at other islands in this ocean, and particularly Otaheite, could not but strike us; and we also soon found that the several parts that compose it were called by the same names. It was an oblong space, of considerable extent, surrounded by a wall of stone, about four feet high. The space inclosed was loosely paved with smaller stones; and at one end of it stood what I call the pyramid, but, in the language of the island, is named *henananoo;* which appeared evidently to be an exact model of the larger one, observed by us from the ships. It was about four feet square at the base, and about twenty feet high. The four sides were composed of small poles interwoven with twigs and branches, thus forming an indifferent wicker-work, hollow or open within, from bottom to top. It seemed to be rather in a ruinous state; but there were sufficient remaining marks to show that it had originally been covered with a thin, light, grey cloth; which these people, it should seem, consecrate to religious purposes; as we could see a good deal of it hanging in different parts of the *morai;* and some of it had been forced upon me when I first landed. On each side of the pyramid were long pieces of wicker-work, called *hereanee*, in the same ruinous condition; with two slender poles, inclining to each other, at one corner, where some plantains were laid upon a board, fixed at the height of five or six feet. This they called *heraiveny;* and informed us that the fruit was an offering to their god, which makes it agree exactly with the *whatta* of Otaheite. Before the *henananoo* were a few pieces of wood, carved into something like human figures, which, with a stone near two feet high, covered with pieces of cloth called *hoho*, and consecrated to *Tongarooa*, who is the god of these people, still more and more reminded us of what we used to meet with in the *morais* of the islands we had lately left*. Adjoining to these, on the outside of the *morai*, was a small shed, no bigger than a dog-kennel, which they called *hareepahoo;* and before it was a grave, where, as we were told, the remains of a woman lay.



MORAI AT ATOOI, WITH PYRAMIDS.

On the farther side of the area of the *morai*, stood a house or shed about forty feet long, ten broad in the middle, each end being narrower, and about ten feet high. This, which though much longer, was lower than their common dwelling-places, we were informed was called *hemanaa*. The entrance into it was at the middle of the side, which was in the *morai*. On the farther side of this house, opposite the entrance, stood two wooden images cut out of one piece, with pedestals, in all about three feet high; neither very indifferently designed nor executed. These were said to be *Eatooa no Veheina*, or representations of goddesses. On the head of one of them was a carved helmet, not unlike those worn by the ancient warriors; and on that of the other, a cylindrical cap, resembling the head-dress at Otaheite,

* See the description of the *morai*, in Otaheite, where the human sacrifice was offered, at which Captain Cook was present.

called *tomou;* and both of them had pieces of cloth tied about the loins, and hanging a considerable way down. At the side of each was also a piece of carved wood with bits of the cloth hung on them in the same manner; and between or before the pedestals lay a quantity of fern in a heap. It was obvious that this had been deposited there piece by piece, and at different times; for there was of it, in all states, from what was quite decayed to what was still fresh and green.

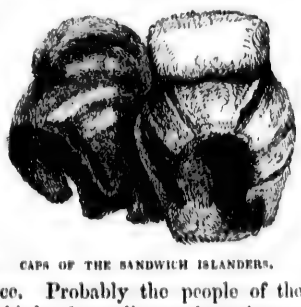
In the middle of the house, and before the two images, was an oblong space, inclosed by a low edging of stone, and covered with shreds of the cloth so often mentioned. This, on inquiry, we found was the grave of seven chiefs, whose names were enumerated, and the place was called *Heneene.* We had met already with so many striking instances of resemblance between the burying-place we were now visiting and those of islands we had lately come from in the South Pacific, that we had little doubt in our minds that the resemblance existed also in the ceremonies practised here, and particularly in the horrid one of offering human sacrifices. Our suspicions were too soon confirmed, by direct evidence. For, on coming out of the house, just on one side of the entrance, we saw a small square place, and another still less near it; and on asking what these were? our guide immediately informed us, that in the one was buried a man who had been sacrificed; a *Taata* (*Tanata* or *Tangata,* in this country) *taboo* (*tafoo,* as here pronounced); and in the other a hog, which had also been made an offering to the divinity. At a little distance from these, near the middle of the *morai,* were three more of these square inclosed places, with two pieces of carved wood at each, and upon them a heap of fern. These, we were told, were the graves of three chiefs; and before them was an oblong inclosed space, to which our conductor also gave the name of *Tangata-taboo;* telling us, so explicitly, that we could not mistake his meaning, that three human sacrifices had been buried there; that is, one at the funeral of each chief. It was with most sincere concern, that I could trace, on such undoubted evidence, the prevalence of these bloody rites throughout this immense ocean, amongst people disjoined by such a distance, and even ignorant of each other's existence, though so strongly marked as originally of the same nation. It was no small addition to this concern to reflect that every appearance led us to believe that the barbarous practice was very general here. The island seemed to abound with such places of sacrifice as this which we were now visiting, and which appeared to be one of the most inconsiderable of them; being far less conspicuous than several others which we had seen as we sailed along the coast, and particularly than that on the opposite side of the water in this valley; the white *henananoo,* or pyramid, of which we were now almost sure, derived its colour only from pieces of the consecrated cloth laid over it. In several parts within the inclosure of this burying-ground, were planted trees of the *cordia sebestina,* some of the *morinda citrifolia,* and several plants of the *etee,* or *jejee* of Tongataboo, with the leaves of which the *hemanaa* was thatched; and as I observed that this plant was not made use of in thatching their dwelling-houses, probably it is reserved entirely for religious purposes.

Our road to and from the *morai,* which I have described, lay through the plantations. The greatest part of the ground was quite flat, with ditches full of water intersecting different parts, and roads that seemed artificially raised to some height. The interspaces were, in general, planted with *taro,* which grows here with great strength, as the fields are sunk below the common level, so as to contain the water necessary to nourish the roots. This water probably comes from the same source which supplies the large pool from which we filled our casks. On the drier spaces were several spots where the cloth-mulberry was planted in regular rows; also growing vigorously, and kept very clean. The cocoa-trees were not in so thriving a state, and were all low; but the plantain-trees made a better appearance, though they were not large. In general the trees round this village, and which were seen at many of those which we passed before we anchored, are the *cordia sebestina;* but of a more diminutive size than the product of the southern isles. The greatest part of the village stands near the beach, and consists of above sixty houses there; but, perhaps, about forty more stand scattered about, farther up the country, toward the burying-place.

After we had examined very carefully everything that was to be seen about the *morai,* and Mr. Webber had taken drawings of it, and of the adjoining country, we returned by

a different route. I found a great crowd assembled at the beach; and a brisk trade for pigs, fowls, and roots going on there, with the greatest good order; though I did not observe any particular person who took the lead amongst the rest of his countrymen. At noon, I went on board to dinner, and then sent Mr. King to command the party on shore. He was to have gone upon that service in the morning, but was then detained in the ship to make lunar observations. In the afternoon I landed again, accompanied by Captain Clerke, with a view to make another excursion up the country. But before this could be put in execution, the day was too far spent, so that I laid aside my intention for the present, and it so happened that I had not another opportunity. At sunset, I brought everybody on board, having procured in the course of the day nine tons of water; and, by exchanges, chiefly for nails and pieces of iron, about seventy or eighty pigs, a few fowls, a quantity of potatoes, and a few plantains and *taro* roots. These people merited our best commendations in this commercial intercourse, never once attempting to cheat us, either ashore or alongside the ships. Some of them, indeed, as already mentioned, at first betrayed a thievish disposition, or rather, they thought that they had a right to everything they could lay their hands upon; but they soon laid aside a conduct which, we convinced them, they could not persevere in with impunity.

Amongst the articles which they brought to barter this day, we could not help taking notice of a particular sort of cloak and cap, which, even in countries where dress is more particularly attended to, might be reckoned elegant. The first are nearly of the size and shape of the short cloaks worn by the women of England, and by the men in Spain, reaching to the middle of the back, and tied loosely before. The ground of them is a net-work upon which the most beautiful red and yellow feathers are so closely fixed that the surface might be compared to the thickest and richest velvet, which they resemble, both as to the feel and the glossy appearance. The manner of varying the mixture is very different; some having triangular spaces of red and yellow alternately; others, a kind of crescent; and some that were entirely red, had a broad yellow border, which made them appear, at some distance, exactly like a scarlet cloak edged with gold lace. The brilliant colours of the feathers, in those that happened to be new, added not a little to their fine appearance; and we found that they were in high estimation with their owners; for they would not at first part with one of them for anything that we offered, asking no less a price than a musket. However, some were afterward purchased for very large nails. Such of them as were of the best sort were scarce; and it should seem that they are only used on the occasion of some particular ceremony or diversion; for the people who had them always made some gesticulations which we had seen used before by those who sung. The cap is made almost exactly like a helmet, with the middle part, or crest, sometimes of a hand's breadth; and it sits very close upon the head, having notches to admit the ears. It is a frame of twigs and osiers, covered with a net-work, into which are wrought feathers, in the same manner as upon the cloaks, though rather closer and less diversified, the greater part being red, with some black, yellow, or green stripes on the sides, following the curve direction of the crest. These, probably, complete the dress, with the cloaks, for the natives sometimes appeared in both together.



CAPS OF THE SANDWICH ISLANDERS.

We were at a loss to guess from whence they could get such a quantity of these beautiful feathers; but were soon informed as to one sort; for they afterward brought great numbers of skins of small red birds for sale, which were often tied up in bunches of twenty or more, or had a small wooden skewer run through their nostrils. At the first, those that were bought consisted only of the skin from behind the wings forward; but we afterward got many with the hind part, including the tail and feet. The first, however, struck us at once with the origin of the fable formerly adopted, of the birds of paradise wanting legs, and sufficiently explained that circumstance. Probably the people of the islands east of the Moluccas, from whence the skins of the birds of paradise are brought, cut

off their feet for the very reason assigned by the people of Atooi for the like practice, which was, that they hereby can preserve them with greater ease, without losing any part which they reckon valuable. The red-bird of our island was judged by Mr. Anderson to be a species of *merops*, about the size of a sparrow, of a beautiful scarlet colour, with a black tail and wings, and an arched bill twice the length of the head, which, with the feet, was also of a reddish colour. The contents of the heads were taken out, as in the birds of paradise; but it did not appear that they used any other method to preserve them than by simple drying, for the skins, though moist, had neither a taste nor smell that could give room to suspect the use of anti-putrescent substances *.

In the night and all the morning of the 22d, it rained almost continually. The wind was at S.E., S.S.E., and S., which brought in a short chopping sea; and as there were breakers little more than two cables' length from the stern of our ship, her situation was none of the safest. The surf broke so high against the shore that we could not land in our boats; but the day was not wholly lost, for the natives ventured in their canoes to bring off to the ships hogs and roots, which they bartered as before. One of our visitors on this occasion, who offered some fish-hooks to sale, was observed to have a very small parcel to the string of one of them, which he separated with great care, and reserved for himself, when he parted with the hook. Being asked what it was? He pointed to his belly and spoke something of its being dead, at the same time saying it was bad, as if he did not wish to answer any more questions about it. On seeing him so anxious to conceal the contents of this parcel, he was requested to open it, which he did with great reluctance, and some difficulty, as it was wrapped up in many folds of cloth. We found that it contained a thin bit of flesh about two inches long, which, to appearance, had been dried, but was now wet with salt water. It struck us that it might be human flesh, and that these people might, perhaps, eat their enemies, as we knew that this was the practice of some of the natives of the South Sea islands. The question being put to the person who produced it, he answered, that the flesh was part of a man. Another of his countrymen, who stood by him, was then asked whether it was their custom to eat those killed in battle? and he immediately answered in the affirmative.

There were some intervals of fair weather in the afternoon; and the wind then inclined to the east and north-east; but, in the evening, it veered back again to the south-south-east, and the rain also returned, and continued all night. Very luckily, it was not attended with much wind. We had, however, prepared for the worst, by dropping the small bower anchor; and striking our top-gallant-yards.

At seven o'clock the next morning, a breeze of wind springing up at north-east, I took up the anchors with a view of removing the ship farther out. The moment that the last anchor was up, the wind veered to the east, which made it necessary to set all the sail we could, in order to clear the shore: so that before we had tolerable sea-room, we were driven some distance to leeward. We made a stretch off, with a view to regain the road; but having very little wind and a strong current against us, I found that it was not to be effected, I therefore despatched Messrs. King and Williamson ashore, with three boats, for water, and

* It is a matter of real curiosity to observe how very extensively the predilection for red feathers is spread throughout all the islands of the Pacific Ocean: and the additional circumstance mentioned in this paragraph will probably be looked upon, by those who amuse themselves in tracing the wonderful migrations of the same family or tribe, as a confirmation of that hypothesis (built, indeed, on other instances of resemblance), which considers New Guinea, and its neighbouring East India islands, from whence the Dutch bring their birds of paradise, as originally peopled by the same race, which Captain Cook found at every island from New Zealand to this new group, to which Atooi belongs.

What Mr. Sonnerat tells us about the bird of paradise agrees perfectly with the account here given of the preserved red-birds. Speaking of the *Papous*, he proceeds thus: "Ils nous présentèrent plusieurs espèces d'oiseaux, aussi élégants par leur forme, que brillants par l'éclat de leurs couleurs. La dépouille des oiseaux sert à la parure des chefs, qui la portent attachée à leurs bonnets en forme d'aigrettes. Mais en préparant les peaux, ils coupent les pieds. Les Hollandois, qui trafiquent sur ces côtes, y achètent de ces peaux ainsi préparées, les transportent en Perse, à Surate, dans les Indes, où ils les vendent fort chères aux habitans riches, qui en font des aigrettes pour leurs turbans, et pour le casque des guerriers, et qui en parent leur chevaux. C'est de là qu'est venue l'opinion, qu'une de ces espèces d'oiseaux (l'oiseau de paradis) 'n'a point de pattes.' Les Hollandois ont accrédité ces fables, qui, en jetant du merveilleux sur l'objet dont ils trafiquoient, étoient propres à le rendre plus précieux, et à en rehausser la valeur."—Voyage à la Nouvelle Guinée, p. 154.

to trade for refreshments. At the same time I sent an order to Captain Clerke to put to sea after me, if he should see that I could not recover the road. Being in hopes of finding one, or perhaps a harbour, at the west end of the island, I was the less anxious about gettting back to my former station. But as I had sent the boats thither, we kept to windward as much as possible; notwithstanding which, at noon, we were three leagues to leeward. As we drew near the west end of the island, we found the coast to round gradually to the north-east, without forming a creek, or cove, to shelter a vessel from the force of the swell, which rolled in from the north, and broke upon the shore in a prodigious surf; so that all hopes of finding a harbour here vanished.

Several canoes came off in the morning, and followed us as we stood out to sea, bartering their roots and other articles. Being very averse to believe these people to be cannibals, notwithstanding the suspicious circumstance which had happened the day before, we took occasion now to make some more inquiries about this. A small wooden instrument, beset with shark's teeth, had been purchased; and from its resemblance to the saw or knife used by the New Zealanders, to dissect the bodies of their enemies, it was suspected to have the same use here. One of the natives being asked about this, immediately gave the name of the instrument, and told us that it was used to cut out the fleshy part of the belly, when any person was killed. This explained and confirmed the circumstance above-mentioned, of the person pointing to his belly. The man, however, from whom we had this information, being asked if his countrymen eat the part thus cut out? denied it strongly; but, upon the question being repeated, showed some degree of fear, and swam to his canoe. Just before he reached it, he made signs, as he had done before, expressive of the use of the instrument. And an old man, who sat foremost in the canoe, being then asked, whether they eat the flesh? answered in the affirmative, and laughed seemingly at the simplicity of such a question. He affirmed the fact, on being asked again; and also said that it was excellent food, or, as he expressed it, "savoury eating."

At seven o'clock in the evening, the boats returned with two tons of water, a few hogs, a quantity of plantains, and some roots. Mr. King informed me, that a great number of the inhabitants were at the watering or landing-place. He supposed that they had come from all parts of the island. They had brought with them a great many fine fat hogs to barter; but my people had not commodities with them equal to the purchase. This, however, was no great loss; for we had already got as many on board as we could well manage for immediate use; and, wanting the materials, we could not have salted them. Mr. King also told me, that a great deal of rain had fallen ashore, whereas, out at sea, we had only a few showers; and that the surf had run so high, that it was with great difficulty our men landed, and got back into the boats. We had light airs and calms, by turns, with showers of rain all night; and at day-break, in the morning of the 24th, we found, that the currents had carried the ship to the north-west and north; so that the west end of the island, upon which we had been, called Atooi by the natives, bore east, one league distant; another island called Oreehoua, west by south; and the high land of a third island, called Oneeheow, from south-west by west, to west-south-west. Soon after a breeze sprung up at north; and, as I expected that this would bring the Discovery to sea, I steered for Oneeheow, in order to take a nearer view of it, and to anchor there, if I should find a convenient place. I continued to steer for it, till past 11 o'clock, at which time we were about two leagues from it. But not seeing the Discovery, and being doubtful whether they could see us, I was fearful lest some ill consequence might attend our separating so far, I therefore gave up the design of visiting Oneeheow for the present, and stood back to Atooi, with an intent to anchor again in the road, to complete our water. At two o'clock in the afternoon, the northerly wind died away, and was succeeded by variable light airs and calms, that continued till eleven at night, with which we stretched to the south-east, till day-break in the morning of the 25th, when we tacked and stood in for Atooi road, which bore about north from us; and, soon after, we were joined by the Discovery.

We fetched in with the land about two leagues to leeward of the road, which, though so near, we never could recover; for what we gained at one time, we lost at another; so that, by the morning of the 29th, the currents had carried us westward, within three leagues of

Oneeheow. Being tired with plying so unsuccessfully, I gave up all thoughts of getting back to Atooi, and came to the resolution of trying whether we could not procure what we wanted at the other island, which was within our reach. With this view, I sent the Master in a boat to sound the coast; to look out for a landing-place; and, if he should find one, to examine if fresh water could be conveniently got in its neighbourhood. To give him time to execute his commission, we followed, under an easy sail, with the ships. As soon as we were abreast, or to the westward of the south point of Oneeheow, we found thirty, twenty-five, and twenty fathoms water, over a bottom of coral sand, a mile from the shore. At ten o'clock the Master returned, and reported that he had landed in one place, but could find no fresh water; and that there was anchorage all along the coast. Seeing a village a little farther to leeward, and some of the islanders, who had come off to the ships, informing us, that fresh water might be got there, I ran down, and came to an anchor before it, in twenty-six fathoms water, about three quarters of a mile from the shore. The south-east point of the island bore S., 65° E., three miles distant; the other extreme of the island bore north by east, about two or three miles distant; a peaked hill, inland, N. E., a quarter E.; and another island, called Tahoora, which was discovered the preceding evening, bore S., 61° W., distant seven leagues.

Six or seven canoes had come off to us before we anchored, bringing some small pigs and potatoes, and a good many yams and mats. The people in them resembled those of Atooi, and seemed to be equally well acquainted with the use of iron, which they asked for also by the names of *hamaite* and *toe;* parting readily with all their commodities for pieces of this precious metal. Several more canoes soon reached the ships after they had anchored; but the natives in these seemed to have no other object than to pay us a formal visit. Many of them came readily on board, crouching down upon the deck, and not quitting that humble posture till they were desired to get up. They had brought several females with them, who remained alongside in the canoes, behaving with far less modesty than their countrywomen of Atooi; and at times all joining in a song, not remarkable for its melody, though performed in very exact concert, by beating time upon their breasts with their hands. The men who had come on board did not stay long; and before they departed, some of them requested our permission to lay down, on the deck, locks of their hair.

These visitors furnished us with an opportunity of agitating again, this day, the curious inquiry whether they were cannibals; and the subject did not take its rise from any question of ours, but from a circumstance that seemed to remove all ambiguity. One of the islanders who wanted to get in at the gun-room port was refused; and at the same time asked whether, if he should come in, we would kill and eat him? accompanying this question with signs so expressive, that there could be no doubt about his meaning. This gave a proper opening to retort the question as to this practice; and a person behind the other, in the canoe, who paid great attention to what was passing, immediately answered, that if we were killed on shore, they would certainly eat us. He spoke with so little emotion, that it appeared plainly to be his meaning that they would not destroy us for that purpose; but that their eating us would be the consequence of our being at enmity with them. I have availed myself of Mr. Anderson's collections for the decision of this matter; and am sorry to say, that I cannot see the least reason to hesitate in pronouncing it to be certain, that the horrid banquet of human flesh is as much relished here, amidst plenty, as it is in New Zealand.

In the afternoon I sent Lieutenant Gore, with three armed boats, to look for the most convenient landing-place; and, when on shore, to search for fresh water. In the evening he returned, having landed at the village above mentioned, and acquainted me that he had been conducted to a well half a mile up the country; but, by his account, the quantity of water it contained was too inconsiderable for our purpose, and the road leading to it exceedingly bad.

On the 30th I sent Mr. Gore ashore again, with a guard of marines, and a party to trade with the natives for refreshments. I intended to have followed soon after, and went from the ship with that design; but the surf had increased so much by this time, that I was fearful if I got ashore I should not be able to get off again. This really happened to our

people who had landed with Mr. Gore, the communication between them and the ships by our own boats being soon stopped. In the evening they made a signal for the boats, which were sent accordingly; and, not long after, they returned with a few yams and some salt. A tolerable quantity of both had been procured in the course of the day; but the surf was so great, that the greatest part of both these articles had been lost in conveying them to the boats. The officer and twenty men, deterred by the danger of coming off, were left ashore all night; and by this unfortunate circumstance, the very thing happened which, as I have already mentioned, I wished so heartily to prevent, and vainly imagined I had effectually guarded against. The violence of the surf, which our own boats could not act against, did not hinder the natives from coming off to the ships in their canoes. They brought refreshments with them, which were purchased in exchange for nails and pieces of iron hoops; and I distributed a good many pieces of ribbon and some buttons, as bracelets, amongst the women in the canoes. One of the men had the figure of a lizard punctured upon his breast, and upon those of others were the figures of men badly imitated. These visitors informed us that there was no chief, or *Hairee*, of this island, but that it was subject to Teneooneoo, a chief of Atooi; which island, they said, was not governed by a single chief, but that there were many to whom they paid the honour of *moe*, or prostration; and, among others, they named Otaeaio and Terarotoa. Amongst other things which these people now brought off was a small drum, almost like those of Otaheite.

About ten or eleven o'clock at night the wind veered to the south, and the sky seemed to forebode a storm. With such appearances, thinking that we were rather too near the shore, I ordered the anchors to be taken up, and having carried the ships into forty-two fathoms, came-to again in that safer station. The precaution, however, proved to be unnecessary; for the wind soon after veered to N.N.E., from which quarter it blew a fresh gale, with squalls, attended with very heavy showers of rain. This weather continued all the next day, and the sea ran so high that we had no manner of communication with our party on shore; and even the natives themselves durst not venture out to the ships in their canoes. In the evening I sent the master in a boat up to the south-east head, or point of the island, to try if he could land under it. He returned with a favourable report, but it was too late, now, to send for our party till the next morning; and thus they had another night to improve their intercourse with the natives.

Encouraged by the master's report, I sent a boat to the south-east point, as soon as daylight returned, with an order to Mr. Gore, that if he could not embark his people from the spot where they now were, to march them up to the point. As the boat could not get to the beach, one of the crew swam ashore and carried the order. On the return of the boat, I went myself with the pinnace and launch up to the point, to bring the party on board; taking with me a ram-goat and two ewes, a boar and sow-pig of the English breed, and the seeds of melons, pumpkins, and onions; being very desirous of benefiting these poor people, by furnishing them with some additional articles of food. I landed with the greatest ease, under the west side of the point, and found my party already there, with some of the natives in company. To one of them, whom Mr. Gore had observed assuming some command over the rest, I gave the goats, pigs, and seeds. I should have left these well-intended presents at Atooi had we not been so unexpectedly driven from it.

While the people were engaged in filling four water-casks from a small stream occasioned by the late rain, I walked a little way up the country attended by the man above-mentioned, and followed by two others carrying the two pigs. As soon as we got upon a rising ground, I stopped to look round me; and observed a woman, on the other side of the valley where I landed, calling to her countryman who attended me. Upon this the chief began to mutter something which I supposed was a prayer; and the two men who carried the pigs continued to walk round me all the time, making at least a dozen circuits before the other had finished his orison. This ceremony being performed, we proceeded; and presently met people coming from all parts, who, on being called to by the attendants, threw themselves prostrate on their faces, till I was out of sight. The ground through which I passed was in a state of nature, very stony, and the soil seemed poor. It was, however, covered with shrubs and plants, some of which perfumed the air with a more delicious fragrancy than I had met

at any other of the islands visited by us in this ocean. Our people who had been obliged to remain so long on shore, gave me the same account of those parts of the island which they had traversed. They met with several salt ponds, some of which had a little water remaining, but others had none; and the salt that was left in them was so thin, that no great quantity could have been procured. There was no appearance of any running stream; and though they found some small wells, in which the fresh water was tolerably good, it seemed scarce. The habitations of the natives were thinly scattered about; and, it was supposed, that there could not be more than five hundred people upon the island, as the greatest part were seen at the marketing-place of our party, and few found about the houses by those who walked up the country. They had an opportunity of observing the method of living amongst the natives, and it appeared to be decent and cleanly. They did not, however, see any instance of the men and women eating together; and the latter seemed generally associated in companies by themselves. It was found that they burnt here the oily nuts of the *doee dooe* for lights in the night, as at Otaheite; and that they baked their hogs in ovens; but, contrary to the practice of the Society and Friendly Islands, split their carcases through their whole length. They met with a positive proof of the existence of the *taboo* (or, as they pronounce it, the *tafoo*), for one woman fed another who was under that interdiction. They also observed some other mysterious ceremonies; one of which was performed by a woman, who took a small pig, and threw it into the surf till it was drowned, and then tied up a bundle of wood, which she also disposed of in the same manner. The same woman, at another time, beat with a stick upon a man's shoulders, who sat down for that purpose. A particular veneration seemed to be paid here to owls, which they have very tame; and it was observed to be a pretty general practice amongst them to pull out one of their teeth*; for which old custom, when asked the reason, the only answer that could be got was, that it was *teeha*, which was also the reason assigned for another of their practices, the giving a lock of their hair.

After the water-tasks had been filled and conveyed into the boat, and we had purchased from the natives a few roots, a little salt, and some salted fish, I returned on board with all the people, intending to visit the island the next day. But about seven o'clock in the evening the anchor of the Resolution started, and she drove off the bank. As we had a whole cable out, it was some time before the anchor was at the bows; and then we had the launch to hoist up alongside, before we could make sail. By this unlucky accident we found ourselves, at day-break next morning, three leagues to the leeward of our last station; and foreseeing that it would require more time to recover it than I chose to spend, I made the signal for the Discovery to weigh and join us. This was done about noon; and we immediately stood away to the northward in prosecution of our voyage. Thus, after spending more time about these islands than was necessary to have answered all our purposes, we were obliged to leave them before we had completed our water, and got from them such a quantity of refreshments as their inhabitants were both able and willing to have supplied us with. But, as it was, our ship procured from them provisions sufficient for three weeks at least; and Captain Clerke, more fortunate than us, got of their vegetable productions a supply that lasted his people upward of two months. The observations I was enabled to make, combined with those of Mr. Anderson, who was a very useful assistant on all such occasions, will furnish materials for the next chapter.

* It is very remarkable that, in this custom, which one would think is so unnatural as not to be adopted by two different tribes originally unconnected, the people of this island, and Dampier's natives on the west side of New Holland, at such an immense distance, should be found to agree.

CHAPTER XII.—THE SITUATION OF THE ISLANDS NOW DISCOVERED.—THEIR NAMES.—CALLED THE SANDWICH ISLANDS.—ATOOI DESCRIBED.—THE SOIL.—CLIMATE.—VEGETABLE PRODUCTIONS.—BIRDS.—FISH.—DOMESTIC ANIMALS.—PERSONS OF THE INHABITANTS.—THEIR DISPOSITION.—DRESS.—ORNAMENTS.—HABITATIONS.—FOOD.—COOKERY.—AMUSEMENTS.—MANUFACTURES.—WORKING-TOOLS.—KNOWLEDGE OF IRON ACCOUNTED FOR.—CANOES.—AGRICULTURE.—ACCOUNT OF ONE OF THEIR CHIEFS.—WEAPONS.—CUSTOMS AGREEING WITH THOSE OF TONGATABOO AND OTAHEITE.—THEIR LANGUAGE THE SAME.—EXTENT OF THIS NATION THROUGHOUT THE PACIFIC OCEAN.—REFLECTIONS ON THE USEFUL SITUATION OF THE SANDWICH ISLANDS.

It is worthy of observation, that the islands in the Pacific Ocean, which our late voyages have added to the geography of the globe, have been generally found lying in groups or clusters; the single intermediate islands, as yet discovered, being few in proportion to the others; though, probably, there are many more of them still unknown, which serve as steps between the several clusters. Of what number this newly-discovered archipelago consists must be left for future investigation. We saw five of them, whose names, as given to us by the natives, are Woahoo, Atooi, Oneeheow, Oreehoua, and Tahoora. The last is a small elevated island, lying four or five leagues from the south-east point of Oneeheow, in the direction of south, 69° W. We were told that it abounds with birds, which are its only inhabitants. We also got some information of the existence of a low uninhabited island in the neighbourhood, whose name is Tammata pappa. Besides these six, which we can distinguish by their names, it appeared, that the inhabitants of those with whom we had intercourse were acquainted with some other islands, both to the eastward and westward. I named the whole group the Sandwich Islands, in honour of the Earl of Sandwich. Those that I saw are situated between the latitude of 21° 30′ and 22° 15′ N., and between the longitude of 199° 20′ and 201° 30′ East. Of Woahoo, the most easterly of these islands seen by us, which lies in the latitude of 21° 36′, we could get no other intelligence but that it is high land and is inhabited.

We had opportunities of knowing some particulars about Oneeheow, which have been mentioned already. It lies several leagues to the westward of our anchoring-place at Atooi; and is not above fifteen leagues in circuit. Its chief vegetable produce is yams, if we may judge from what was brought to us by the natives. They have salt, which they call *patai;* and is produced in salt ponds. With it they cure both fish and pork; and some salt fish which we got from them kept very well, and were found to be very good. This island is mostly low land, except the part facing Atooi, which rises directly from the sea to a good height; as does also the south-east point of it, which terminates in a round hill. It was on the west side of this point where our ships anchored. Of Oreehoua we know nothing more than that it is a small elevated island, lying close to the north side of Oneeheow.

Atooi, which is the largest, being the principal scene of our operations, I shall now proceed to lay before my readers what information I was able to collect about it, either from actual observation while on shore, or from conversation with its inhabitants, who were perpetually on board the ships while we lay at anchor; and who, in general, could be tolerably well understood by those of us who had acquired an acquaintance with the dialects of the South Pacific Islands. It is, however, to be regretted that we should have been obliged so soon to leave a place which, as far as our opportunities of knowing reached, seemed to be highly worthy of a more accurate examination. Atooi, from what we saw of it, is at least ten leagues in length from east to west; from whence its circuit may nearly be guessed, though it appears to be much broader at the east than at the west point, if we may judge from the double range of hills which appeared there. The road, or anchoring-place, which we occupied, is on the south-west side of the island, about six miles from the west end, before a village which has the name of Wymoa. As far as we sounded, we found that the bank has a fine grey sand at the bottom, and is free from rocks, except a little to the eastward of the village, where there spits out a shoal on which are some rocks and breakers; but they are not far from shore. This road would be entirely sheltered from the trade-wind

if the height of the land over which it blows did not alter its direction, and make it follow that of the coast; so that it blows at north-east on one side of the island, and at east-south-east, or south-east, on the other, falling obliquely upon the shore. Thus the road, though situated on the lee side of the island, is a little exposed to the trade-wind; but, notwithstanding this defect, is far from being a bad station, and much superior to those which necessity obliges ships daily to use, in regions where the winds are both more variable and more boisterous; as at Teneriffe, Madeira, the Azores, and elsewhere. The landing, too, is more easy than at most of those places; and, unless in very bad weather, always practicable. The water to be got in the neighbourhood is excellent, and easy to be conveyed to the boats. But no wood can be cut at any distance convenient enough to bring it from, unless the natives could be prevailed upon to part with the few *etooa* trees (for so they call the *Cordia sebastina*), that grow about their villages, or a sort called *dooe dooe*, that grow farther up the country.

The land, as to its general apppearance, does not, in the least, resemble any of the islands we have hitherto visited within the tropic, on the south side of the equator; if we except its hills near the centre, which are high, but slope gently to the sea, or lower lands. Though it be destitute of the delightful borders of Otaheite, and of the luxuriant plains of Tongataboo, covered with trees, which at once afford a friendly shelter from the scorching sun, and an enchanting prospect to the eye, and food for the natives, which may be truly said to drop from the trees into their mouths, without the laborious task of rearing; though, I say, Atooi be destitute of these advantages, its possessing a greater quantity of gently-rising land renders it, in some measure, superior to the above favourite islands, as being more capable of improvement. The height of the land within, the quantity of clouds which we saw, during the whole time we staid, hanging over it, and frequently on the other parts, seems to put it beyond all doubt, that there is a sufficient supply of water; and that there are some running streams which we did not see, especially in the deep valleys, at the entrance of which the villages commonly stand. From the wooded part to the sea, the ground is covered with an excellent sort of grass, about two feet high, which grows sometimes in tufts, and, though not very thick at the place where we were, seemed capable of being converted into plentiful crops of fine hay. But not even a shrub grows naturally on this extensive space.

In the break, or narrow valley, through which we had our road to the *morai*, the soil is of a brownish black colour, somewhat loose; but as we advanced upon the high ground, it changed to a reddish brown, more stiff and clayey, though, at this time, brittle from its dryness. It is most probably the same all over the cultivated parts; for what adhered to most of the potatoes bought by us, which, no doubt, came from very different spots, was of this sort. Its quality, however, may be better understood from its products than from its appearance. For the vale, or moist ground, produces *taro*, of a much larger size than any we had ever seen; and the higher ground furnishes sweet potatoes, that often weigh ten, and sometimes twelve or fourteen pounds; very few being under two or three. The temperature of the climate may be easily guessed from the situation of the island. Were we to judge of it from our experience, it might be said to be very variable; for, according to the generally received opinion, it was now the season of the year when the weather is supposed to be most settled, the sun being at its greatest annual distance. The heat was, at this time, very moderate; and few of those inconveniences which many tropical countries are subject to, either from heat or moisture, seem to be experienced here, as the habitations of the natives are quite close; and they salt both fish and pork, which keep well, contrary to what has usually been observed to be the case, when this operation is attempted in hot countries. Neither did we find any dews of consequence, which may, in some measure, be accounted for, by the lower part of the country being destitute of trees.

The rock that forms the sides of the valley, and which seems to be the same with that seen by us at different parts of the coast, is a greyish-black ponderous stone; but honeycombed, with some very minute shining particles, and some spots of a rusty colour interspersed. The last gives it often a reddish cast, when at a distance. It is of an immense depth, but seems divided into *strata*, though nothing is interposed. For the large pieces always broke off to a determinate thickness, without appearing to have adhered to those below them.

Other stones are probably much more various than in the southern islands. For, during our short stay, besides the *lapis lydius*, which seems common all over the South Sea, we found a species of cream-coloured whetstone, sometimes variegated with blacker or whiter veins, as marble; or in pieces, as *breccia*; and common writing-slate, as well as a coarser sort; but we saw none of them in their natural state; and the natives brought some pieces of a coarse whitish pumice-stone. We got also a brown sort of *hæmatites*, which, from being strongly attracted by the magnet, discovered the quantity of metal that it contained, and seems to belong to the second species of *Constredt*, though Linnæus has placed it amongst his *intractabilia*. But its variety could not be discovered; for what we saw of it, as well as the slates and whetstones, was cut artificially.

Besides the vegetable articles bought by us as refreshments, amongst which were, at least, five or six varieties of plantains, the island produces bread-fruit, though it seems to be scarce, as we saw only one tree, which was large, and had some fruit upon it. There are also a few cocoa-palms; yams, as we were told, for we saw none; the *kappe* of the Friendly Islands, or Virginian *arum*; the *etooa* tree, and sweet-smelling *gardenia*, or *cape jasmine*. We saw several trees of the *dooe dooe*, so useful at Otaheite, as bearing the oily nuts which are stuck upon a kind of skewer and burnt as candles. Our people saw them used, in the same manner, at Oneeheow. We were not on shore at Atooi but in the day-time, and then we saw the natives wearing these nuts, hung on strings, round the neck. There is a species of *sida*, or Indian mallow, somewhat altered by the climate, from what we saw at Christmas Island; the *Morinda citrifolia*, which is called *none*; a species of *convolvulus*; the *ava*, or intoxicating pepper; and great numbers of gourds. These last grow to a very large size, and are of a vast variety of shapes, which probably is effected by art. Upon the dry sand, about the village, grew a plant that we had never seen in these seas, of the size of a common thistle, and prickly, like that; but bearing a fine flower, almost resembling a white poppy. This, with another small one, were the only uncommon plants which our short excursion gave us an opportunity of observing.

The scarlet birds, already described, which were brought for sale, were never met with alive; but we saw a single small one, about the size of a canary-bird, of a deep crimson colour; a large owl; two large brown hawks, or kites; and a wild duck. The natives mentioned the names of several other birds; amongst which we knew the *atoo*, or bluish heron; and the *torata*, a sort of whimbrel, which are known by the same names at Otaheite; and it is probable that there are a great many sorts, judging by the quantity of fine yellow, green, and very small, velvet-like, black feathers used upon the cloaks, and other ornaments, worn by the inhabitants. Fish, and other marine productions, were, to appearance, not various; as, besides the small mackerel, we only saw common mullets; a sort of a dead white, or chalky colour; a small, brownish rock-fish, spotted with blue; a turtle, which was penned up in a pond; and three or four sorts of fish salted. The few shell-fish that we saw were chiefly converted into ornaments, though they neither had beauty nor novelty to recommend them. The hogs, dogs, and fowls, which were the only tame or domestic animals that we found here, were all of the same kind that we met with at the South Pacific islands. There were also small lizards; and some rats, resembling those seen at every island at which we had as yet touched.

The inhabitants are of a middling stature, firmly made, with some exceptions, neither remarkable for a beautiful shape, nor for striking features, which rather express an openness and good-nature, than a keen, intelligent disposition. Their visage, especially amongst the women, is sometimes round; but others have it long; nor can we say that they are distinguished, as a nation, by any general cast of countenance. Their colour is nearly of a nut-brown, and it may be difficult to make a nearer comparison, if we take in all the different hues of that colour; but some individuals are darker. The women have been already mentioned, as being little more delicate than the men in their formation; and I may say that, with a very few exceptions, they have little claim to those peculiarities that distinguish the sex in other countries. There is, indeed, a more remarkable equality in the size, colour, and figure of both sexes, than in most places I have visited. However, upon the whole, they are far from being ugly, and appear to have few natural deformities of any kind.

Their skin is not very soft, nor shining; perhaps for want of oiling, which is practised at the southern islands; but their eyes and teeth are, in general, very tolerable. The hair, for the greatest part, is straight, though in some, frizzling; and though its natural colour be commonly black, it is stained, as at the Friendly and other islands. We saw but few instances of corpulence; and these oftener among the women than the men; but it was chiefly amongst the latter that personal defects were observed, though, if any of them can claim a share of beauty, it was most conspicuous amongst the young men.

WOMAN OF THE SANDWICH ISLANDS.

They are vigorous, active, and most expert swimmers; leaving their canoes upon the most trifling occasion; diving under them, and swimming to others though at a great distance. It was very common to see women, with infants at the breast, when the surf was so high that they could not land in the canoes, leap overboard, and without endangering their little ones, swim to the shore, through a sea that looked dreadful. They seem to be blest with a frank, cheerful disposition; and were I to draw any comparisons, I should say, that they are equally free from the fickle levity which distinguishes the natives of Otaheite, and the sedate cast observable amongst many of those of Tongataboo. They seem to live very sociably in their intercourse with one another; and, except the propensity to thieving, which seems innate in most of the people we have visited in this ocean, they were exceedingly friendly to us. And it does their sensibility no little credit, without flattering ourselves, that when they saw the various articles of our European manufacture, they could not help expressing their surprise, by a mixture of joy and concern, that seemed to apply the case, as a lesson of humility, to themselves; and, on all occasions, they appeared deeply impressed with a consciousness of their own inferiority; a behaviour which equally exempts their national character from the preposterous pride of the more polished Japanese, and of the ruder Greenlander. It was a pleasure to observe with how much affection the women managed their infants, and how readily the men lent their assistance to such a tender office; thus sufficiently distinguishing themselves from those savages who esteem a wife and child as things rather necessary than desirable, or worthy of their notice.

SANDWICH ISLANDER IN HIS FULL DRESS CAP AND CLOAK.

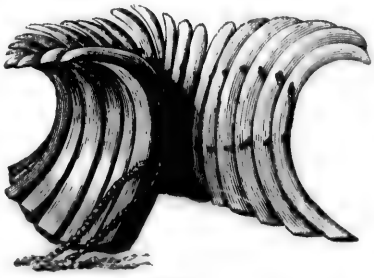
From the numbers which we saw collected at every village, as we sailed past, it may be supposed that the inhabitants of this island are pretty numerous. Any computation that we make can be only conjectural. But that some notion may be formed, which shall not greatly err on either side, I should suppose that, including the straggling houses, there might be, upon the whole island, sixty such villages, as that before which we anchored; and that, allowing five persons to each house, there would be, in every village, five hundred; or thirty thousand upon the island. This number is, certainly, not exaggerated; for we had some-

times three thousand persons, at least, upon the beach; when it could not be supposed that above a tenth part of the inhabitants were present.

The common dress, both of the women and of the men, has been already described. The first have often much larger pieces of cloth wrapped round them, reaching from just below the breasts to the hams, or lower; and several were seen with pieces thrown loosely about the shoulders, which covered the greatest part of the body; but the children, when very young, are quite naked. They wear nothing upon the head; but the hair, in both sexes, is cut in different forms; and the general fashion, especially among the women, is to have it long before and short behind. The men often had it cut, or shaved, on each side, in such a manner, that the remaining part, in some measure, resembles the crest of their caps or helmets formerly described. Both sexes, however, seem very careless about their hair, and have nothing like combs to dress it with. Instances of wearing it, in a singular manner, were sometimes met with among the men, who twist it into a number of separate parcels like the tails of a wig, each about the thickness of a finger; though the greatest part of these, which are so long that they reach far down the back, we observed, were artificially fixed upon the head, over their own hair *.

FASHIONS OF HAIR AMONG THE SANDWICH ISLANDERS.

It is remarkable that, contrary to the general practice of the islands we had hitherto discovered in the Pacific Ocean, the people of the Sandwich Islands have not their ears perforated, nor have they the least idea of wearing ornaments in them. Both sexes, nevertheless, adorn themselves with necklaces made of bunches of small black cord, like our hat-string, often above a hundred-fold, exactly like those of Wateeoo; only that instead of the two little balls, on the middle before, they fix a small bit of wood, stone, or shell, about two inches long, with a broad hook, turning forward at its lower part, well polished. They have, likewise, necklaces of many strings of very small shells, or of the dried flowers of the Indian mallow. And, sometimes, a small human image of bone, about three inches long, neatly polished, is hung round the neck. The women also wear bracelets of a single shell, pieces of black wood, with bits of ivory interspersed, and well polished, fixed by a string drawn very close through them; or others of hogs' teeth, laid parallel to each other, with the concave part outward, and the points cut off, fastened together as the former; some of which, made only of large boars' tusks, are very elegant. The men, sometimes, wear plumes of the tropic-bird's feathers, stuck in their heads; or those of cocks, fastened round neat polished sticks, two feet long, commonly decorated at the lower part with *oora*; and, for the same purpose, the skin of a white dog's tail is sewed over a stick, with its tuft at the end. They also frequently wear on the head a kind of ornament, of a finger's thickness, or more, covered with red and yellow feathers, curiously varied, and tied behind; and on the arm, above the elbow, a kind of broad shell-work, grounded upon net-work.



BRACELET.

The men are frequently punctured, though not in any particular part, as the Otaheiteans, and those of Tongataboo. Sometimes there are a few marks upon their hands or arms, and

* The print of Horn Island, which we meet with in Mr. Dalrymple's account of Le Maire and Schouten's voyages, represents some of the natives of that island with such long tails, hanging from their heads, as are here described. See Dalrymple's Voyage to the South Pacific, vol. ii. p. 58.

near the groin; but frequently we could observe none at all; though a few individuals had more of this sort of ornament than we had usually seen at other places, and ingeniously executed in a great variety of lines and figures, on the arms and forepart of the body; on which latter some of them had the figure of the *taame*, or breast-plate, of Otaheite, though we did not meet with the thing itself amongst them. Contrary to the custom of the Society and Friendly Islands, they do not slit or cut off part of the prepuce; but have it universally drawn over the glans, and tied with a string, as practised by some of the natives of New Zealand.

Though they seem to have adopted the mode of living in villages, there is no appearance of defence, or fortification, near any of them; and the houses are scattered about without any order, either with respect to their distances from each other, or their position in any particular direction. Neither is there any proportion as to their size; some being large and commodious, from forty to fifty feet long, and twenty or thirty broad, while others of them are mere hovels. Their figure is not unlike oblong corn or hay stacks; or, perhaps a better idea may be conceived of them, if we suppose the roof of a barn placed on the ground in such a manner, as to form a high, acute ridge, with two very low sides, hardly discernible at a distance. The gable, at each end corresponding to the sides, makes these habitations perfectly close all round; and they are well thatched with long grass, which is laid on slender poles, disposed with some regularity. The entrance is made indifferently, in the end or side, and is an oblong hole, so low, that one must rather creep than walk in; and is often shut up by a board of planks, fastened together, which serves as a door, but having no hinges, must be removed occasionally. No light enters the house, but by this opening; and though such close habitations may afford a comfortable retreat in bad weather, they seem but ill-adapted to the warmth of the climate. They are, however, kept remarkably clean; and their floors are covered with a large quantity of dried grass, over which they spread mats to sit and sleep upon. At one end stands a kind of bench, about three feet high, on which their household utensils are placed. The catalogue is not long. It consists of gourd shells, which they convert into vessels that serve as bottles to hold water, and as baskets to contain their victuals, and other things, with covers of the same; and of a few wooden bowls and trenchers, of different sizes. Judging from what we saw growing, and from what was brought to market, there can be no doubt that the greatest part of their vegetable food consists of sweet potatoes, *taro*, and plantains; and that bread-fruit and yams are rather to be esteemed rarities. Of animal food, they can be in no want; as they have abundance of hogs, which run, without restraint, about the houses; and if they eat dogs, which is not improbable, their stock of these seem to be very considerable. The great number of fishing-hooks found among them, showed, that they derive no inconsiderable supply of animal food from the sea. But it should seem, from their practice of salting fish, that the openness of their coast often interrupts the business of catching them; as it may be naturally supposed, that no set of people would ever think of preserving quantities of food artificially, if they could depend upon a daily, regular supply of it, in its fresh state. This sort of reasoning, however, will not account for their custom of salting their pork, as well as their fish, which are preserved in gourd-shells. The salt, of which they use a great quantity for this purpose, is of a red colour, not very coarse, and seems to be much the same with what our stragglers found at Christmas Island. It has its colour,

HUTS OF THE SANDWICH ISLANDERS.

doubtless, from a mixture of the mud, at the bottom of the part where it is formed, for some of it that had adhered in lumps, was of a sufficient whiteness and purity.

They bake their vegetable food with heated stones, as at the Southern Islands; and, from the vast quantity which we saw dressed at one time, we suspected that the whole village, or, at least, a considerable number of people, joined in the use of a common oven. We did not see them dress any animal food at this island; but Mr. Gore's party, as already mentioned, had an opportunity of satisfying themselves, that it was dressed in Oneeheow in the same sort of ovens; which leaves no doubt of this being also the practice in Atooi, especially as we met with no utensils there that could be applied to the purpose of stewing or boiling. The only artificial dish we met with, was a *taro* pudding; which, though a disagreeable mess from its sourness, was greedily devoured by the natives. They eat off a kind of wooden plates, or trenchers; and the women, as far as we could judge from one instance, if restrained from feeding at the same dish with the men, as at Otaheite, are at least permitted to eat in the same place near them.

Their amusements seem pretty various; for, during our stay, several were discovered. The dances, at which they use the feathered cloaks and caps, were not seen; but from the motions which they made with their hands, on other occasions, when they sung, we could form some judgment that they are, in some degree at least, similar to those we had met with at the Southern Islands, though not executed so skilfully. Neither had they amongst them either flutes or reeds; and the only two musical instruments which we observed, were of an exceeding rude kind. One of them does not produce a melody exceeding that of a child's rattle. It consists of what may be called a conic cap inverted, but scarcely hollowed at the base, above a foot high, made of a coarse sedge-like plant; the upper part of which, and the edges, are ornamented with beautiful red feathers; and to the point, or lower part, is fixed a gourd-shell, larger than the fist. Into this is put something to rattle; which is done by holding the instrument by the small part, and shaking, or rather moving it, from place to place briskly, either to different sides, or backward and forward, just before the face, striking the breast with the other hand at the same time. The other musical instrument (if either of them deserve that name) was a hollow vessel of wood, like a platter, combined with the use of two sticks, on which one of our gentlemen saw a man performing. He held one of the sticks, about two feet long, as we do a fiddle, with one hand, and struck it with the other, which was smaller, and resembled a drum-stick, in a quicker or slower measure; at the same time beating with his foot upon the hollow vessel, that lay inverted upon the ground, and thus producing a tune that was by no means disagreeable. This music was accompanied by the vocal performance of some women, whose song had a pleasing and tender effect.

We observed great numbers of small polished rods, about four or five feet long, somewhat thicker than the rammer of a musket, with a tuft of long white dog's hair fixed on the small end. These are, probably, used in their diversions. We saw a person take one of them in his hand, and holding it up, give a smart stroke, till he brought it into an horizontal position, striking with the foot, on the same side, upon the ground, and with his other hand beating his breast at the same time. They play at bowls, with pieces of whetstone mentioned before, of about a pound weight, shaped somewhat like a small cheese, but rounded at the sides and edges, which are very nicely polished; and they have other bowls of the same sort, made of a heavy reddish brown clay, neatly glazed over with a composition of the same colour, or of a coarse, dark grey slate. They also use, in the manner that we throw quoits, small, flat, rounded pieces of the writing slate, of the diameter of the bowls, but scarcely a quarter of an inch thick, also well polished. From these circumstances one would be induced to think that their games are rather trials of skill than of strength.

In every thing manufactured by these people, there appears to be an uncommon degree of neatness and ingenuity. Their cloth, which is the principal manufacture, is made from the *morus papyrifera;* and, doubtless, in the same manner as at Otaheite and Tongataboo; for we bought some of the grooved sticks, with which it is beaten. Its texture, however, though thicker, is rather inferior to that of the cloth of either of the other places; but in colouring, or staining it, the people of Atooi display a superiority of taste, by the endless variation of figures which they execute. One would suppose, on seeing a number of their pieces, that

they had borrowed their patterns from some mercer's shop, in which the most elegant productions of China and Europe are collected; besides some original patterns of their own. Their colours, indeed, except the red, are not very bright; but the regularity of the figures and stripes is truly surprising; for, as far as we knew, they have nothing like stamps or prints to make the impressions. In what manner they produce their colours we had not opportunities of learning; but besides the party-coloured sorts, they have some pieces of plain white cloth, and others of a single colour, particularly dark brown and light blue. In general, the pieces which they brought to us, were about two feet broad, and four or five feet long, being the form and quantity that they use for their common dress, or *maro;* and even these we sometimes found were composed of pieces sewed together; an art which we did not find to the southward, but is strongly, though not very neatly, performed here. There is also a particular sort that is thin, much resembling oil-cloth; and which is actually either oiled or soaked in some kind of varnish, and seems to resist the action of water pretty well. They fabricate a great many white mats, which are strong, with many red stripes, rhombuses, and other figures interwoven on one side; and often pretty large. These, probably, make a part of their dress occasionally; for they put them on their backs when they offered them for sale. But they make others coarser, plain and strong, which they spread over their floors to sleep upon.

PATTERNS OF DRESSES.

They stain their gourd-shells prettily with undulated lines, triangles, and other figures of a black colour; instances of which we saw practised at New Zealand. And they seem to possess the art of varnishing; for some of these stained gourd-shells are covered with a kind of lacker; and, on other occasions, they use a strong size, or gluey substance, to fasten their things together. Their wooden dishes and bowls, out of which they drink their *ava*, are of the *etooa*-tree, or *cordia*, as neat as if made in our turning-lathe, and perhaps better polished. And amongst their articles of handicraft may be reckoned small square fans of mat or wicker-work, with handles tapering from them of the same or of wood, which are neatly wrought with small cords of hair, and fibres of the cocoa-nut core intermixed. The great variety of fishing-hooks are ingeniously made, some of bone, others of wood pointed with bone, and many of pearl shell. Of the last, some are like a sort that we saw at Tongataboo, and others simply curved, as the common sort at Otaheite, as well as the wooden ones. The bones are mostly small and composed of two pieces; and all the different sorts have a barb, either on the inside like ours, or on the outside opposite the same part; but others have both, the outer one being farthest from the point. Of this last sort, one was procured nine inches long, of a single piece of bone, which, doubtless, belonged to some large fish. The elegant form and polish of this could not, certainly, be outdone by any European artist, even if he should add all his knowledge in design, to the number and convenience of his tools. They polish their stones by constant friction, with pumice-stone in water; and such of their working instruments or tools as I saw resembled those of the Southern Islands. Their hatchets, or rather adzes, were exactly of the same pattern, and either made of the same sort of blackish stone, or of a clay-coloured one. They have also little instruments made of a single shark's tooth, some of which

are fixed to the fore-part of a dog's jaw-bone, and others to a thin wooden handle of the same shape, and at the other end there is a bit of string fastened through a small perforation. These serve as knives occasionally, and are, perhaps, used in carving.

The only iron tools, or rather bits of iron, seen amongst them, and which they had before our arrival, were a piece of iron hoop about two inches long, fitted into a wooden handle *, and another edge-tool, which our people guessed to be made of the point of a broad-sword. Their having the actual possession of these, and their so generally knowing the use of this metal, inclined some on board to think that we had not been the first European visitors of these islands. But, it seems to me, that the very great surprise expressed by them on seeing our ships, and their total ignorance of the use of fire-arms, cannot be reconciled with such a notion. There are many ways by which such people may get pieces of iron, or acquire the knowledge of the existence of such a metal, without ever having had an immediate connexion with nations that use it. It can hardly be doubted that it was unknown to all the inhabitants of this sea, before Magellan led the way into it; for no discoverer, immediately after his voyage, ever found any of this metal in their possession; though, in the course of our late voyages, it has been observed, that the use of it was known at several islands, to which no former European ships had ever, as far as we know, found their way. At all the places where Mendana touched in his two voyages, it must have been seen and left, and this would extend the knowledge of it, no doubt, to all the various islands with which those whom he had visited had any immediate intercourse. It might even be carried farther; and where specimens of this article could not be procured, descriptions might, in some measure, serve to make it known when afterward seen. The next voyage to the southward of the line in which any intercourse was had with the natives of this ocean, was that of Quiros, who landed at Sagittaria, the Island of Handsome People, and at Tierra del Espiritu Santo; at all which places, and at those with whom they had any communication, it must of consequence have been made known. To him succeeded, in this navigation, Le Maire and Schouten, whose connexions with the natives commenced much farther to the eastward, and ended at Cocos and Horn Islands. It was not surprising that, when I visited Tongataboo in 1773, I should find a bit of iron there, as we knew that Tasman had visited it before me; but let us suppose, that he had never discovered the Friendly Islands, our finding iron amongst them would have occasioned much speculation; though we have mentioned before † the method by which they had gained a renewal of their knowledge of this metal, which confirms my hypothesis. For Necootaboo-taboo, or Boscawen's Island, where Captain Wallis's ships left it, and from whence Paulaho received it, lies some degrees to the N.W. of Tongataboo. It is well known that Roggewein lost one of his ships on the Pernicious Islands, which, from their situation, are probably not unknown to, though not frequently visited by, the inhabitants of Otaheite and the Society Islands. It is equally certain, that these last people had a knowledge of iron, and purchased it with the greatest avidity when Captain Wallis discovered Otaheite; and this knowledge could only have been acquired through the mediation of those neighbouring islands where it had been originally left. Indeed, they acknowledge that this was actually the case, and they have told us since, that they held it in such estimation before Captain Wallis's arrival, that a chief of Otaheite who had got two nails into his possession, received no small emolument by letting out the use of these to his neighbours for the purpose of boring holes, when their own methods failed or were thought too tedious ‡. The men of the Society Islands whom we found at Wateeoo had been driven thither long after the knowledge and use of iron had been introduced amongst their countrymen; and though, probably, they had no specimen of it with them, they would naturally and with ease communicate at that island their knowledge of this valuable material by description. From

* Captain King purchased this, and has it now in his possession.

† See Vol. II. p. 142.

‡ A similar instance of profitable revenue, drawn from the use of nails by the chiefs of the Caroline Islands, is mentioned by father Cantova: "Si, par hasard, un vaisseau étranger laisse dans leurs isles quelques vieux morceaux de fer, ils appartiennent de droit aux Tamoles, qui en font faire des outils, le mieux qu'il est possible. Ces outils sont un fond dont le Tamole tire un revenu considérable, car il les donne à louage, et ce louage se paye assez cher." P. 314.

the people of Wateeoo again, those of Hervey's Island might derive that desire to possess some of it, of which we had proofs during our short intercourse with them.

The consideration of these facts sufficiently explains how the knowledge of iron has been conveyed throughout this ocean to islands which never have had an immediate intercourse with Europeans; and it may easily be conceived, that wherever the history of it only has been reported, or a very small quantity of it has been left, the greater eagerness will be shown by the natives to get copious supplies of it. The application of these particulars to the instance now under consideration is obvious. The people of Atooi and Oneeheow, without having ever been visited by Europeans before us, might have received it from intermediate islands, lying between them and the Ladrones, which have been frequented by the Spaniards almost ever since the date of Magellan's voyage. Or, if the distant western situation of the Ladrones should render this solution less probable, is there not the extensive continent of America to windward, where the Spaniards have been settled for more than two hundred years, during which long period of time shipwrecks must have frequently happened on its coasts? It cannot be thought at all extraordinary, that part of such wrecks containing iron should, by the easterly trade wind, be from time to time cast upon islands scattered about this vast ocean. The distance of Atooi from America is no argument against this supposition. But even if it were, it would not destroy it. This ocean is traversed every year by Spanish ships; and it is obvious that, besides the accident of losing a mast and its appendages, casks with iron hoops, and many other things containing iron, may be thrown or may fall overboard during so long a passage, and thus find their way to land. But these are not mere conjectures and possibilities, for one of my people actually did see some wood in one of the houses at Wymoa, which he judged to be fir. It was worm-eaten, and the natives gave him to understand, that it had been driven ashore by the waves of the sea; and we had their own express testimony, that they had got the inconsiderable specimens of iron found amongst them from some place to the eastward.

From this digression (if it can be called so), I return to the observations made during our stay at Atooi, and some account must now be given of their canoes. These, in general, are about twenty-four feet long, and have the bottom for the most part formed of a single piece or log of wood, hollowed out to the thickness of an inch, or an inch and a half, and brought to a point at each end. The sides consist of three boards, each about an inch thick, and neatly fitted and lashed to the bottom part. The extremities, both at head and stern, are a little raised, and both are made sharp, somewhat like a wedge, but they flatten more abruptly, so that the two side-boards join each other side by side for more than a foot. But the annexed cut will explain their construction more accurately than my description in words. As they are not more than fifteen or eighteen inches broad, those that go single (for they sometimes join them as at the other islands), have out-riggers, which are shaped and fitted with more judgment than any I had before seen. They are rowed by paddles, such as we had generally met with; and some of them have a light triangular sail, like those of the Friendly Islands, extended to a mast and boom. The ropes used for their boats, and the smaller cords for their fishing-tackle, are strong and well made.

What we saw of their agriculture furnished sufficient proofs that they are not novices in that art. The vale ground has already been mentioned as one continued plantation of taro, and a few other things, which have all the appearance of being well attended to. The potato fields and spots of sugar-cane or plantains on the higher grounds are planted with the same regularity, and always in some determinate figure, generally as a square or oblong; but neither these nor the others are inclosed with any kind of fence, unless we reckon the ditches in the low grounds such, which, it is more probable, are intended to convey water to the taro. The greater quantity and goodness of these articles may also, perhaps, be as much attributed to skilful culture, as to natural fertility of soil, which seems better adapted to them than to bread-fruit and cocoa-nut trees; the few which we saw of those latter not being in a thriving state, which will sufficiently account for the preference given to the culture of the other article, though more labour be required to produce them. But, notwithstanding this skill in agriculture, the general appearance of the island showed that it was capable of much more extensive improvement, and of maintaining at least three times

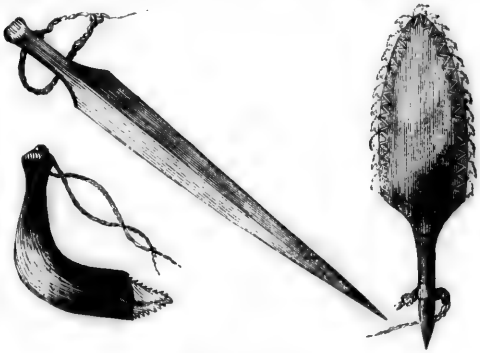
the number of the inhabitants that are at present upon it; for the far greater part of it that now lies quite waste, seemed to be as good a soil as those parts of it that are in cultivation. We must therefore conclude, that these people, from some cause which we were not long enough amongst them to be able to trace, do not increase in that proportion which would make it necessary to avail themselves of the extent of their island, toward raising a greater quantity of its vegetable production for their subsistence.

Though I did not see a chief of any note, there were, however, several, as the natives informed us, who reside upon Atooi, and to whom they prostrate themselves as a mark of submission, which seems equivalent to the *moe*, *moea*, paid to the chiefs of the Friendly Islands, and is called here *hamoea* or *moe*. Whether they were at first afraid to show themselves, or happened to be absent, I cannot say; but after I had left the island, one of these great men made his appearance, and paid a visit to Captain Clerke on board the Discovery. He came off in a double canoe, and, like the king of the Friendly Islands, paid no regard to the small canoes that happened to lie in his way, but ran against or over them, without endeavouring in the least to avoid them. And it was not possible for these poor people to avoid him, for they could not manage their canoes, it being a necessary mark of their submission, that they should lie down till he had passed. His attendants helped him into the ship, and placed him on the gangway. Their care of him did not cease then, for they stood round him holding each other by the hands; nor would they suffer any one to come near him but Captain Clerke himself. He was a young man, clothed from head to foot, and accompanied by a young woman supposed to be his wife. His name was said to be Tamahano. Captain Clerke made him some suitable presents, and received from him in return a large bowl supported by two figures of men, the carving of which, both as to the design and execution, showed some degree of skill. This bowl, as our people were told, used to be filled with the *kava*, or *ava* (as it is called at Otaheite), which liquor they prepare and drink here, as at the other islands in this ocean. Captain Clerke could not prevail upon this great man to go below, nor to move from the place where his attendants had first fixed him. After staying some time in his ship, he was carried again into his canoe, and returned to the island, receiving the same honours from all the natives as when he came on board. The next day several messages were sent to Captain Clerke, inviting him to return the visit ashore, and acquainting him that the chief had prepared a large present on that occasion. But being anxious to get to sea and join the Resolution, the captain did not think it advisable to accept of the invitation.

The very short and imperfect intercourse which we had with the natives put it out of our power to form any accurate judgment of the mode of government established amongst them; but from the general resemblance of customs, and particularly from what we observed of the honours paid to their chiefs, it seems reasonable to believe that it is of the same nature with that which prevails throughout all the islands we had hitherto visited, and probably their wars amongst themselves are equally frequent. This, indeed, might be inferred from the number of weapons which we found them possessed of, and from the excellent order these were kept in. But we had direct proof of the fact from their own confession; and, as we understood, these wars are between the different districts of their own island, as well as between it and their neighbours at Oneeheow and Orrehoua, we need scarcely assign any other cause besides this, to account for the appearance, already mentioned, of their population bearing no proportion to the extent of their ground capable of cultivation.

Besides their spears or lances, made of a fine chesnut-coloured wood beautifully polished, some of which are barbed at one end, and flattened to a point at the other, they have a sort of weapon which we had never seen before, and not mentioned by any navigator as used by the natives of the South Sea. It is somewhat like a dagger, in general about a foot and a half long, sharpened at one or both ends, and secured to the hand by a string. Its use is to stab at close fight, and it seems well adapted to the purpose. Some of these may be called double daggers, having a handle in the middle, with which they are better enabled to strike different ways. They have also bows and arrows; but, both from their apparent scarcity and their slender make, it may almost be presumed that they never use them in battle. The knife or saw formerly mentioned, with which they dissect the dead bodies, may also be ranked

amongst their weapons, as they both strike and cut with it when closely engaged. It is a small flat wooden instrument of an oblong shape, about a foot long, rounded at the corners, with a handle almost like one sort of the *patoos* of New Zealand; but its edges are entirely surrounded with sharks' teeth strongly fixed to it and pointing outward, having commonly a hole in the handle through which passes a long string, which is wrapped several times round the wrist. We also suspected that they use slings on some occasions, for we got some pieces of the *hæmatites*, or blood-stone, artificially made of an oval shape, divided longitudinally, with a narrow groove in the middle of the convex part. To this the person who had one of them applied a cord of no great thickness, but would not part with it, though he had no objection to part with the stone, which must prove fatal when thrown with any force, as it weighed a pound. We likewise saw some oval pieces of whetstone, well polished, but somewhat pointed toward each end, nearly resembling in shape some stones which we had seen at New Caledonia in 1774, and used there in their slings.



DAGGERS AND FLESH KNIVES.

What we could learn of their religious institutions, and the manner of disposing of their dead, which may properly be considered as closely connected, has been already mentioned. And as nothing more strongly points out the affinity between the manners of these people and of the Friendly and Society Islands, I must just mention some other circumstances to place this in a strong point of view, and, at the same time, to show how a few of the infinite modifications of which a few leading principles are capable, may distinguish any particular nation. The people of Tongataboo inter their dead in a very decent manner, and they also inter their human sacrifices; but they do not offer or expose any other animal or even vegetable to their gods, as far as we know. Those of Otaheite do not inter their dead, but expose them to waste by time and putrefaction, though the bones are afterwards buried; and, as this is the case, it is very remarkable that they should inter the entire bodies of their human sacrifices. They also offer other animals and vegetables to their gods, but are by no means attentive to the state of the sacred places where those solemn rites are performed; most of their *morais* being in a ruinous condition, and bearing evident marks of neglect. The people of Atooi, again, inter both their common dead and human sacrifices as at Tongataboo; but they resemble those of Otaheite in the slovenly state of their religious places, and in offering vegetables and animals to their gods.

The *taboo* also prevails in Atooi in its full extent, and seemingly with much more rigour than even at Tongataboo. For the people here always asked, with great eagerness and signs of fear to offend, whether any particular thing which they desired to see, or we were unwilling to show, was *taboo*, or, as they pronounced the word, *tafoo*? The *maia*, *raa*, or forbidden articles at the Society Islands, though doubtless the same thing, did not seem to be so strictly observed by them, except with respect to the dead, about whom we thought them more superstitious than any of the others were. But these are circumstances with which we are not as yet sufficiently acquainted to be decisive about; and I shall only just observe, to show the similitude in other matters connected with religion, that the priests, or *tahounas*, here, are as numerous as at the other islands, if we may judge from our being able, during our stay, to distinguish several saying their *poore*, or prayer.

But whatever resemblance we might discover in the general manners of the people of Atooi to those of Otaheite, these of course were less striking than the coincidence of language. Indeed, the languages of both places may be said to be almost word for word the same. It

is true that we sometimes remarked particular words to be pronounced exactly as we had found at New Zealand and the Friendly Islands; but though all the four dialects are indisputably the same, these people in general have neither the strong guttural pronunciation of the former, nor a less degree of it which also distinguishes the latter; and they have not only adopted the soft mode of the Otaheiteans in avoiding harsh sounds, but the whole idiom of their language, using not only the same affixes and suffixes to their words, but the same measure and cadence in their songs, though in a manner somewhat less agreeable. There seems, indeed, at first hearing, some disagreement to the ear of a stranger, but it ought to be considered that the people of Otaheite, from their frequent connexions with the English, had learned, in some measure, to adapt themselves to our scanty knowledge of their language, by using not only the most common, but even corrupted, expressions in conversation with us; whereas, when they conversed among themselves and used the several parts necessary to propriety of speech, they were scarcely at all understood by those amongst us who had made the greatest proficiency in their vocabulary. A catalogue of words was collected at Atooi by Mr. Anderson, who lost no opportunity of making our voyage useful to those who amuse themselves in tracing the migrations of the various tribes or families that have peopled the globe, by the most convincing of all arguments, that drawn from affinity of language. How shall we account for this nation's having spread itself in so many detached islands, so widely disjoined from each other, in every quarter of the Pacific Ocean? We find it from New Zealand in the south, as far as the Sandwich Islands to the north, and, in another direction, from Easter Island to the Hebrides; that is, over an extent of sixty degrees of latitude, or twelve hundred leagues north and south, and eighty-three degrees of longitude, or sixteen hundred and sixty leagues east and west! How much farther in either direction its colonies reach is not known; but what we know already, in consequence of this and our former voyage, warrants our pronouncing it to be, though perhaps not the most numerous, certainly by far the most extensive, nation upon earth.

Had the Sandwich Islands been discovered at an early period by the Spaniards, there is little doubt that they would have taken advantage of so excellent a situation, and have made use of Atooi or some other of the islands as a refreshing place, in the ships that sail annually from Acapulco for Manilla. They lie almost midway between the first place and Guam, one of the Ladrones, which is at present their only port in traversing this vast ocean; and it would not have been a week's sail out of their common route to have touched at them, which could have been done without running the least hazard of losing the passage, as they are sufficiently within the verge of the easterly trade-wind. An acquaintance with the Sandwich Islands would have been equally favourable to our Buccaneers, who used sometimes to pass from the coast of America to the Ladrones, with a stock of food and water scarcely sufficient to preserve life. Here they might always have found plenty, and have been within a month's sure sail of the very part of California which the Manilla ship is obliged to make, or else have returned to the coast of America, thoroughly refitted, after an absence of two months. How happy would Lord Anson have been, and what hardships would he have avoided, if he had known that there was a group of islands half way between America and Tinian, where all his wants could have been effectually supplied, and in describing which, the elegant historian of that voyage would have presented his reader with a more agreeable picture than I have been able to draw in this chapter!

CHAPTER XIII.—OBSERVATIONS MADE AT THE SANDWICH ISLANDS, ON THE LONGITUDE, VARIATION OF THE COMPASS, AND TIDES.—PROSECUTION OF THE VOYAGE.—REMARKS ON THE MILDNESS OF THE WEATHER, AS FAR AS THE LATITUDE 44° NORTH.—PAUCITY OF SEA BIRDS, IN THE NORTHERN HEMISPHERE.—SMALL SEA ANIMALS DESCRIBED.—ARRIVAL ON THE COAST OF AMERICA.—APPEARANCE OF THE COUNTRY.—UNFAVOURABLE WINDS, AND BOISTEROUS WEATHER.—REMARKS ON MARTIN DE AGUILAR'S RIVER, AND JUAN DE FUCA'S PRETENDED STRAIT.—AN INLET DISCOVERED, WHERE THE SHIPS ANCHOR.—BEHAVIOUR OF THE NATIVES.

AFTER the Discovery had joined us, we stood away to the northward, close hauled, with a gentle gale from the E.; and nothing occurring in this situation worthy of a place in my narrative, the reader will permit me to insert here the nautical observations which I had opportunities of making relative to the islands we had left; and which we had been fortunate enough to add to the geography of this part of the Pacific Ocean.

The longitude of the Sandwich Islands was determined by seventy-two sets of lunar observations; some of which were made while we were at anchor in the road of Wymoa, others before we arrived and after we left it, and reduced to it by the watch or time-keeper. By the mean result of these observations, the longitude of the road is 200° 13′ 0″ E.

Time-keeper	Greenwich rate,	202	0	0
	Ulietea rate,	200	21	0
The latitude of the road, by the mean of two meridian observations of the sun		21	56	15 N.

The observations for the variation of the compass did not agree very well among themselves. It is true, they were not all made exactly in the same spot. The different situations, however, could make very little difference. But the whole will be best seen by casting an eye on the following table.

Time.	Latitude.		Longitude.		Compass.	East Variation.			Mean variation.		
Jan. 18th. A. M.	21°	12′	200°	41′	Gregory's	10°	10′	10′	9°	51′	38″
					Knight's	9	20	5			
					Martin's	10	4	40			
19th. P. M.	21	51	200	20	Knight's	10	2	10	10	37	20
					Gregory's	11	12	30			
28th. A. M.	21	22	199	56	Gregory's	9	1	20	9	26	57
					Knight's	9	1	25			
					Martin's	10	18	5			
28th. P. M.	21	36	199	50	Gregory's	11	21	15	11	12	50
					Knight's	10	40	0			
					Martin's	11	37	50			
Means of the above	21	29	200	12					10	17	11
On Jan. 18th	21	12	200	41	the north end of the needle dipped 42° 1′ 7″.						

The tides at the Sandwich Islands are so inconsiderable, that with the great surf which broke against the shore, it was hardly possible to tell at any time whether we had high or low water, or whether it ebbed or flowed. On the south side of Atooi, we generally found a current setting to the westward or north-westward; but when we were at anchor off Oneeheow, the current set nearly N. W. and S. E., six hours one way, and six the other, and so strong as to make the ships tend, though the wind blew fresh. This was certainly a regular tide, and as far as I could judge, the flood came from the N. W.

I now return to the progress of our voyage. On the 7th, being in the latitude of 29° N. and in the longitude of 200° E., the wind veered to S. E. This enabled us to steer N. E. and E.; which course we continued till the 12th, when the wind had veered round by the south and west, to north-east and east north-east. I then tacked, and stood to the northward, our latitude being 30° N. and our longitude 206° 15′ E. Notwithstanding our advanced latitude, and its being the winter season, we had only begun, for a few days past, to feel a sensation of cold in the mornings and evenings. This is a sign of the equal and lasting influence of the sun's heat, at all seasons, to 30° on each side the line. The disproportion is known to become very great after that. This must be attributed, almost entirely, to the

direction of the rays of the sun, independent of the bare distance, which is by no means equal to the effect. On the 19th, being now in the latitude of 37° N., and in the longitude of 206° E., the wind veered to south-east; and I was enabled again to steer to the east, inclining to the north. We had, on the 25th, reached the latitude of 42° 30′, and the longitude of 219°; and then we began to meet with the rock-weed, mentioned by the writer of Lord Anson's voyage, under the name of sea-leek, which the Manilla ships generally fall in with. Now and then a piece of wood also appeared. But if we had not known that the continent of North America was not far distant, we might, from the few signs of the vicinity of land hitherto met with, have concluded, that there was none within some thousand leagues of us. We had hardly seen a bird, or any other oceanic animal, since we left Sandwich Islands.

On the 1st of March, our latitude being now 44° 49′ N., and our longitude 228° E., we had one calm day. This was succeeded by a wind from the north, with which I stood to the east close hauled, in order to make the land. According to the charts, it ought not to have been far from us. It was remarkable that we should still be attended with such moderate and mild weather, so far to the northward, and so near the coast of an extensive continent, at this time of the year. The present season either must be uncommon for its mildness, or we can assign no reason why Sir Francis Drake should have met with such severe cold, about this latitude, in the month of June *. Viscaino, indeed, who was near the same place in the depth of winter, says little of the cold, and speaks of a ridge of snowy mountains, somewhere on the coast; as a thing rather remarkable †. Our seeing so few birds, in comparison of what we met with in the same latitudes to the south of the line, is another singular circumstance, which must either proceed from a scarcity of the different sorts, or from a deficiency of places to rest upon. From hence we may conclude, that beyond 40° in the southern hemisphere, the species are much more numerous, and the isles where they inhabit also more plentifully scattered about, than anywhere between the coast of California and Japan, in or near that latitude.

During a calm, on the morning of the 2nd, some parts of the sea seemed covered with a kind of slime, and some small sea animals were swimming about. The most conspicuous of which were gelatinous, or *medusa* kind, almost globular; and another sort smaller, that had a white or shining appearance, and were very numerous. Some of these last were taken up, and put into a glass cup, with some salt water, in which they appeared like small scales, or bits of silver, when at rest, in a prone situation. When they began to swim about, which they did with equal ease, upon their back, sides, or belly, they emitted the brightest colours of the most precious gems, according to their position with respect to the light. Sometimes they appeared quite pellucid, at other times assuming various tints of blue, from a pale sapphirine to a deep violet colour, which were frequently mixed with a ruby, or opaline redness; and glowed with a strength sufficient to illuminate the vessel and water. These colours appeared most vivid when the glass was held to a strong light; and mostly vanished on the subsiding of the animals to the bottom, when they had a brownish cast. But, with candle light, the colour was chiefly a beautiful pale green, tinged with a burnished gloss; and, in the dark, it had a faint appearance of glowing fire. They proved to be a new species of *oniscus*, and, from their properties, were, by Mr. Anderson (to whom we owe this account of them), called *Oniscus fulgens;* being probably an animal which has a share in producing some sorts of that lucid appearance, often observed near ships at sea, in the night. On the same day two large birds settled on the water, near the ship. One of these was the *Procellaria maxima* (the *quebrantahuessos*), and the other, which was little more than half the size, seemed to be of the *albatross* kind. The upper part of the wings, and tip of the tail, were black, with the rest white; the bill yellowish; upon the whole, not unlike the sea-gull, though larger.

On the 6th, at noon, being in the latitude of 44° 10′ N., and the longitude of 234½° E., we saw two seals and several whales; and at day-break the next morning, the long-looked-

* See the account of Sir Francis's voyage, in Campbell's edition of Harris, vol. i. p. 18, and other collections.

† See Torquemada's Narrative of Viscaino's Expedition, in 1602 and 1603, in the second volume of Vanegas's History of California, English translation, from p. 229 to p. 308.

for coast of New Albion * was seen, extending from north-east to south-east, distant ten or twelve leagues. At noon our latitude was 44° 33′ N., and our longitude 235° 20′ E.; and the land extended from north-east half north, to south-east by south, about eight leagues distant. In this situation we had seventy-three fathoms water over a muddy bottom, and about a league farther off found ninety fathoms. The land appeared to be of a moderate height, diversified with hills and valleys, and almost everywhere covered with wood. There was, however, no very striking object on any part of it, except one hill, whose elevated summit was flat. This bore east from us, at noon. At the northern extreme the land formed a point, which I called *Cape Foulweather*, from the very bad weather that we soon after met with. I judge it to lie in the latitude of 44° 55′ N., and in the longitude of 235° 54′ E. We had variable light airs and calms till eight o'clock in the evening, when a breeze sprung up at south-west. With it I stood to the north-west, under an easy sail, waiting for daylight to range along the coast. But at four, next morning, the wind shifted to north-west, and blew in squalls, with rain. Our course was north-east, till near ten o'clock, when, finding that I could made no progress on this tack, and seeing nothing like a harbour, I tacked and stood off south-west. At this time, Cape Foulweather bore north-east by north, about eight leagues distant. Toward noon the wind veered more to the westward, and the weather became fair and clear, so that we were enabled to make lunar observations. Having reduced all those we had made since the 19th of last month to the present ones, by the time-keeper, amounting, in the whole, to seventy-two sets, their mean result determined the longitude to be 235° 15′ 26″ E., which was 14° 11′ less than what the time-keeper gave. This longitude is made use of for settling that of the coast, and I have not a doubt of its being within a very few miles of the truth.

Our difficulties now began to increase. In the evening the wind came to the north-west, blowing in squalls with hail and sleet; and the weather being thick and hazy, I stood out to sea till near noon the next day, when I tacked and stood in again for the land, which made its appearance at two in the afternoon, bearing east north-east. The wind and weather continued the same; but, in the evening, the former veered more to the west, and the latter grew worse, which made it necessary to tack and stand off till four the next morning, when I ventured to stand in again. At four in the afternoon we saw the land, which, at six, extended from north-east half east, to south-east by south, about eight leagues distant. In this situation we tacked and sounded; but a line of a hundred and sixty fathoms did not reach the ground. I stood off till midnight, then stood in again; and at half past six, we were within three leagues of the land, which extended from north by east half east, to south half east; each extreme about seven leagues distant. Seeing no signs of a harbour, and the weather being still unsettled, I tacked and stretched off south-west, having then fifty-five fathoms water over a muddy bottom.

That part of the land, which we were so near when we tacked, is of a moderate height, though, in some places, it rises higher within. It was diversified with a great many rising grounds and small hills; many of which were entirely covered with tall straight trees; and others, which were lower, and grew in spots like coppices; but the interspaces and sides of many of the rising grounds were clear. The whole, though it might make an agreeable summer prospect, had now an uncomfortable appearance, as the bare grounds toward the coast were all covered with snow, which seemed to be of a considerable depth between the little hills and rising grounds; and, in several places toward the sea, might easily have been mistaken, at a distance, for white cliffs. The snow on the rising grounds was thinner spread; and farther inland, there was no appearance of any; from whence we might, perhaps, conclude that what we saw toward the sea had fallen during the night, which was colder than any we had experienced since our arrival on the coast; and we had sometimes a kind of sleet. The coast seemed everywhere almost straight, without any opening or inlet; and it appeared to terminate in a kind of white sandy beach; though some on board thought that appearance was owing to the snow. Each extreme of the land that was now before us seemed to shoot out into a point. The northern one was the same which we had first seen on the 7th; and on that account I called it *Cape Perpetua*. It lies in the

* This part of the west side of North America was so named by Sir Francis Drake.

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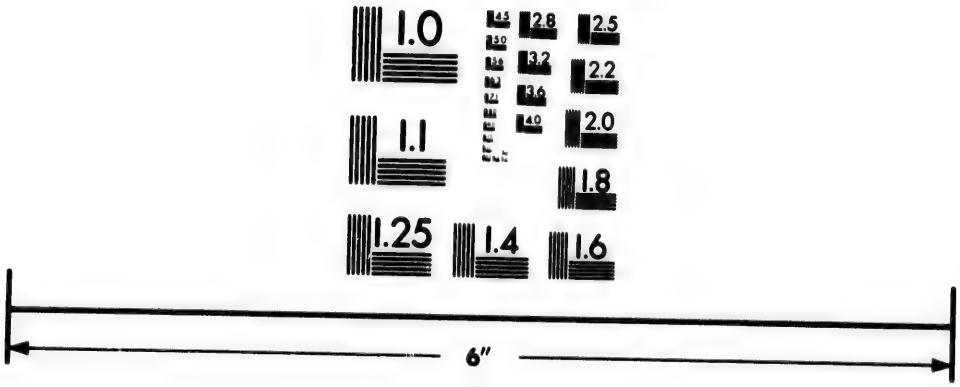

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latitude of 44° 6′ N., and in the longitude of 235° 52′ E. The southern extreme before us, I named *Cape Gregory**. Its latitude is 43° 30′, and its longitude 235° 57′ E. It is a remarkable point: the land of it rising almost directly from the sea to a tolerable height, while that on each side of it is low.

I continued standing off till one in the afternoon. Then I tacked and stood in, hoping to have the wind off from the land in the night. But in this I was mistaken; for at five o'clock it began to veer to the west and south-west; which obliged me, once more, to stand out to sea. At this time Cape Perpetua bore north-east by north; and the farthest land we could see to the south of Cape Gregory bore south by east, perhaps ten or twelve leagues distant. If I am right in this estimation, its latitude will be 43° 10′, and its longitude 235° 55′ east, which is nearly the situation of Cape Blanco, discovered or seen by Martin d'Aguilar, on the 19th of January, 1603. It is worth observing, that, in the very latitude where we now were, geographers have been pleased to place a large entrance or strait, the discovery of which they take upon them to ascribe to the same navigator; whereas nothing more is mentioned in the account of his voyage, than his having seen, in this situation, a large river, which he would have entered, but was prevented by the currents†.

The wind, as I have observed, had veered to the south-west in the evening; but it was very unsettled, and blew in squalls with snow showers. In one of these, at midnight, it shifted at once to west northwest, and soon increased to a very hard gale, with heavy squalls, attended with sleet or snow. There was no choice now; and we were obliged to stretch to the southward, in order to get clear of the coast. This was done under courses, and two close-reefed topsails; being rather more sail than the ships could safely bear: but it was necessary to carry it to avoid the more pressing danger of being forced on shore. This gale continued till eight o'clock in the morning of the 13th; when it abated, and I stood in again for the land. We had been forced a considerable way backward; for at the time of our tacking, we were in the latitude of 42° 45′, and in the longitude of 233° 30′. The wind continued at west, and north-west; storms, moderate weather, and calms, succeeding each other by turns, till the morning of the 21st; when, after a few hours' calm, a breeze sprung up at south-west. This bringing with it fair weather, I steered north-easterly, in order to fall in with the land, beyond that part of it where we had already so unprofitably been tossed about for the last fortnight. In the evening, the wind veered to the westward; and at eight o'clock, the next morning, we saw the land, extending from north-east to east, nine leagues distant. At this time we were in the latitude of 47° 5′ north, and in the longitude of 235° 10′ east.

I continued to stand to the north with a fine breeze at west, and west north-west, till near seven o'clock in the evening, when I tacked to wait for daylight. At this time we were in forty-eight fathoms' water, and about four leagues from the land, which extended from north to south east half east, and a small round hill, which had the appearance of being an island, bore north three quarters east, distant six or seven leagues, as I guessed; it appears to be of a tolerable height, and was but just to be seen from the deck. Between this island or rock, and the northern extreme of the land, there appeared to be a small opening, which flattered us with the hopes of finding a harbour. These hopes lessened as we drew nearer; and, at last, we had some reason to think, that the opening was closed by low land. On this account I called the point of land to the north of it *Cape Flattery*. It lies in the latitude of 48° 15′ north, and in the longitude of 235° 3′ east. There is a round hill of a moderate height over it; and all the land upon this part of the coast is of a moderate and pretty equal height, well covered with wood, and had a very pleasant and fertile appearance. It is in this very latitude where we now were, that geographers have placed the pretended strait of Juan de Fuca. We saw nothing like it; nor is there the least probability that ever any such thing existed‡.

I stood off to the southward till night, when I tacked and steered to the north-west, with

* In our calendar, the 7th of March is distinguished by the name of Perpetua M, and the 12th by that of Gregory B.

† See the History of California. Eng. Trans. vol. ii. p. 292.

‡ See Michael Locke's apocryphal account of Juan de Fuca, and his pretended strait, in Purchas, vol. iii. p. 849—852, and many later collections.

a gentle breeze at south-west, intending to stand in for the land as soon as daylight should appear. But, by that time, we were reduced to two courses and close-reefed topsails, having a very hard gale, with rain, right on shore; so that, instead of running in for the land, I was glad to get an offing, or to keep that which we had already got. The south-west wind was, however, but of short continuance; for in the evening it veered again to the west. Thus we had perpetually strong west and north-west winds to encounter. Sometimes in an evening the wind would become moderate, and veer to the southward; but this was always a sure prelude to a storm, which blew the hardest at south south-east, and was attended with rain and sleet. It seldom lasted above four or six hours, before it was succeeded by another gale from the north-west, which generally brought with it fair weather. It was by the means of these southerly blasts that we were enabled to get to the north-west at all.

At length, at nine o'clock in the morning of the 29th, as we were standing to the north-east, we again saw the land, which, at noon, extended from north-west by west to east south-east, the nearest part about six leagues distant. Our latitude was now 49° 29′ north, and our longitude 232° 29′ east. The appearance of the country differed much from that of the parts which we had before seen, being full of high mountains, whose summits were covered with snow; but the valleys between them, and the grounds on the sea-coast, high as well as low, were covered to a considerable breadth with high straight trees, that formed a beautiful prospect, as of one vast forest. The south-east extreme of the land formed a low point, off which are many breakers, occasioned by sunken rocks. On this account it was called *Point Breakers*. It lies in the latitude of 49° 15′ north, and in the longitude of 233° 20 east; and the other extreme, in about the latitude of 50°, and the longitude of 232°. I named this last *Woody Point*. It projects pretty much out to the south-west, and is high land. Between these two points, the shore forms a large bay, which I called *Hope Bay*: hoping, from the appearance of the land, to find in it a good harbour. The event proved, that we were not mistaken.

As we drew nearer the coast, we perceived the appearance of two inlets; one in the north-west, and the other in the north-east corner of the bay. As I could not fetch the former, I bore up to the latter, and passed some breakers, or sunken rocks, that lay a league or more from the shore. We had nineteen and twenty fathoms' water half a league without them; but as soon as we had passed them, the depth increased to thirty, forty, and fifty fathoms, with a sandy bottom; and farther in we found no ground with the greatest length of line. Notwithstanding appearances, we were not yet sure that there were any inlets; but as we were in a deep bay, I resolved to anchor, with a view to endeavour to get some water, of which, by this time, we were in great want. At length, as we advanced, the existence of the inlet was no longer doubtful. At five o'clock we reached the west point of it, where we were becalmed for some time. While in this situation I ordered all the boats to be hoisted out to tow the ships in. But this was hardly done before a fresh breeze sprung up again at north-west, with which we were enabled to stretch up into an arm of the inlet, that was observed by us to run in to the north-east. There we were again becalmed, and obliged to anchor in eighty-five fathoms' water, and so near the shore as to reach it with a hawser. The wind failed the Discovery before she got within the arm, where she anchored, and found only seventy fathoms.

We no sooner drew near the inlet, than we found the coast to be inhabited; and at the place where we were first becalmed three canoes came off to the ship. In one of these were two men, in another six, and in the third ten. Having come pretty near us, a person in one of the two last stood up, and made a long harangue, inviting us to land, as we guessed by his gestures. At the same time, he kept strewing handfuls of feathers towards us*; and some of his companions threw handfuls of red dust or powder in the same manner. The person who played the orator wore the skin of some animal, and held in each hand something which rattled as he kept shaking it. After tiring himself with his repeated exhortations, of which we did not understand a word, he was quiet; and then others took it, by turns, to say something, though they acted their part neither so long, nor with so much vehemence as the other. We observed that two or three had their hair quite strewed over

* The natives of this coast, twelve degrees farther south, also brought feathers as presents to Sir Francis Drake on his arrival. See an account of his voyage in *Campbell's edit. of Harris*, vol. i. p. 18.

with small white feathers, and others had large ones stuck into different parts of the head. After the tumultuous noise had ceased, they lay at a little distance from the ship, and conversed with each other in a very easy manner; nor did they seem to show the least surprise or distrust. Some of them now and then got up, and said something after the manner of their first harangues; and one sang a very agreeable air, with a degree of softness and melody which we could not have expected; the word *haela*, being often repeated as the burden of the song. The breeze which soon after sprung up bringing us nearer to the shore, the canoes began to come off in greater numbers; and we had, at one time, thirty-two of them near the ship, carrying from three to seven or eight persons each, both men and women. Several of these stood up in their canoes haranguing, and making gestures after the manner of our first visitors. One canoe was remarkable for a singular head, which had a bird's eye and bill, of an enormous size, painted on it; and a person who was in it, who seemed to be a chief, was no less remarkable for his uncommon appearance; having many feathers hanging from his head, and being painted in an extraordinary manner*. He held in his hand a carved bird of wood, as large as a pigeon, with which he rattled as the person first mentioned had done; and was no less vociferous in his harangue, which was attended with some expressive gestures.

Though our visitors behaved very peaceably, and could not be suspected of any hostile intention, we could not prevail upon any of them to come on board. They showed great readiness, however, to part with anything they had, and took from us whatever we offered them in exchange; but were more desirous of iron than of any other of our articles of commerce; appearing to be perfectly acquainted with the use of that metal. Many of the canoes followed us to our anchoring-place; and a group of about ten or a dozen of them remained alongside the Resolution most part of the night. These circumstances gave us a reasonable ground of hope, that we should find this a comfortable station to supply all our wants, and to make us forget the hardships and delays experienced during a constant succession of adverse winds and boisterous weather, almost ever since our arrival upon the coast of America.

BOOK IV.

TRANSACTIONS AMONGST THE NATIVES OF NORTH AMERICA; DISCOVERIES ALONG THAT COAST AND THE EASTERN EXTREMITY OF ASIA, NORTHWARD TO ICY CAPE; AND RETURN SOUTHWARD TO THE SANDWICH ISLANDS.

CHAPTER I. — THE SHIPS ENTER THE SOUND, AND MOOR IN A HARBOUR. — INTERCOURSE WITH THE NATIVES. — ARTICLES BROUGHT TO BARTER. — THEFTS COMMITTED. — THE OBSERVATORIES ERECTED, AND CARPENTERS SET TO WORK. — JEALOUSY OF THE INHABITANTS OF THE SOUND TO PREVENT OTHER TRIBES HAVING INTERCOURSE WITH THE SHIPS.—STORMY AND RAINY WEATHER.—PROGRESS ROUND THE SOUND.—BEHAVIOUR OF THE NATIVES AT THEIR VILLAGES.—THEIR MANNER OF DRYING FISH, ETC.—REMARKABLE VISIT FROM STRANGERS, AND INTRODUCTORY CEREMONIES. — A SECOND VISIT TO ONE OF THE VILLAGES.—LEAVE TO CUT GRASS PURCHASED.—THE SHIPS SAIL.—PRESENTS GIVEN AND RECEIVED AT PARTING.

The ships having happily found so excellent shelter in an inlet, the coasts of which appeared to be inhabited by a race of people whose inoffensive behaviour promised a friendly intercourse, the next morning, after coming to anchor, I lost no time in endeavouring to find a commodious harbour, where we might station ourselves during our continuance in

* Viscaino met with natives on the coast of California, while he was in the harbour of San Diego, *who were painted or besmeared with black and white, and had their heads loaded with feathers.*—History of California, vol. ii. p. 272.

the sound. Accordingly, I sent three armed boats, under the command of Mr. King, upon this service; and soon after I went myself, in a small boat, on the same search. I had very little trouble in finding what we wanted. On the north-west of the arm we were now in, and not far from the ships, I met with a convenient snug cove well suited to our purpose. Mr. King was equally successful; for he returned about noon, with an account of a still better harbour which he had seen and examined, lying on the north-west side of the land. But as it would have required more time to carry the ships thither than to the cove where I had been, which was immediately within our reach, this reason operated to determine my choice in favour of the latter situation. But being apprehensive that we should not be able to transport our ships to it, and to moor them properly, before night came on, I thought it best to remain where we were till next morning; and, that no time might be lost, I employed the remainder of the day to some useful purposes, ordering the sails to be unbent, the topmasts to be struck, and the foremast of the Resolution to be unrigged, in order to fix a new bib, one of the old ones being decayed.

A great many canoes, filled with the natives, were about the ships all day; and a trade commenced betwixt us and them, which was carried on with the strictest honesty on both sides. The articles which they offered to sale were skins of various animals, such as bears, wolves, foxes, deer, racoons, polecats, martins; and, in particular, of the sea otters, which are found at the islands east of Kamtschatka. Besides the skins in their native shape, they also brought garments made of them, and another sort of clothing made of the bark of a tree, or some plant like hemp; weapons, such as bows, arrows, and spears; fish-hooks, and instruments of various kinds; wooden vizors of many different monstrous figures; a sort of woollen stuff, or blanketing; bags filled with red ochre; pieces of carved work; beads; and several other little ornaments of thin brass or iron, shaped like a horse-shoe, which they hang at their noses; and several chisels, or pieces of iron fixed to handles. From their possessing which metals, we could infer that they had either been visited before by some civilised nation, or had connexions with tribes on their continent who had communication with them. But the most extraordinary of all the articles which they brought to the ships for sale were human skulls, and hands not yet quite stripped of the flesh, which they made our people plainly understand they had eaten; and, indeed, some of them had evident marks that they had been upon the fire. We had but too much reason to suspect, from this circumstance, that the horrid practice of feeding on their enemies is as prevalent here as we had found it to be at New Zealand and other South Sea Islands. For the various articles which they brought, they took in exchange knives, chisels, pieces of iron and tin, nails, looking-glasses, buttons, or any kind of metal. Glass beads they were not fond of; and cloth of every sort they rejected.

NOOTKA SOUND CANOE.

We employed the next day in hauling our ships into the cove, where they were moored head and stern, fastening our hawsers to the trees on shore. On heaving up the anchor of the Resolution, we found, notwithstanding the great depth of water in which it was let go, that there were rocks at the bottom. These had done some considerable damage to the cable; and the hawsers that were carried out, to warp the ship into the cove, also got foul of rocks; from which it appeared that the whole bottom was strewed with them. The ship being again very leaky in her upper works, I ordered the carpenters to go to work to caulk her, and to repair such other defects as on examination we might discover.

The fame of our arrival brought a great concourse of the natives to our ships in the course of this day. We counted above a hundred canoes at one time, which might be supposed to contain, at an average, five persons each; for few of them had less than three on board; great numbers had seven, eight, or nine; and one was manned with no less than seventeen. Amongst these visitors, many now favoured us with their company for the first time, which we could guess from their approaching the ships with their orations and other ceremonies. If they had any distrust or fear of us at first, they now appeared to have laid it aside; for they came on board the ships, and mixed with our people with the greatest freedom. We soon discovered, by this nearer intercourse, that they were as light-fingered as any of our friends in the islands we had visited in the course of the voyage. And they were far more dangerous thieves; for, possessing sharp iron instruments, they could cut a hook from a tackle, or any other piece of iron from a rope, the instant that our backs were turned. A large hook, weighing between twenty and thirty pounds, several smaller ones, and other articles of iron, were lost in this manner. And, as to our boats, they stripped them of every bit of iron that was worth carrying away, though we had always men left in them as a guard. They were dexterous enough in effecting their purposes; for one fellow would contrive to amuse the boat-keeper at one end of a boat, while another was pulling out the iron work at the other. If we missed a thing immediately after it had been stolen, we found little difficulty in detecting the thief, as they were ready enough to impeach one another. But the guilty person generally relinquished his prize with reluctance; and sometimes we found it necessary to have recourse to force.

The ships being securely moored, we began our other necessary business the next day The observatories were carried ashore, and placed upon an elevated rock on one side of the cove, close to the Resolution. A party of men, with an officer, was sent to cut wood, and to clear a place for the conveniency of watering. Others were employed to brew spruce-beer, as pine trees abounded here. The forge was also set up, to make the iron-work wanting for the repairs of the foremast. But, besides one of the bibs being defective, the larboard trestle-tree, and one of the cross-trees, were sprung.

A considerable number of the natives visited us daily; and every now and then we saw new faces. On their first coming, they generally went through a singular mode of introducing themselves. They would paddle, with all their strength, quite round both ships, a chief, or other principal person, in the canoe, standing up with a spear, or some other weapon, in his hand, and speaking, or rather hallooing all the time. Sometimes the orator of the canoe would have his face covered with a mask, representing either a human visage, or that of some animal; and, instead of a weapon, would hold a rattle in his hand, as before described*. After making this circuit round the ships, they would come alongside, and begin to trade without further ceremony. Very often, indeed, they would first give us a song, in which all in the canoe joined, with a very pleasing harmony.

During these visits they gave us no other trouble than to guard against their thievish tricks. But, in the morning of the 4th, we had a serious alarm. Our party on shore, who were employed in cutting wood and filling water, observed that the natives all around them were arming themselves in the best manner they could; those who were not possessed of proper weapons, preparing sticks and collecting stones. On hearing this I thought it prudent to arm also; but being determined to act upon the defensive, I ordered all our workmen to retreat to the rock, upon which we had placed our observatories; leaving the natives in quiet possession of the ground where they had assembled, which was within a stone's throw of the Resolution's stern. Our fears were ill-grounded: those hostile preparations were not directed

* The medicine man, at once, priest, physician, and conjuror, is here described. A very curious and minute account of the inhabitants of Nootka Sound was published in America several years ago, and reprinted in England, written by John R. Jewitt, an English sailor, belonging to an American ship which was seized by the natives, who massacred all the crew with the exception of Jewitt and one other of his companions. Jewitt, who possessed an education far superior to sailors generally, and who won much favour from the natives by his skill in working in iron, being by trade a smith, has given one of the best accounts of savage life which we possess. In subsequent pages we shall have occasion again to refer to it. The manners and customs of the Indians of Nootka Sound appear to be very similar to those of the Indians eastward of the Rocky Mountains, of whom some interesting particulars have recently been made public by Mr. Catlin, in his "Letters on the North American Indians."—Ed.

against us, but against a body of their own countrymen, who were coming to fight them; and our friends of the Sound, on observing our apprehensions, used their best endeavours to convince us that this was the case. We could see that they had people looking out, on each point of the cove, and canoes frequently passed between them and the main body assembled near the ships. At length the adverse party, in about a dozen large canoes, appeared off the south point of the cove, where they stopped, and lay drawn up in line of battle, a negotiation having commenced. Some people in canoes, in conducting the treaty, passed between the two parties, and there was some speaking on both sides. At length, the difference whatever it was, seemed to be compromised; but the strangers were not allowed to come alongside the ships, nor to have any trade or intercourse with us. Probably we were the cause of the quarrel; the strangers, perhaps, being desirous to share in the advantages of a trade with us; and our first friends, the inhabitants of the Sound, being determined to engross us entirely to themselves. We had proofs of this on several other occasions; nay, it appeared that even those who lived in the Sound were not united in the same cause; for the weaker were frequently obliged to give way to the stronger party, and plundered of everything, without attempting to make the least resistance.

We resumed our work in the afternoon, and the next day, rigged the foremast; the head of which being rather too small for the cap, the carpenter went to work to fix a piece on one side, to fill up the vacant space. In cutting into the mast-head for this purpose, and examining the state of it, both cheeks were found to be so rotten that there was no possibility of repairing them; and it became necessary to get the mast out, and to fix new ones upon it. It was evident that one of the cheeks had been defective at the first, and that the unsound part had been cut out, and a piece put in, which had not only weakened the mast-head, but had, in a great measure, been the occasion of rotting every other part of both cheeks. Thus, when we were almost ready to put to sea, we had all our work to do over again; and what was still more provoking, an additional repair was to be undertaken, which would require some time to be completed. But as there was no remedy, we immediately set about it. It was fortunate for the voyage that these defects were discovered when we were in a place where the materials requisite were to be procured. For, amongst the drift-wood in the cove where the ships lay, were some small seasoned trees very fit for our purpose. One of these was pitched upon; and the carpenters began, without loss of time, to make out of it two new cheeks. In the morning of the 7th, we got the foremast out, and hauled it ashore; and the carpenters of the ships were set to work upon it. Some parts of the lower standing rigging having been found to be very much decayed, as we had time now to put them in order, while the carpenters were repairing the foremast, I ordered a new set of main-rigging to be fitted, and a more perfect set of fore-rigging to be selected out of the best parts of the old.

From the time of our putting into the Sound till now, the weather had been exceedingly fine, without either wind or rain. That comfort, at the very moment when the continuance of it would have been of most service, was withdrawn. In the morning of the 8th, the wind freshened at south-east, attended with thick hazy weather and rain. In the afternoon the wind increased; and toward the evening it blew very hard indeed. It came, in excessively heavy squalls, from over the high land on the opposite shore, right into the cove; and, though the ships were very well moored, put them in some danger. These tempestuous blasts succeeded each other pretty quick; but they were of short duration; and in the intervals between them we had a perfect calm. According to the old proverb, "misfortunes seldom come single;" the mizen was now the only mast on board the Resolution that remained rigged, with its topmast up. The former was so defective that it could not support the latter during the violence of the squalls, but gave way at the head under the rigging. About eight o'clock the gale abated; but the rain continued with very little intermission for several days; and, that the carpenters might be enabled to proceed in their labours, while it prevailed, a tent was erected over the foremast, where they could work with some degree of convenience. The bad weather which now came on did not, however, hinder the natives from visiting us daily; and, in such circumstances, their visits were very advantageous to us. For they frequently brought us a tolerable supply of fish, when we could not catch any ourselves with

hook and line; and there was not a proper place near us where we could draw a net. The fish which they brought us were either sardines, or what resembled them much, a small kind of bream, and sometimes small cod.

On the 11th, notwithstanding the rainy weather, the main-rigging was fixed and got over head; and our employment, the day after, was to take down the mizen-mast, the head of which proved to be so rotten that it dropped off while in the slings. In the evening we were visited by a tribe of natives whom we had never seen before; and who, in general, were better looking people than most of our old friends, some of whom attended them. I prevailed upon these visitors to go down into the cabin for the first time; and observed, that there was not a single object that fixed the attention of most of them for a moment; their countenances marking that they looked upon all our novelties with the utmost indifference. This, however, was not without exception; for a few of the company showed a certain degree of curiosity.

In the afternoon of the next day I went into the woods with a party of our men, and cut down a tree for a mizen-mast. On the day following it was brought to the place where the carpenters were employed upon the foremast. In the evening the wind, which had been for some time westerly, veered to the south-east, and increased to a very hard gale, with rain, which continued till eight o'clock the next morning, when it abated, and veered again to the west. The foremast being by this time finished, we hauled it alongside; but the bad weather prevented our getting it in till the afternoon, and we set about rigging it with the greatest expedition, while the carpenters were going on with the mizen-mast on shore. They had made very considerable progress in it on the 16th, when they discovered that the stick upon which they were at work was sprung, or wounded, owing, as supposed, to some accident in cutting it down. So that all our labour was thrown away; and it became necessary to get another tree out of the woods, which employed all hands above half a day. During these various operations several of the natives, who were about the ships, looked on with an expressive silent surprise, which we did not expect, from their general indifference and inattention.

On the 18th a party of strangers, in six or eight canoes, came into the cove, where they remained looking at us for some time, and then retired without coming alongside either ship. We supposed that our old friends, who were more numerous at this time about us than these new visitors, would not permit them to have an intercourse with us. It was evident, upon this and several other occasions, that the inhabitants of the adjoining parts of the Sound engrossed us entirely to themselves; or if at any time they did not hinder strangers from trading with us, they contrived to manage the trade for them in such a manner that the price of their commodities was always kept up, while the value of ours was lessening every day. We also found that many of the principal natives who lived near us, carried on a trade with more distant tribes in the articles they had procured from us; for we observed that they would frequently disappear for four or five days at a time, and then return with fresh cargoes of skins and curiosities, which our people were so passionately fond of that they always came to a good market. But we received most benefit from such of the natives as visited us daily. These, after disposing of all their little trifles, turned their attention to fishing, and we never failed to partake of what they caught. We also got from these people a considerable quantity of very good animal oil, which they had reserved in bladders. In this traffic some would attempt to cheat us, by mixing water with the oil; and, once or twice, they had the address to carry their imposition so far as to fill their bladders with mere water, without a single drop of oil. It was always better to bear with these tricks than to make them the foundation of a quarrel; for our articles of traffic consisted, for the most part, of mere trifles; and yet we were put to our shifts to find a constant supply even of these. Beads, and such other toys, of which I had some left, were in little estimation. Nothing would go down with our visitors but metal; and brass had by this time supplanted iron, being so eagerly sought after, that before we left this place hardly a bit of it was left in the ships, except what belonged to our necessary instruments. Whole suits of clothes were stripped of every button, bureaus of their furniture, and copper kettles, tin canisters, candle-sticks, and the like, all went to wreck; so that our American friends here got a greater

medley and variety of things from us than any other nation whom we had visited in the course of the voyage.

After a fortnight's bad weather, the 19th proving a fair day, we availed ourselves of it to get up the topmasts and yards, and to fix up the rigging. And, having now finished most of our heavy work, I set out the next morning to take a view of the Sound. I first went to the west point, where I found a large village, and before it a very snug harbour, in which were from nine to four fathoms' water, over a bottom of fine sand. The people of this village, who were numerous, and to most of whom I was well known, received me very courteously, every one pressing me to go into his house, or rather his apartment; for several families live under the same roof. I did not decline the invitation; and my hospitable friends whom I visited spread a mat for me to sit upon, and showed me every other mark of civility. In most of the houses were women at work, making dresses of the plant or bark before mentioned, which they executed exactly in the same manner that the New Zealanders manufacture their cloth. Others were occupied in opening sardines. I had seen a large quantity of them brought on shore from canoes, and divided by measure amongst several people, who carried them up to their houses, where the operation of curing them by smoke-drying is performed. They hang them on small rods, at first about a foot from the fire; afterwards they remove them higher and higher, to make room for others, till the rods on which the fish hang reach the top of the house. When they are completely dried they are taken down and packed close in bales, which they cover with mats. Thus they are kept till wanted; and they are not a disagreeable article of food. Cod, and other large fish, are also cured in the same manner by them; though they sometimes dry these in the open air, without fire.

From this village I proceeded up the west side of the Sound. For about three miles I found the shore covered with small islands, which are so situated as to form several convenient harbours, having various depths of water, from thirty to seven fathoms, with a good bottom. Two leagues within the Sound, on this west side, there runs in an arm in the direction of north north-west; and two miles farther is another nearly in the same direction, with a pretty large island before it. I had no time to examine either of these arms; but have reason to believe that they do not extend far inland, as the water was no more than brackish at their entrances. A mile above the second arm, I found the remains of a village. The logs or framings of the houses were standing; but the boards that had composed their sides and roofs did not exist*. Before this village were some large fishing weirs; but I saw nobody attending them. These weirs were composed of pieces of wicker-work made of small rods, some closer than others, according to the size of the fish intended to be caught in them. These pieces of wicker-work (some of whose superficies are at least twenty feet by twelve), are fixed up edgewise in shallow water, by strong poles or pickets that stand firm in the ground. Behind this ruined village is a plain of a few hours' extent, covered with the largest pine-trees that I ever saw. This was the more remarkable, as the elevated ground, in most other parts of this west side of the Sound, was rather naked.

From this place I crossed over to the other, or east side of the Sound, passing an arm of it that runs in north north-east, to appearance not far. I now found what I had before conjectured, that the land under which the ships lay was an island; and that there were many smaller ones lying scattered in the Sound on the west side of it. Opposite the north end of our large island, upon the mainland, I observed a village, and there I landed. The inhabitants of it were not so polite as those of the other I had just visited. But this cold reception seemed, in a great measure, if not entirely, owing to one surly chief, who would not let me enter their houses, following me wherever I went; and several times, by expressive signs, marking his impatience that I should be gone. I attempted in vain to soothe him by presents; but though he did not refuse them, they did not alter his behaviour. Some of the young women, better pleased with us than was their inhospitable chief, dressed

* The natives are accustomed to move from station to station, for the convenience of fishing. At each station they are accustomed to frequent they erect the frames of their houses, but the boards forming the outer covering are carried about with them. It was therefore only a dismantled, not a ruined, village which was seen by Captain Cook.—Ed.

themselves expeditiously in their best apparel, and assembling in a body welcomed us to their village, by joining in a song, which was far from harsh or disagreeable. The day being now far spent, I proceeded for the ships round the north end of the large island; meeting in my way with several canoes laden with sardines, which had been just caught somewhere in the east corner of the Sound. When I got on board I was informed, that while I was absent the ships had been visited by some strangers, in two or three large canoes, who by signs made our people understand that they had come from the south-east, beyond the bay. They brought several skins, garments, and other articles, which they bartered. But what was most singular, two silver table-spoons were purchased from them, which, from their peculiar shape, we supposed to be of Spanish manufacture. One of these strangers wore them round his neck by way of ornament. These visitors also appeared to be more plentifully supplied with iron than the inhabitants of the Sound.

The mizen-mast being finished, it was got in and rigged on the 21st; and the carpenters were set to work to make a new fore-topmast, to replace the one that had been carried away some time before. Next morning, about eight o'clock, we were visited by a number of strangers in twelve or fourteen canoes. They came into the cove from the southward; and as soon as they had turned the point of it, they stopped, and lay drawn up in a body above half an hour, about two or three hundred yards from the ships. At first we thought that they were afraid to come nearer; but we were mistaken in this, and they were only preparing an introductory ceremony. On advancing toward the ships, they all stood up in their canoes, and began to sing. Some of their songs, in which the whole body joined, were in a slow, and others in quicker time; and they accompanied their notes with the most regular motions of their hands; or beating in concert, with their paddles, on the sides of the canoes; and making other very expressive gestures. At the end of each song they remained silent a few seconds, and then began again, sometimes pronouncing the word *hooce!* forcibly, as a chorus. After entertaining us with this specimen of their music, which we listened to with admiration, for above half an hour, they came alongside the ships and bartered [illegible] they had to dispose of. Some of our old friends of the Sound were now found to be [illegible]st them; and they took the whole management of the traffic between us and the strangers, much to the advantage of the latter.

Our attendance on these visitors being finished, Captain Clerke and I went in the forenoon with two boats to the village at the west point of the Sound. When I was there the day before, I had observed that plenty of grass grew near it, and it was necessary to lay in a quantity of this as food for the few goats and sheep which were still left on board. The inhabitants received us with the same demonstrations of friendship which I had experienced before; and the moment we landed, I ordered some of my people to begin their operation of cutting. I had not the least imagination that the natives could make any objection to our furnishing ourselves with what seemed to be of no use to them, but was necessary for us. However, I was mistaken, for the moment that our men began to cut, some of the inhabitants interposed and would not permit them to proceed, saying they must "*makook*;" that is, must first buy it. I was now in one of the houses, but as soon as I heard of this, I went to the field, where I found about a dozen of the natives, each of whom laid claim to some part of the grass that grew in this place. I bargained with them for it, and having completed the purchase, thought we were now at liberty to cut wherever we pleased; but here, again, it appeared that I was under a mistake, for the liberal manner in which I had paid the first pretended proprietors, brought fresh demands upon me from others, so that there did not seem to be a single blade of grass that had not a separate owner; and so many of them were to be satisfied, that I very soon emptied my pockets. When they found that I really had nothing more to give, their importunities ceased, and we were permitted to cut wherever we pleased, and as much as we chose to carry away.

Here I must observe, that I have nowhere in my several voyages met with any uncivilised nation or tribe who had such strict notions of their having a right to the exclusive property of everything that their country produces, as the inhabitants of this Sound. At first they wanted our people to pay for the wood and water that they carried on board, and had I been upon the spot when these demands were made, I should certainly have complied with

them. Our workmen, in my absence, thought differently, for they took but little notice of such claims, and the natives, when they found that we were determined to pay nothing, at last ceased to apply. But they made a merit of necessity, and frequently afterward took occasion to remind us that they had given us wood and water out of friendship *.

During the time I was at this village, Mr. Webber, who had attended me thither, made drawings of everything that was curious, both within and without doors. I had also an opportunity of inspecting more narrowly the construction of the houses, household furniture, and utensils, and the striking peculiarities of the customs and modes of living of the inhabitants. These shall be described in another place in the best manner I can, calling in to my assistance the observations of Mr. Anderson. When we had completed all our operations at this village, the natives and we parted very good friends, and we got back to the ships in the afternoon. The three following days were employed in getting ready to put to sea, the sails were bent, the observatories and instruments, brewing vessels, and other things, were moved from the shore; some small spars for different uses, and pieces of timber which might be occasionally sawn into boards, were prepared and put on board, and both ships were cleared and put into a sailing condition.

Everything being now ready, in the morning of the 26th I intended to have put to sea, but both wind and tide being against us, was obliged to wait till noon, when the S.W. wind was succeeded by a calm; and the tide turning in our favour, we cast off the moorings, and with our boats towed the ships out of the cove. After this, we had variable light airs and calms till four in the afternoon, when a breeze sprung up northerly with very thick hazy weather. The mercury in the barometer fell unusually low; and we had every other forerunner of an approaching storm, which we had reason to expect would be from the southward; this made me hesitate a little, as night was at hand, whether I should venture to sail or wait till the next morning. But my anxious impatience to proceed upon the voyage, and the fear of losing this opportunity of getting out of the Sound, making a greater impression on my mind than any apprehension of immediate danger, I determined to put to sea at all events.

Our friends, the natives, attended us till we were almost out of the Sound, some on board the ships, and others in their canoes. One of their chiefs, who had some time before attached himself to me, was amongst the last who left us. Having, before he went, bestowed upon him a small present, I received in return a beaver skin of much greater value. This called upon me to make some addition to my present, which pleased him so much, that he insisted upon my acceptance of the beaver-skin cloak which he then wore, and of which I knew he was particularly fond. Struck with this instance of generosity, and desirous that he should be no sufferer by his friendship to me, I presented to him a new broad-sword with a brass hilt, the possession of which made him completely happy. He, and also many others of his countrymen, importuned us much to pay them another visit, and, by way of encouragement, promised to lay in a good stock of skins. I make no doubt, that whoever comes after me to this place, will find the natives prepared accordingly, with no inconsiderable supply of an article of trade, which they could observe we were eager to possess, and which we found could be purchased to great advantage.

Such particulars about the country and its inhabitants as came to our knowledge during our short stay, and have not been mentioned in the course of the narrative, will furnish materials for the two following chapters.

* Similar to the behaviour of the natives of Nootka on this occasion was that of another tribe of Indians farther north, in latitude 57° 18′, to the Spaniards, who had preceded Captain Cook only three years in a voyage to explore the coast of America, northward of California. See the journal of that voyage, writ by the second pilot of the fleet, and published by the Honourable Mr. Daines Barrington, to whom the literary world owes so many obligations.—Miscellanies, p. 505, 506.

CHAPTER II.—THE NAME OF THE SOUND, AND DIRECTIONS FOR SAILING INTO IT.—ACCOUNT OF THE ADJACENT COUNTRY.—WEATHER.—CLIMATE.—TREES.—OTHER VEGETABLE PRODUCTIONS.—QUADRUPEDS, WHOSE SKINS WERE BROUGHT FOR SALE.—SEA ANIMALS.—DESCRIPTION OF A SEA-OTTER.—BIRDS.—WATER-FOWL.—FISH.—SHELL-FISH, &c.—REPTILES.—INSECTS.—STONES, &c.—PERSONS OF THE INHABITANTS.—THEIR COLOUR.—COMMON DRESS AND ORNAMENTS.—OCCASIONAL DRESSES, MONSTROUS DECORATIONS OF WOODEN MASKS.—THEIR GENERAL DISPOSITIONS.—SONGS.—MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS.—THEIR EAGERNESS TO POSSESS IRON AND OTHER METALS.

On my arrival in this inlet, I had honoured it with the name of King George's Sound, but I afterward found that it is called Nootka by the natives. The entrance is situated in the E. corner of Hope Bay, in the latitude of 49° 33′ N., and in the longitude of 233° 12′ E. The E. coast of that bay, all the way from Breaker's Point to the entrance of the Sound, is covered by a chain of sunken rocks, that seemed to extend some distance from the shore, and near the Sound are some islands and rocks above water. We enter this Sound between two rocky points that lie E.S.E., and W.N.W. from each other, distant between three and four miles. Within these points the Sound widens considerably, and extends in to the northward four leagues at least, exclusive of the several branches towards its bottom, the termination of which we had not an opportunity to ascertain. But, from the circumstance of finding that the water freshened where our boats crossed their entrance, it is probable that they had almost reached its utmost limits. And this probability is increased by the hills that bounded it toward the land being covered with thick snow, when those toward the sea, or where we lay, had not a speck remaining on them, though, in general, they were much higher. In the middle of the Sound are a number of islands of various sizes. The depth of water in the middle of the Sound, and even close home to some parts of its shore, is from forty-seven to ninety fathoms, and perhaps more. The harbours and anchoring-places within its circuit are numerous; but we had no time to survey them. The cove in which our ships lay is on the east side of the Sound, and on the east side of the largest of the islands. It is covered from the sea, but has little else to recommend it, being exposed to the south-east winds, which we found to blow with great violence; and the devastation they make sometimes was apparent in many places.

The land bordering upon the sea-coast is of a middling height and level; but within the Sound it rises almost everywhere into steep hills, which agree in their general formation, ending in round or blunted tops, with some sharp, though not very prominent, ridges on their sides. Some of these hills may be reckoned high, while others of them are of a very moderate height; but even the highest are entirely covered to their tops with the thickest woods, as well as every flat part toward the sea. There are sometimes spots upon the sides of some of the hills which are bare; but they are few in comparison of the whole, though they sufficiently point out the general rocky disposition of these hills. Properly speaking, they have no soil upon them, except a kind of compost, produced from rotten mosses and trees, of the depth of two feet or more. Their foundations are, therefore, to be considered as nothing more than stupendous rocks, of a whitish or grey cast, where they have been exposed to the weather; but, when broken, they appeared to be of a bluish-grey colour, like that universal sort which were found at Kerguelen's Land. The rocky shores are a continued mass of this; and the little coves in the Sound have beaches composed of fragments of it, with a few other pebbles. All these coves are furnished with a great quantity of fallen wood lying in them, which is carried in by the tide; and with rills of fresh water, sufficient for the use of a ship, which seem to be supplied entirely from the rains and fogs that hover about the tops of the hills. For few springs can be expected in so rocky a country, and the fresh water found farther up the Sound most probably arose from the melting of the snow; there being no room to suspect that any large river falls into the Sound, either from strangers coming down it, or from any other circumstance. The water of these rills is perfectly clear, and dissolves soap easily.

The weather, during our stay, corresponded pretty nearly with that which we had

experienced off the coast. That is, when the wind was anywhere between north and west, the weather was fine and clear; but if to the southward of west, hazy with rain. The climate, as far as we had any experience of it, is infinitely milder than that on the east coast of America, under the same parallel of latitude. The mercury in the thermometer never, even in the night, fell lower than 42°; and very often in the day it rose to 60°. No such thing as frost was perceived in any of the low ground; on the contrary, vegetation had made a considerable progress; for I met with grass that was already above a foot long. The trees which chiefly compose the woods are the Canadian pine, white cypress, *Cupressus thyoides*, the wild pine, with two or three other sorts of pine less common. The first two make up almost two-thirds of the whole; and, at a distance, might be mistaken for the same tree, as they both run up into pointed spire-like tops; but they are easily distinguished on coming nearer from their colour, the cypress being of a much paler green, or shade, than the other. The trees, in general, grow with great vigour, and are all of a large size.

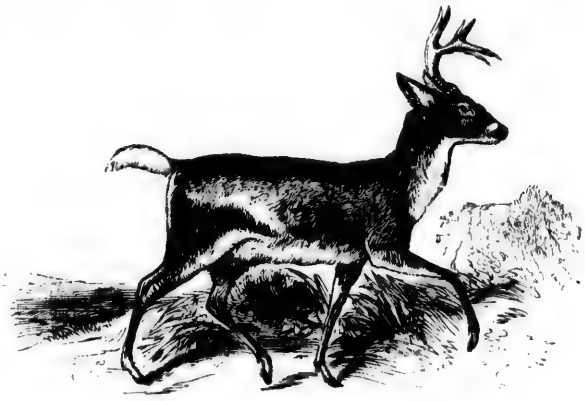
There is but little variety of other vegetable productions, though, doubtless, several had not yet sprung up at the early season when we visited the place, and many more might be hid from the narrow sphere of our researches. About the rocks, and verge of the woods, we found strawberry plants, some raspberry, currant, and gooseberry bushes, which were all in a most flourishing state; with a few small black alder-trees. There are likewise a species of sow-thistle; goose-grass; some crow's-foot, which has a very fine crimson flower; and two sorts of *Anthericum;* one with a large orange flower, and the other with a blue one. We also found in these situations, some wild rose-bushes, which were just budding; a great quantity of young leeks with triangular leaves; a small sort of grass, and some water-cresses, which grow about the sides of the rills; besides great abundance of *Andromeda*. Within the woods, besides two sorts of underwood shrubs unknown to us, are mosses and ferns. Of the first of which, are seven or eight different sorts; of the last not above three or four; and the species of both are mostly such as are common to Europe and America.

As the season of the year was unfavourable to our gaining much knowledge of the vegetable productions of this country, so our own situation while there put it out of our power to learn much about its animals; for as the want of water made it necessary that we should enter the Sound at first, the unforeseen accidents which happened afterward, though they lengthened our stay, were rather unfavourable to our obtaining any knowledge of this kind. The emergency of the case required that every person should be constantly employed in the necessary business of the ships, which was the capital object, as the season was advancing very fast, and the success of the voyage depended upon their diligence and alacrity in expediting the various tasks assigned to them. Hence it happened that excursions of every kind, either on the land or by water, were never attempted. And as we lay in a cove on an island, no other animals were ever seen alive in the woods there, than two or three racoons, martins, and squirrels. Besides these, some of our people who one day landed on the continent near the south-east side of the entrance of the Sound, observed the prints of a bear's feet near the shore. The account, therefore, that we can give of the quadrupeds is taken from the skins which the natives brought to sell; and these were often so mutilated, with respect to the distinguishing parts, such as the paws, tails, and heads, that it was impossible even to guess at the animals to whom they belonged; though others were so perfect, or at least, so well known, that they left no room to doubt about them.

Of these the most common were bears, deer, foxes, and wolves. The bear-skins were in great numbers; few of them very large; but in general, of a shining black colour. The deer-skins were scarcer, and they seem to belong to that sort called the fallow-deer by the historians of Carolina; though Mr. Pennant thinks it quite a different species from ours, and distinguishes it by the name of Virginian deer*. The foxes are in great plenty, and of several varieties; some of their skins being quite yellow, with a black tip to the tail; others of a deep or reddish yellow, intermixed with black; and a third sort, of a whitish grey or ash-colour, also intermixed with black. Our people used to apply the name of fox or wolf indiscriminately, when the skins were so mutilated as to leave room for a doubt. But we got, at last, an entire wolf's skin with the head on; and it was grey. Besides the common sort of mar-

* See *Virginian deer:* Pennant's Hist. Quad. vol. i. No. 46; and Arctic Zool. No. 6.

tin, the pine-martin is also here; and another, whose skin is of a lighter brown colour than either, with coarser hair; but is not so common, and is, perhaps, only a mere variety arising from age, or some other accidental circumstance. The ermine is also found at this place, but is rare and small; nor is the hair remarkably fine, though the animal appeared to be perfectly white, and squirrels are of the common sort; but the latter is rather smaller than ours, and has a deeper rusty colour running along the back.



VIRGINIAN DEER.

We were clear as to the existence of all the animals already mentioned; but there are two others besides, which we could not distinguish with sufficient certainty. Of the first of these we saw none of the skins, but what were dressed or tanned like leather. The natives wear them on some occasions; and from the size as well as thickness, they were generally concluded to belong to the elk, or moose-deer; though some of them, perhaps, might belong to the buffalo. The other animal, which seems by no means rare, was guessed to be a species of the wild cat or *lynx*. The length of the skins without the head, which none of them had, was about two feet two inches. They are covered with a very fine wool or fur, of a very light brown or whitish yellow colour, intermixed with long hairs, which on the back, where they are shortest, are blackish; on the sides, where they are longer, of a silver white; and on the belly, where they are longest, of the colour of the wool; but the whitish or silver hairs are often so predominant, that the whole animal acquires a cast of that kind. The tail is only three inches long, and has a black tip. The whole skin being by the natives called *wanshee;* that, most probably, is their name for this animal. Hogs, dogs, and goats have not as yet found their way to this place. Nor do the natives seem to have any knowledge of our brown rats, to which, when they saw one on board the ships, they applied the name they give to squirrels. And though they called our goats *eineetla*, this, most probably, is their name for a young deer or fawn.

The sea animals seen off the coast were whales, porpoises, and seals. The last of these seem only of the common sort, judging from the skins which we saw here; their colour being either silvery, yellowish, plain, or spotted with black. The porpoise is the *phocena*. I have chosen to refer to this class the sea-otter, as living mostly in the water. It might have been sufficient to have mentioned that this animal abounds here, as it is fully described in different books, taken from the accounts of the Russian adventurers in their expeditions eastward from Kamtschatka, if there had not been a small difference in one that we saw. We for some time entertained doubts, whether the many skins which the natives brought, really belonged to this animal; as our only reason for being of that opinion was founded on the size, colour, and fineness of the fur; till a short while before our departure, when a whole one, that had been just killed, was purchased from some strangers who came to barter; and of this Mr. Webber made a drawing. It was rather young, weighing only twenty-five pounds, of a shining or glossy black colour; but many of the hairs being tipped with white, gave it a greyish cast at first sight. The face, throat, and breast, were of a yellowish white, or very light brown colour, which, in many of the skins, extended the whole length of the belly. It had six cutting teeth in each jaw; two of those of the lower jaw being very minute, and placed without, at the base of the two middle ones. In these circumstances it seems to

disagree with those found by the Russians; and also in not having the outer toes of the hind feet skirted with a membrane. There seemed also a greater variety in the colour of the skins than is mentioned by the describers of the Russian sea-otters. These changes of colour certainly take place at the different gradations of life. The very young ones had brown hair, which was coarse, with very little fur underneath; but those of the size of the entire animal which came into our possession, and just described, had a considerable quantity of that substance; and both in that colour and state the sea-otters seem to remain till they have attained their full growth. After that they lose their black colour, and assume a deep brown or sooty colour; but have then a greater quantity of very fine fur, and scarcely any long hairs. Others, which we suspected to be still older, were of a chesnut brown; and a few skins were seen that had even acquired a perfectly yellow colour. The fur of these animals, as mentioned in the Russian accounts, is certainly softer and finer than that of any others we know of; and therefore the discovery of this part of the continent of North America, where so valuable an article of commerce may be met with, cannot be a matter of indifference*.

Birds, in general, are not only rare as to the different species, but very scarce as to numbers; and these few are so shy, that in all probability they are continually harassed by the natives; perhaps to eat them as food, certainly to get possession of their feathers, which they use as ornaments. Those which frequent the woods are crows and ravens, not at all different from our English ones; a bluish jay or magpie; common wrens, which are the only singing-bird that we hear; the Canadian, or migrating thrush; and a considerable number of brown eagles, with white heads and tails, which, though they seem principally to frequent the coast, come into the Sound in bad weather, and sometimes perch upon the trees. Amongst some other birds, of which the natives either brought fragments or dried skins, we could distinguish a small species of hawk, a heron, and the *alcyon* or large-crested American king-fisher. There are also some which I believe are not mentioned, or at least vary very considerably from the accounts given of them by any writers who have treated professedly on this part of natural history. The first two of these are species of wood-peckers. One less than a thrush, of a black colour above, with white spots on the wings, a crimson head, neck, and breast, and a yellowish olive-coloured belly; from which last circumstance it might, perhaps, not improperly be called the yellow-bellied wood-pecker. The other is a larger, and much more elegant bird, of a dusky brown colour on the upper part, richly waved with black, except about the head; the belly of a reddish cast, with round black spots; a black spot on the breast; and the under side of the wings and tail of a plain scarlet colour, though blackish above; with a crimson streak running from the angle of the mouth, a little down the neck on each side. The third and fourth are a small bird of the finch kind, about the size of a linnet, of a dark dusky colour, whitish below, with a black head and neck, and white bill; and a sand-piper of the size of a small pigeon, of a dusky brown colour, and white below, except the throat and breast, with a broad white band across the wings. There are also humming-birds, which yet seem to differ from the numerous sorts of this delicate animal already known, unless they be a mere variety of the *Trochilus colubris* of Linnæus. These perhaps inhabit more to the southward, and spread northward as the season advances; because we saw none at first, though near the time of our departure the natives brought them to the ships in great numbers.

The birds which frequent the waters and the shores are not more numerous than the others. The quebrantahuessos, gulls, and shags, were seen off the coast, and the last two also frequent the Sound; they are of the common sorts, the shags being our cormorant or water-crow. We saw two sorts of wild ducks, one black with a white head, which were in considerable flocks, the other white with a red bill, but of a larger size; and the greater *lumme* or diver, found in our northern countries. There were also seen once or twice some swans flying across the Sound to the northward; but we knew nothing of their haunts. On the shores, besides the sand-piper described above, we found another about the size of a lark, which bears a great affinity to the burre, and a plover differing very little from our common sea-lark.

* Mr. Coxe, on the authority of Mr. Pallas, informs us that the old and middle-aged sea-otter skins are sold at Kiachta, by the Russians to the Chinese, from 80 to 100 rubles a skin; that is, from 16*l.* to 20*l.* each. See "Coxe's Russian Discoveries," p. 13.

Fish are more plentiful in quantity than birds, though the variety is not very great; and yet, from several circumstances, it is probable that even the variety is considerably increased at certain seasons. The principal sorts which we found in great numbers, are the common herring, but scarcely exceeding seven inches in length, a smaller sort which is the same with the anchovy or sardine, though rather larger; a white or silver-coloured bream, and another of a gold-brown colour, with many narrow longitudinal blue stripes. The herrings and sardines, doubtless, come in large shoals and only at stated seasons, as is common with that sort of fish. The bream of both sorts may be reckoned the next to these in quantity, and the full-grown ones weighed at least a pound. The other fish, which are all scarce, are a small brown kind of *sculpin*, such as is found on the coast of Norway, another of a brownish red cast; frost-fish, a large one, somewhat resembling the bull-head, with a tough skin, destitute of scales; and now and then, toward the time of our leaving the Sound, the natives brought a small brownish cod spotted with white, and a red fish of the same size, which some of our people said they had seen in the Straits of Magellan, besides another differing little from the hake. There are also considerable numbers of those fish called the *chimæræ*, or little sea-wolves by some, which is akin to and about the size of the *pezegallo*, or elephant-fish. Sharks likewise sometimes frequent the Sound, for the natives have some of their teeth in their possession; and we saw some pieces of ray, or skate, which seemed to have been pretty large. The other marine animals that ought to be mentioned here, are a small cruciated *medusa*, or blubber; star-fish, which differ somewhat from the common ones; two small sorts of crabs; and two others which the natives brought; one of them of a thick, tough, gelatinous consistence, and the other a sort of membranaceous tube or pipe, both which are probably taken from the rocks. And we also purchased from them once a very large cuttle-fish.

There is abundance of large muscles about the rocks, many sea-ears, and we often saw shells of pretty large plain *chamæ*. The smaller sorts are some *trochi* of two species, a curious *murex*, rugged wilks, and a snail, all which are probably peculiar to this place, at least I do not recollect to have seen them in any country near the same latitude in either hemisphere. There are, besides these, some small plain cockles, limpets, and some strangers who came into the Sound wore necklaces of a small bluish *volute*, or *panamæ*. Many of the muscles are a span in length, and some have pretty large pearls, which, however, are both badly shaped and coloured. We may conclude that there is red coral in the Sound, or somewhere upon the coast, some thick pieces or branches having been seen in the canoes of the natives.

The only animals of the reptile kind observed here, and found in the woods, were brown snakes two feet long, with whitish stripes on the back and sides, which are harmless, as we often saw the natives carry them alive in their hands; and brownish water-lizards, with a tail exactly like that of an eel, which frequented the small standing pools about the rocks. The insect tribe seem to be more numerous. For though the season which is peculiarly fitted to their appearing abroad was only beginning, we saw four or five different sorts of butterflies, none of which were uncommon, a good many humble-bees, some of our common gooseberry-moths, two or three sorts of flies, a few beetles, and some mosquitoes, which probably may be more numerous and troublesome, in a country so full of wood, during the summer, though at this time they did little mischief.

As to the mineral substances in this country, though we found both iron and copper here, there is little reason to believe that either of them belong to the place. Neither were the ores of any metal seen, if we except a coarse, red, earthy or ochry substance, used by the natives in painting themselves, which probably may contain a little iron, with a white and black pigment used for the same purpose. But we did not procure specimens of them, and therefore cannot positively determine what are their component parts. Besides the stone or rock that constitutes the mountains and shores, which sometimes contains pieces of very coarse quartz, we found amongst the natives things made of a hard black granite, though not remarkably compact or fine-grained; a greyish whetstone, the common oil-stone of our carpenters, in coarser and finer pieces, and some black bits which are little inferior to the hone-stone. The natives also use the transparent leafy glimmer, or Muscovy glass, a brown leafy or martial sort; and they sometimes brought to us pieces of rock crystal, tolerably

transparent. The first two are probably found near the spot, as they seemed to be in considerable quantities, but the latter seems to be brought from a greater distance, or is very scarce, for our visitors always parted with it reluctantly. Some of the pieces were octangular, and had the appearance of being formed into that shape by art.

NATIVES OF NOOTKA SOUND.

The persons of the natives are in general under the common stature, but not slender in proportion, being commonly pretty full or plump, though not muscular. Neither doth the soft fleshiness seem ever to swell into corpulence, and many of the older people are rather spare or lean. The visage of most of them is round and full, and sometimes, also, broad, with large prominent cheeks; and above these the face is frequently much depressed, or seems fallen in quite across between the temples, the nose also flattening at its base, with pretty wide nostrils, and a rounded point. The forehead rather low, the eyes small, black, and rather languishing than sparkling, the mouth round with large round thickish lips, the teeth tolerably equal and well set, but not remarkably white. They have either no beards at all, which was most commonly the case, or a small thin one upon the point of the chin, which does not arise from any natural defect of hair on that part, but from plucking it out more or less; for some of them, and particularly the old men, have not only considerable beards all over the chin, but whiskers or mustachios, both on the upper lip and running from thence toward the lower jaw obliquely downward*. Their eyebrows are also scanty

* One of the most curious singularities observable in the natural history of the human species, is the supposed defect in the habit and temperature of the bodies of the American Indians, exemplified in their having no beards, while they are furnished with a profusion of hair on their heads. M. de Pauw, the ingenious author of "Récherches sur les Américains," Dr. Robertson, in his "History of America," and, in general, the writers for whose authority we ought to have the highest deference, adopt this as an indisputable matter of fact. May we not be permitted to request those who espouse their sentiments, to reconsider the question, when we can produce Captain Cook's evidence on the opposite side, at least so far as relates to the American tribe, whom he had intercourse with at Nootka? Nor is Captain Cook singular in his report. What he saw on the sea-coast Captain Carver also met with among the American Indians far up in the country. His words are as follow:—"From minute inquiries and a curious inspection, I am able to declare (however respectable I may hold the authority of these historians in other points) that their assertions are erroneous, and proceeding from a want of a thorough knowledge of the customs of the Indians. After the age of puberty, their bodies in their natural state are covered in the same manner as those of the Europeans. The men, indeed, esteem a beard very unbecoming, and take great pains to get rid of it; nor is there any ever to be perceived on their faces, except when they grow old, and become inattentive to appearances. The Naudowessies, and the remote nations, pluck them out with bent pieces of hard wood formed into a kind of nippers; whilst those who have communication with Europeans, procure from them wire, which they twist into a screw or worm; applying this to the part, they press the rings together, and with a sudden twitch draw out all the hairs that are inclosed in them."—"Carver's Travels," p. 224, 225. The remark made by Mr. Marsden, who also quotes Carver, is worth attending to, that the vizor or mask of Montezuma's armour, preserved at Brussels, has remarkably large whiskers; and that those Americans could not have imitated this ornament unless nature had presented them with the model. From Captain Cook's observation on the west coast of North America, combined with Carver's in the inland parts of that continent, and confirmed by the Mexican vizor as above, there seems abundant reason to agree with Mr. Marsden, who thus modestly expresses himself:—"Were it not for the numerous and very respectable authorities, from which we are assured that the natives of America are naturally beardless, I should think that the common opinion on that subject had been hastily adopted; and that their appearing thus at a mature age, was only the consequence of an early practice, similar to that observed among the Sumatrans. Even now, I must confess that it would remove some degree of doubt from my mind, could it be ascertained that no such custom prevails."—"Marsden's History of Sumatra," p. 39, 40.

¡This question is best decided by the evidence of an Indian chief, the celebrated Joseph Brant, or Thayendanegia, the chief of the Six Nations, and the ally of the British in the American War of Independence. He was a remarkable man, and had received a fair education, of which he made good use. The question was proposed to him by a Mr. M'Causeland, soon after the close of the American War. The following was the chief's reply:—

"*Niagara, April* 19, 1783.

"The men of the Six Nations have all beards by nature; as have likewise all other Indian nations of North America, which I have seen. Some Indians allow a part of the beard upon the chin and upper lip to grow, and a few of the Mohawks shave with razors, in the same manner as Europeans; but the generality pluck out the hairs of the

and always narrow, but the hair of the head is in great abundance, very coarse and strong, and without a single exception black, straight, and lank, or hanging down over the shoulders. The neck is short; the arms and body have no particular mark of beauty or elegance in their formation, but are rather clumsy; and the limbs in all are very small in proportion to the other parts, and crooked or ill made, with large feet badly shaped, and projecting ankles. This last defect seems, in a great measure, to arise from their sitting so much on their hams or knees, both in their canoes and houses.

Their colour we could never positively determine, as their bodies were incrusted with paint and dirt; though, in particular cases, when these were well rubbed off, the whiteness of the skin appeared almost to equal that of Europeans, though rather of that pale effete cast which distinguishes those of our southern nations. Their children, whose skins had never been stained with paint, also equalled ours in whiteness. During their youth, some of them have no disagreeable look, if compared to the generality of the people; but this seems to be entirely owing to the particular animation attending that period of life, for after attaining a certain age, there is hardly any distinction. Upon the whole, a very remarkable sameness seems to characterise the countenances of the whole nation, a dull phlegmatic want of expression, with very little variation, being strongly marked in all of them. The women are nearly of the same size, colour, and form, with the men, from whom it is not easy to distinguish them, as they possess no natural delicacies sufficient to render their persons agreeable; and hardly any one was seen, even amongst those who are in the prime of life, who had the least pretensions to be called handsome.

Their common dress is a flaxen garment, or mantle, ornamented on the upper edge by a narrow strip of fur, and at the latter edge, by fringes or tassels. It passes under the left arm, and is tied over the right shoulder by a string before and one behind, near its middle, by which means both arms are free, and it hangs evenly, covering the left side, but leaving the right open, except from the loose part of the edges falling upon it, unless when the mantle is fastened by a girdle (of coarse matting or woollen) round the waist, which is often done. Over this, which reaches below the knees, is worn a small cloak of the same substance, likewise fringed at the lower part. In shape this resembles a round dish-cover, being quite close, except in the middle, where there is a hole just large enough to admit the head, and then, resting upon the shoulders, it covers the arms to the elbows, and the body as far as the waist. Their head is covered with a cap of the figure of a truncated cone, or like a flower-pot, made of fine matting, having the top frequently ornamented with a round or pointed knob, or a bunch of leathern tassels, and there is a string that passes under the chin to prevent its blowing off.

DRESS OF NATIVES OF NOOTKA SOUND.

Besides the above dress, which is common to both sexes, the men frequently throw over their other garments the skin of a bear, wolf, or sea-otter, with the hair outward, and tie it

beard by the roots, as soon as they begin to appear; and as they continue this practice all their lives, they appear to have no beard, or, at most, only a few straggling hairs, which they have neglected to pluck out. I am, however, of opinion, that if the Indians were to shave, they would never have beards altogether so thick as the Europeans; and there are some to be met with who have actually very little beard.—Joseph Brant Thayendanegia."

Jewitt, the English sailor who has been mentioned in a previous note, page 264, says that the people of Nootka Sound "have no beard, completely extirpating it, as well as the hair from their bodies,—Maquina (the head chief, or king) being the only exception, who suffered his beard to grow on his upper lip, in the manner of mustachios, which was considered as a mark of dignity."—Ed.]

as a cloak near the upper part, wearing it sometimes before and sometimes behind. In rainy weather they throw a coarse mat about their shoulders. They have also woollen garments, which, however, are little in use. The hair is commonly worn hanging down loose; but some, when they have no cap, tie it in a bunch on the crown of the head. Their dress, upon the whole, is convenient, and would by no means be inelegant, were it kept clean. But as they rub their bodies constantly over with a red paint, of a clayey or coarse ochry substance, mixed with oil, their garments, by this means, contract a rancid offensive smell, and a greasy nastiness, so that they make a very wretched dirty appearance; and what is still worse, their heads and their garments swarm with vermin, which, so depraved is their taste for cleanliness, we used to see them pick off with great composure and eat.

Though their bodies are always covered with red paint, their faces are often stained with a black, a bright red, or a white colour, by way of ornament. The last of these gives them a ghastly, disgusting aspect. They also strew the brown martial mica upon the paint, which makes it glitter*, the ears of many of them are perforated in the lobe, where they make a pretty large hole; and two others higher up on the outer edge. In these holes they hang bits of bone; quills fixed upon a leathern thong; small shells; bunches of woollen tassels; or pieces of thin copper, which our beads could never supplant. The septum of the nose in many is also perforated, through which they draw a piece of soft cord; and others wear, at the same place, small thin pieces of iron, brass, or copper, shaped almost like a horse-shoe, the narrow opening of which receives the septum, so as that the two points may gently pinch it; and the ornament thus hangs over the upper lip. The rings of our brass buttons, which they eagerly purchased, were appropriated to this use †. About their wrists they wear bracelets or bunches of white bugle beads, made of a conic shelly substance ‡; bunches of thongs, with tassels; or a broad black shining horny substance, of one piece. And about their ankles they also frequently wear many folds of leathern thongs, or the sinews of animals twisted to a considerable thickness.

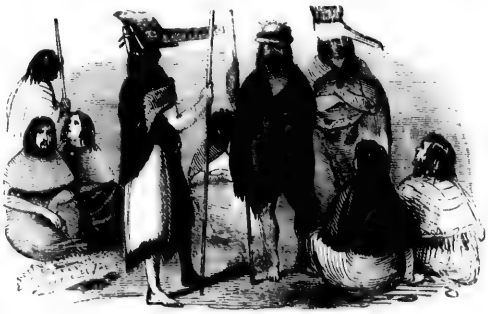
* The following passage is extracted from Jewitt's Narrative:—"On extraordinary occasions the king and principal chiefs used to strew over their faces, after painting, a fine black shining powder, procured from some mineral, as Maquina told me it was got from the rocks. This they call *Pelpeth*, and value it highly, as, in their opinion, it serves to set off their looks to great advantage, glittering, especially in the sun, like silver. This article is brought them in bags by the *Newchemass*, a very savage nation, who live a long way to the north, from whom they likewise receive a superior kind of red paint, a species of very fine and rich ochre, which they hold in much estimation. Notwithstanding this custom of painting themselves, they make it an invariable practice, both in summer and winter to bathe once a day, and sometimes oftener; but as the paint is put on with oil, it is not much discomposed thereby, and whenever they wash it off, they repair to some piece of fresh water, and scour themselves with sand or rushes."

The women, "though fond of ornamenting their persons, are by no means so partial to paint as the men, merely colouring their eyebrows black, and drawing a bright red stripe from each corner of the mouth towards the ear."—Ed.

† Those who cannot afford more expensive ornaments, substitute for them, usually, a smooth round stick, often projecting eight or nine inches beyond the face on each side, the length being apportioned to the self-supposed consequence of the wearer; this is made fast, or secured in its place by little wedges on each side of it. The English sailors jestingly term these uncouth appendages "sprit-sail-yards."—Ed.

‡ This is the well known *Wampum*, which is used in Tartary, as well as among the North American Indians, as an ornament, and as a circulating medium. Among those tribes with whom a European traffic has been established, artificial bugles have very generally been substituted for the shells of which it should properly be composed, and its value, except as a matter of mere ornament and ceremony, is little regarded. Jewitt states that at Nootka Sound it was termed *Ife-waw*. He says, "This *Ife-waw*, as they term it, is a kind of shell, of a dazzling whiteness, and as smooth as ivory. It is of a cylindrical form, in a slight degree curved, about the size of a goose-quill, hollow, three inches in length, and gradually tapering to a point, which is broken off by the natives as it is taken from the water. This they afterwards string upon threads of bark, and sell it by the fathom. It forms a kind of circulating medium among these nations, five fathoms being considered as the price of a slave, their most valuable species of property. It is principally obtained from the Aitizzarts, a people living about thirty or forty miles to the northward, who collect it from the reefs and sunken rocks with which their coast abounds, though it is also brought in considerable quantity from the south. Their mode of taking it has been thus described to me:—To one end of a pole is fastened a piece of plank, in which a considerable number of pine pegs are inserted, made sharp at the ends. Above the plank, in order to sink it, a stone or some weight is tied, and the other end of the pole suspended to a long rope. This is let down perpendicularly by the *Ife-waw* fishers in those places where that substance is found, which are usually from fifty to sixty fathoms deep. On finding the bottom, they raise the pole up a few feet, and let it fall. This they repeat a number of times as if sounding, when they draw it up, and take off the *Ife-waw*, which is found adhering to the points. This method of procuring it is very laborious and fatiguing, especially as they seldom take more than two or three of these shells at a time, and frequently none."—Ed.

Thus far of their ordinary dress and ornaments; but they have some that seem to be used only on extraordinary occasions; either when they exhibit themselves as strangers, in visits of ceremony, or when they go to war. Amongst the first may be considered the skins of animals, such as wolves or bears, tied on in the usual manner, but ornamented at the edges with broad borders of fur, or of the woollen stuff manufactured by them, ingeniously wrought with various figures. These are worn either separately, or over their other common garments. On such occasions, the most common head-dress is a quantity of withe, or half-beaten bark, wrapped about the head; which, at the same time, has various large feathers, particularly those of eagles, stuck in it, or is entirely covered, or, we may say, powdered with small white feathers. The face, at the same time, is variously painted, having its upper and lower parts of different colours, the strokes appearing like fresh gashes; or it is besmeared with a kind of tallow,* mixed with paint, which is afterward formed into a great variety of regular figures, and appears like carved-work. Sometimes, again, the hair is separated into small parcels, which are tied at intervals of about two inches, to the end, with thread; and others tie it together, behind, after our manner, and stick branches of the *Cupressus thyoides* in it. Thus dressed, they have a truly savage and incongruous appearance; but this is much heightened, when they assume what may be called their monstrous decorations. These consist of an endless variety of carved wooden masks or vizors, applied on the face, or to the upper part of the head or forehead. Some of these resemble human faces, furnished with hair, beards, and eye-brows; others, the heads of birds, particularly of eagles and quebrantahuessos; and many, the heads of land and sea animals, such as wolves, deer, and porpoises, and others. But, in general, these representations much exceed the natural size; and they are painted, and often strewed with pieces of the foliaceous *mica*, which makes them glitter, and serves to augment their enormous deformity. They even exceed this sometimes, and fix on the same part of the head large pieces of carved-work, resembling the prow of a canoe, painted in the same manner, and projecting to a considerable distance. So fond are they of these disguises, that I have seen one of them put his head into a tin kettle he had got from us, for want of another sort of mask. Whether they use these extravagant masquerade ornaments on any particular religious occasion, or diversion, or whether they be put on to intimidate their enemies when they go to battle, by their monstrous appearance; or† as decoys when they go to hunt animals, is uncertain. But it may be concluded, that, if travellers or voyagers, in an ignorant and credulous age, when many unnatural or marvellous things were supposed to exist, had seen a number of people decorated in this manner, without being able to approach so near as to be undeceived, they would readily have believed, and in their relations would have attempted to make others believe, that there existed a race of beings, partaking of the nature of man and beast; more especially, when, besides the heads of animals on the human shoulders, they might have seen the whole bodies of their men-monsters covered with quadrupeds' skins‡.



DECORATION OF NOOTKA SOUND.

* Usually bears' grease. Turpentine is used to make the feathers, which are arranged with great regularity, adhere to the hair.—Ed.

† Masks and disguises are used generally by the Indians in religious ceremonies, in hunting, and in playing the spy or stealing on the enemy, and are managed with infinite address. See Catlin's Letters *passim*. We are not aware, however, of any instance in which they have been adopted with a view of terrifying an enemy. Such an attempt would appear absurd to an Indian; and their frightful paintings of the warriors are regarded rather as heraldic tokens of their rank and prowess, than as a means of creating fear, although that object is sought, when, as in some of their religious ceremonies, they personate beings of another world, as the Africans with their Mumbo Jumbo.

‡ The reflection in the text may furnish the admirers of Herodotus, in particular, with an excellent apology for some of his wonderful tales of this sort.

The only dress amongst the people of Nootka, observed by us, that seems peculiarly adapted to war, is a thick leathern mantle doubled, which, from its size, appears to be the skin of an elk or buffalo, tanned. This they fasten on in the common manner; and it is so contrived, that it may reach up, and cover the breast quite to the throat, falling, at the same time, almost to the heels. It is sometimes ingeniously painted in different compartments; and is not only sufficiently strong to resist arrows, but as they informed us by signs, even spears cannot pierce it; so that it may be considered as their coat of mail, or most complete defensive armour. Upon the same occasion, they sometimes wear a kind of leathern cloak, covered with rows of dried hoofs of deer, disposed horizontally, appended by leathern thongs, covered with quills; which, when they move, make a loud rattling noise, almost equal to that of many small bells. It seems doubtful, however, whether this part of their garb be intended to strike terror in war, or only is to be considered as belonging to their eccentric ornaments on ceremonious occasions; for we saw one of their musical entertainments conducted by a man dressed in this sort of cloak, with his mask on, and shaking his rattle.

Though these people cannot be viewed without a kind of horror, when equipped in such extravagant dresses, yet when divested of them, and beheld in their common habit and actions, they have not the least appearance of ferocity in their countenances*; and seem, on the contrary, as observed already, to be of a quiet, phlegmatic, and inactive disposition; destitute, in some measure, of that degree of animation and vivacity that would render them agreeable as social beings. If they are not reserved, they are far from being loquacious; but their gravity is, perhaps, rather a consequence of the disposition just mentioned, than of any conviction of its propriety, or the effect of any particular mode of education. For, even in the greatest paroxysms of their rage, they seem unable to express it sufficiently, either with warmth of language, or significancy of gestures. Their orations, which are made either when engaged in any altercation or dispute, or to explain their sentiments publicly on other occasions, seem little more than short sentences, or rather single words, forcibly repeated, and constantly in one tone and degree of strength, accompanied only with a single gesture, which they use at every sentence, jerking their whole body a little forward, by bending the knees, their arms hanging down by their sides at the same time.

Though there be too much reason, from their bringing to sale human skulls and bones, to infer that they treat their enemies with a degree of brutal cruelty, this circumstance rather marks a general agreement of character with that of almost every tribe of uncivilised man, in every age, and in every part of the globe, than that they are to be reproached with any charge of peculiar inhumanity. We had no reason to judge unfavourably of their disposition in this respect. They seem to be a docile, courteous, good-natured people; but notwithstanding the predominant phlegm of their tempers, quick in resenting what they look upon as an injury; and, like most other passionate people, as soon forgetting it. I never found that these fits of passion went farther than the parties immediately concerned; the spectators not troubling themselves about the quarrel, whether it was with any of us, or amongst their own body; and preserving as much indifference as if they had not known anything about it. I have often

* "The men are in general from about five feet six to five feet eight inches in height; remarkably straight, of a good form, robust and strong, with their limbs in general well turned and proportioned, excepting the legs and feet, which are clumsy and ill-formed, owing no doubt, to their practice of sitting on them, though I have seen instances in which they were very well-shaped. This defect is more particularly apparent in the women, who are for the most part of the time within doors, and constantly sitting while employed in their cooking and other occupations. The only instance of deformity that I saw amongst them was a man of dwarfish stature. He was thirty years old, and but three feet three inches high. He had, however, no other defect than his diminutive size, being well made, and as strong and able to bear fatigue as what they were in general. Their complexion, when freed from the paint and oil with which their skins are generally covered, is a brown, somewhat inclined to a copper cast. The shape of the face is oval, the lips being thin, and the teeth very white and even. Their eyes are black, but rather small, and the nose pretty well formed, being neither flat nor very prominent. Their hair is black, long, and coarse. As to the women, they are much whiter, many of them not being darker than those in some of the southern parts of Europe. They are in general very well-looking, and some quite handsome. Maquina's favourite wife in particular, who was a Wickinninish princess, would be considered as a beautiful woman in any country. She was uncommonly well-formed, tall, and of a majestic appearance; her skin remarkably fair, for one of these people, with considerable colour; her features handsome; and her eyes black, soft, and languishing. Her hair was very long, thick, and black, as is that of the females in general, which is much softer than that of the men's. In this they take much pride, frequently oiling and plaiting it carefully into two broad plaits, tying the ends with a strip of the cloth of this country, and letting it hang down before on each side of the face."—Jewitt.

seen one of them rave and scold, without any of his countrymen paying the least attention to his agitation; and when none of us could trace the cause, or the object of his displeasure. In such cases they never discover the least symptom of timidity, but seem determined, at all events, to punish the insult. For, even with respect to us, they never appeared to be under the least apprehension of our superiority; but when any difference happened, were just as ready to avenge the wrong, as amongst themselves.

Their other passions, especially their curiosity, appear in some measure to lie dormant. For few expressed any desire to see or examine things wholly unknown to them; and which to those truly possessed of that passion would have appeared astonishing. They were always contented to procure the articles they knew and wanted, regarding everything else with great indifference; nor did our persons, apparel, and manners, so different from their own, or even the extraordinary size and construction of our ships, seem to excite admiration, or even engage attention. One cause of this may be their indolence, which seems considerable. But, on the other hand, they are certainly not wholly unsusceptible of the tender passions; if we may judge from their being so fond of music, which is mostly of the grave or serious, but truly pathetic sort. They keep the exactest concert in their songs, which are often sung by great numbers together, as those already mentioned, with which they used to entertain us in their canoes. These are generally slow and solemn; but the music is not of that confined sort found amongst many rude nations; for the variations are very numerous and expressive, and the cadence or melody powerfully soothing. Besides their full concerts, sonnets of the same grave cast were frequently sung by single performers, who kept time by striking the hand against the thigh. However, the music was sometimes varied, from its predominant solemnity of air; and there were instances of stanzas being sung in a more gay and lively strain, and even with a degree of humour.

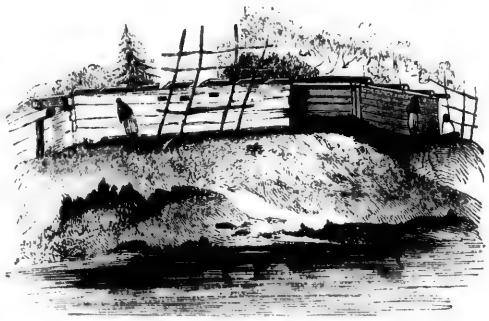
The only instruments of music (if such they may be called) which I saw amongst them, were a rattle; and a small whistle, about an inch long, incapable of any variation, from having but one hole. They use the rattle when they sing; but upon what occasions they use the whistle, I know not, unless it be when they dress themselves like particular animals, and endeavour to imitate their howl or cry. I once saw one of them dressed in a wolf's skin, with the head over his own, and imitating that animal, by making a squeaking noise with one of these whistles, which he had in his mouth. The rattles are, for the most part, made in the shape of a bird, with a few pebbles in the belly, and the tail is the handle. They have others, however, that bear rather more resemblance to a child's rattle.

In trafficking with us some of them would betray a knavish disposition, and carry off our goods without making any return. But in general it was otherwise; and we had abundant reason to commend the fairness of their conduct. However their eagerness to possess iron and brass, and, indeed, any kind of metal, was so great, that few of them could resist the temptation to steal it, whenever an opportunity offered. The inhabitants of the South Sea Islands, as appears from a variety of instances in the course of this voyage, rather than be idle, would steal anything that they could lay their hands upon, without ever considering whether it could be of use to them or no. The novelty of the object, with them, was a sufficient motive for endeavouring, by any indirect means, to get possession of it; which marked that, in such cases, they were rather actuated by a childish curiosity, than by a dishonest disposition, regardless of the modes of supplying real wants. The inhabitants of Nootka, who invaded our property, cannot have such apology made for them. They were thieves in the strictest sense of the word; for they pilfered nothing from us, but what they knew could be converted to the purposes of private utility, and had a real value according to their estimation of things. And it was lucky for us, that nothing was thought valuable by them, but the single articles of our metals. Linen and such like things were perfectly secure from their depredations; and we could safely leave them hanging out ashore all night, without watching. The same principle which prompted our Nootka friends to pilfer from us, it was natural to suppose, would produce a similar conduct in their intercourse with each other. And, accordingly, we had abundant reason to believe that stealing is much practised amongst them; and that it chiefly gives rise to their quarrels; of which we saw more than one instance.

CHAPTER III.—MANNER OF BUILDING THE HOUSES IN NOOTKA SOUND.—INSIDE OF THEM DESCRIBED.—FURNITURE AND UTENSILS.—WOODEN IMAGES.—EMPLOYMENTS OF THE MEN —OF THE WOMEN.—FOOD, ANIMAL AND VEGETABLE.—MANNER OF PREPARING IT.—WEAPONS.—MANUFACTURES AND MECHANIC ARTS.—CARVING AND PAINTING.—CANOES. —IMPLEMENTS FOR FISHING AND HUNTING.—IRON TOOLS.—MANNER OF PROCURING THAT METAL.—REMARKS ON THEIR LANGUAGE, AND A SPECIMEN OF IT.—ASTRONOMICAL AND NAUTICAL OBSERVATIONS MADE IN NOOTKA SOUND.

The two towns or villages mentioned in the course of my Journal seem to be the only inhabited parts of the Sound. The number of inhabitants in both might be pretty exactly computed from the canoes that were about the ships the second day after our arrival. They amounted to about a hundred, which, at a very moderate allowance, must, upon an average, have held five persons each; but as there were scarcely any women, very old men, children, or youths amongst them at that time, I think it will be rather rating the number of the inhabitants of the two towns too low, if we suppose they could be less than four times the number of our visitors, that is, two thousand in the whole.

The village at the entrance of the Sound stands on the side of a rising ground, which has a pretty steep ascent from the beach to the verge of the wood in which space it is situated. The houses are disposed in three ranges or rows, rising gradually behind each other, the largest being that in front and the others less; besides a few straggling or single ones at each end. These ranges are interrupted or disjoined at irregular distances by narrow paths or lanes that pass upward; but those which run in the direction of the houses between the rows are much broader. Though there be some appearance of regularity in this disposition, there is none in the single houses; for each of the divisions made by the paths may be considered either as one house or as many, there being no regular or complete separation either without or within, to distinguish them by. They are built of very long and broad planks *, resting upon the edges of each other, fastened or tied by withes of pine bark here and there, and have only slender posts, or rather poles, at considerable distances on the outside, to which they are also tied; but within are some larger poles, placed aslant. The height of the sides and ends of these habitations is seven or eight feet, but the back part is a little higher, by which means the planks that compose the roof slant forward, and are laid on loose, so as to be moved about, either to be put close to exclude the rain, or in fair weather to be separated, to let in the light, and carry out the smoke. They are however, upon the whole, miserable dwellings, and constructed with little care or ingenuity. For though the side-planks be made to fit pretty closely in some places, in others they are quite open, and there are no regular doors into them, the only way of entrance being either by a hole where the unequal length of the planks has accidentally left an opening, or in some cases, planks are made to pass a little beyond each other, or overlap, about two feet asunder, and the entrance is in this space. There are also holes or windows in the sides of the houses to look out at; but without any regularity of shape or disposition, and these have bits of mat hung before them to prevent the rain getting in.



HOUSES OF NOOTKA SOUND.

* The habitations of the natives, more to the north upon this coast, where Behring's people landed in 1741, seem to resemble those of Nootka. Muller describes them thus: "Ces cabanes étoient de bois revêtu de planches bien unies, et même enchainées en quelques endroits." Muller, Découvertes, p. 255.

On the inside, one may frequently see from one end to the other of these ranges of buildings without interruption. For though in general there be the rudiments, or rather vestiges, of separations on each side, for the accommodation of different families, they are such as do not intercept the sight, and often consist of no more than pieces of plank, running from the side toward the middle of the house, so that if they were complete, the whole might be compared to a long stable with a double range of stalls, and a broad passage in the middle. Close to the sides in each of these parts is a little bench of boards, raised five or six inches higher than

SLEEPING-BENCHES OF NOOTKA SOUND.

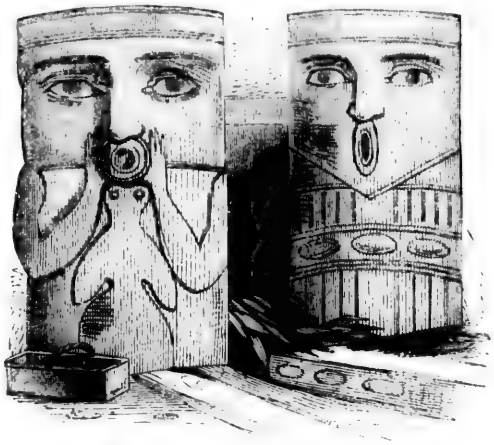
the rest of the floor, and covered with mats, on which the family sit and sleep. These benches are commonly seven or eight feet long and four or five broad. In the middle of the floor, between them, is the fire-place, which has neither hearth nor chimney. In one house, which was in the end of a middle range, almost quite separated from the rest by a high close partition and the most regular as to design of any that I saw, there were four of these benches, each of which held a single family at a corner, but without any separation by boards; and the middle part of the house appeared common to them all.

Their furniture consists chiefly of a great number of chests and boxes of all sizes, which are generally piled upon each other close to the sides or ends of the house, and contain their spare garments, skins, masks, and other things which they set a value upon. Some of these are double, or one covers the other as a lid, others have a lid fastened with thongs, and some of the very large ones have a square hole, or scuttle, cut in the upper part, by which the things are put in and taken out. They are often painted black, studded with the teeth of different animals or carved with a kind of frieze-work and figures of birds or animals, as decorations. Their other domestic utensils are mostly square and oblong pails or buckets to hold water and other things *, round wooden cups and bowls, and small shallow wooden troughs about two feet long, out of which they eat their food, and baskets of twigs, bags of matting, &c. Their fishing implements, and other things also, lie or hang up in different parts of the house, but without the least order, so that the whole is a complete scene of confusion; and the only places that do not partake of this confusion are the sleeping-benches, that have nothing on them but the mats, which are also cleaner or of a finer sort than those they commonly have to sit on in their boats.

The nastiness and stench of their houses are, however, at least equal to the confusion; for, as they dry their fish within doors, they also gut them there, which, with their bones and fragments thrown down at meals, and the addition of other sorts of filth, lie everywhere in heaps, and are, I believe, never carried away till it becomes troublesome, from their size, to walk over them. In a word, their houses are as filthy as hog-sties, everything in and about them stinking of fish, train-oil, and smoke. But, amidst all the filth and confusion that are found in the houses, many of them are decorated with images. These are nothing more than the trunks of very large trees four or five feet high, set up singly or by pairs at the upper end of the apartment, with the front carved into a human face, the arms and hands cut out upon

* These are used chiefly to hold blubber and fermented salmon roes, which forms a chief article in their diet.—Ed.

the sides and variously painted; so that the whole is a truly monstrous figure. The general name of those images is *Klumma*, and the names of two particular ones which stood abreast of each other, three or four feet asunder in one of the houses, were *Natchkoa* and *Matseeta*. Mr. Webber's view of the inside of a Nootka house, in which these images are represented, will convey a more perfect idea of them than any description. A mat, by way of curtain, for the most part hung before them, which the natives were not willing at all times to remove; and when they did unveil them, they seemed to speak of them in a very mysterious manner. It should seem that they are at times accustomed to make offerings to them, if we can draw this inference from their desiring us, as we interpreted their signs, to give something to these images when they drew aside the mats that covered them. It was natural, from these circumstances, for us to think that they were representatives of their gods, or symbols of some religious or superstitious object; and yet we had proofs of the little real estimation they were in, for with a small quantity of iron or brass, I could have purchased all the gods (if their images were such) in the place. I did not see one that was not offered to me; and I actually got two or three of the very smallest sort.



NATCHKOA AND MATSEETA. IDOLS OF NOOTKA SOUND.

The chief employment of the men seems to be that of fishing and killing land or sea animals for the sustenance of their families, for we saw few of them doing anything in the houses; whereas the women were occupied in manufacturing their flaxen or woollen garments, and in preparing the sardines for drying, which they also carry up from the beach in twig baskets, after the men have brought them in their canoes. The women are also sent in the small canoes to gather muscles and other shell-fish, and perhaps on some other occasions, for they manage these with as much dexterity as the men, who, when in the canoes with them, seem to pay little attention to their sex by offering to relieve them from the labour of the paddle; nor, indeed, do they treat them with any particular respect or tenderness in other situations. The young men appeared to be the most indolent or idle set in this community, for they were either sitting about in scattered companies to bask themselves in the sun, or lay wallowing in the sand upon the beach, like a number of hogs, for the same purpose, without any covering. But this disregard of decency was confined to the men. The women were always properly clothed, and behaved with the utmost propriety, justly deserving all commendation for a bashfulness and modesty becoming their sex, but more meritorious in them, as the men seem to have no sense of shame. It is impossible, however, that we should have been able to observe the exact mode of their domestic life and employments from a single visit (as the first was quite transitory) of a few hours. For it may be easily supposed, that on such an occasion most of the labour of all the inhabitants of the village would cease upon our arrival, and an interruption be given even to the usual manner of appearing in their houses, during their more remiss or sociable hours, when left to themselves. We were much better enabled to form some judgment of their disposition, and in some measure even of their method of living, from the frequent visits so many of them paid us at our ships in their canoes, in which it should seem they spend a great deal of time, at least in the summer season; for we observed that they not only eat and sleep frequently in them, but strip off their clothes and lay

themselves along to bask in the sun, in the same manner as we had seen practised at their village. Their canoes of the larger sort are, indeed, sufficiently spacious for that purpose, and perfectly dry; so that, under shelter of a skin they are, except in rainy weather, much more comfortable habitations than their houses.

Though their food, strictly speaking, may be said to consist of everything animal or vegetable that they can procure, the quantity of the latter bears an exceedingly small proportion to that of the former. Their greatest reliance seems to be upon the sea, as affording fish, muscles, and smaller shell-fish and sea animals. Of the first, the principal are herrings and sardines, the two species of bream formerly mentioned, and small cod; but the herrings and sardines are not only eaten fresh in their season, but likewise serve as stores, which after being dried and smoked, are preserved by being sewed up in mats, so as to form large bales three or four feet square. It seems that the herrings also supply them with another grand resource for food, which is a vast quantity of roe very curiously prepared. It is strewed upon, or as it were incrusted about, small branches of the Canadian pine; they also prepare it upon a long narrow sea-grass, which grows plentifully upon the rocks under water. This *caviare*, if it may be so called, is kept in baskets or bags of mat, and used occasionally, being first dipped in water. It may be considered as the winter bread of these people, and has no disagreeable taste. They also eat the roe of some other fish, which, from the size of its grains, must be very large, but it has a rancid taste and smell. It does not appear that they prepare any other fish in this manner, to preserve them for any length of time. For though they split and dry a few of the bream and *chimæræ*, which are pretty plentiful, they do not smoke them as the herrings and sardines. The next article on which they seem to depend for a large proportion of their food, is the large muscle; great abundance of which are found in the Sound. These are roasted in their shells, then stuck upon long wooden skewers, and taken off occasionally as wanted, being eat without any other preparation, though they often dip them in oil as a sauce. The other marine productions, such as the smaller shell-fish, though they contribute to increase the general stock, are by no means to be looked upon as a standing or material article of their food, when compared to those just mentioned.

Of the sea animals, the most common that we saw in use amongst them as food is the porpoise; the fat or rind of which, as well as the flesh, they cut in large pieces and, having

MODE OF COOKING, NOOTKA SOUND.

dried them as they do the herrings, eat them without any farther preparation. They also prepare a sort of broth from this animal in its fresh state in a singular manner, putting

pieces of it in a square wooden vessel or bucket with water, and then throwing heated stones into it. This operation they repeat till they think the contents are sufficiently stewed or seethed. They put in the fresh and take out the other stones with a cleft stick, which serves as tongs; the vessel being always placed near the fire for that purpose. This is a pretty common dish amongst them; and, from its appearance seems to be strong nourishing food. The oil which they procure from these and other sea animals is also used by them in great quantities; both supping it alone with a large scoop or spoon made of horn, or mixing it with other food, as sauce.

It may also be presumed that they feed upon other sea-animals, such as seals, sea-otters, and whales; not only from the skins of the two first being frequent amongst them, but from the great number of implements of all sorts intended to destroy these different animals, which clearly points out their dependence upon them; though perhaps they do not catch them in great plenty at all seasons, which seemed to be the case while we lay there, as no great number of fresh skins, or pieces of the flesh, were seen. The same might perhaps be said of the land-animals, which, though doubtless the natives sometimes kill them, appeared to be scarce at this time; as we did not see a single piece of the flesh belonging to any of them; and though their skins be in tolerable plenty, it is probable that many of these are procured by traffic from other tribes. Upon the whole, it seems plain, from a variety of circumstances, that these people procure almost all their animal food from the sea, if we except a few birds, of which the gulls or sea-fowls, which they shoot with their arrows, are the most material.

As the Canadian pine-branches and sea-grass, on which the fish-roe is strewed, may be considered as their only winter vegetables; so, as the spring advances, they make use of several others as they come in season. The most common of these, which we observed, were two sorts of liliaceous roots, one simply tunicated, the other granulated upon its surface, called *mahkatte* and *koohquoppa*, which have a mildish sweetish taste, and are mucilaginous, and eaten raw. The next, which they have in great quantities, is a root called *aheita*, resembling in taste our liquorice; and another fern root, whose leaves were not yet disclosed. They also eat, raw, another small, sweetish insipid root, about the thickness of *sarsaparilla;* but we were ignorant of the plant to which it belongs, and also of another root, which is very large and palmated, which we saw them dig up near the village, and afterward eat it. It is also probable that, as the season advances, they have many others which we did not see. For though there be no appearance of cultivation amongst them, there are great quantities of alder, gooseberry and currant bushes, whose fruits they may eat in their natural state, as we have seen them eat the leaves of the last, and of the lilies, just as they were plucked from the plant. It must, however, be observed, that one of the conditions which they seemed to require in all food is, that it should be of the bland or less acrid kind; for they would not eat the leek or garlic, though they brought vast quantities to sell, when they understood we were fond of it. Indeed they seemed to have no relish for any of our food; and when offered spirituous liquors, they rejected them as something unnatural and disgusting to the palate.

Though they sometimes eat small marine animals, in their fresh state, raw, it is their common practice to roast or broil their food; for they are quite ignorant of our method of boiling, unless we allow that of preparing their porpoise broth is such; and indeed their vessels being all of wood, are quite insufficient for this purpose.

Their manner of eating is exactly consonant to the nastiness of their houses and persons; for the troughs and platters, in which they put their food, appear never to have been washed from the time they were first made, and the dirty remains of a former meal are only sweeped away by the succeeding one. They also tear everything, solid or tough, to pieces, with their hands and teeth; for though they make use of their knives to cut off the larger portions, they have not, as yet, thought of reducing these to smaller pieces and mouthfuls, by the same means, though obviously more convenient and cleanly. But they seem to have no idea of cleanliness; for they eat the roots which they dig from the ground, without so much as shaking off the soil that adheres to them. We are uncertain if they have any set time for meals; for we have seen them eat at all hours, in their canoes. And yet, from seeing several

messes of the porpoise-broth preparing toward noon, when we visited the village, I should suspect that they make a principal meal about that time.

Their weapons are bows and arrows, slings, spears, short truncheons of bone, somewhat like the *patoo patoo* of New Zealand, and a small pickaxe, not unlike the common American *tomahawk*. The spear has generally a long point, made of bone. Some of the arrows are pointed with iron; but most commonly their points were of indented bone. The tomahawk is a stone, six or eight inches long, pointed at one end, and the other end fixed into a handle of wood. This handle resembles the head and neck of the human figure; and the stone is fixed in the mouth, so as to represent an enormously large tongue. To make the resemblance still stronger, human hair is also fixed to it. This weapon they call *taaweesh*, or *tsuskeeah*. They have another stone weapon called *seeaik*, nine inches or a foot long, with a square point. From the number of stone weapons, and others, we might almost conclude that it is their custom to engage in close fight; and we had too convincing proofs that their wars are both frequent and bloody, from the vast number of human skulls which they brought to sell.

Their manufactures and mechanic arts are far more extensive and ingenious, whether we regard the design or the execution, than could have been expected from the natural disposition of the people, and the little progress that civilisation has made amongst them in other respects. The flaxen and woollen garments, with which they cover themselves, must necessarily engage their first care, and are the most material of those that can be ranked under the head of manufactures. The former of these are made of the bark of a pine-tree, beat into a hempen state. It is not spun, but, after being properly prepared, is spread upon a stick, which is fastened across to two others that stand upright. It is disposed in such a manner that the manufacturer, who sits on her hams at this simple machine, knots it across with small plaited threads, at the distance of half an inch from each other. Though, by this method, it be not so close or firm as cloth that is woven, the bunches between the knots make it sufficiently impervious to the air, by filling the interstices, and it has the additional advantage of being softer and more pliable. The woollen garments, though probably manufactured in the same manner, have the strongest resemblance to woven cloth. But the various figures which are very artificially inserted in them, destroy the supposition of their being wrought in the loom; it being extremely unlikely that these people should be so dexterous as to be able to finish such a complex work, unless immediately by their hands. They are of different degrees of fineness; some resembling our coarsest rugs or blankets, and others almost equal to our finest sorts, or even softer, and certainly warmer. The wool of which they are made seems to be taken from animals, as the fox and brown lynx; the last of which is by far the finest sort, and, in its natural state, differs little from the colour of our coarser wools; but the hair, with which the animal is also covered, being intermixed, its appearance, when wrought, is somewhat different. The ornamental parts or figures in these garments, which are disposed with great taste, are commonly of a different colour, being dyed, chiefly, either of a deep brown, or of a yellow; the last of which, when it is new, equals the best in our carpets, as to brightness.

To their taste or design in working figures upon their garments, corresponds their fondness for carving, in everything they make of wood. Nothing is without a kind of frieze-work, or the figure of some animal upon it; but the most general representation is that of the human face, which is often cut out upon birds, and the other monstrous figures mentioned before; and even upon their stone and their bone weapons. The general design of all these things is perfectly sufficient to convey a knowledge of the object they are intended to represent; but the carving is not executed with the nicety that a dexterous artist would bestow even upon an indifferent design. The same, however, cannot be said of many of the human masks and heads, where they show themselves to be ingenious sculptors. They not only preserve, with exactness, the general character of their own faces, but finish the more minute parts with a degree of accuracy in proportion, and neatness in execution. The strong propensity of this people to works of this sort is remarkable, in a vast variety of particulars. Small whole human figures; representations of birds, fish, and land and sea animals; models of their household utensils and of their canoes, were found amongst them in great abundance.

The imitative arts being nearly allied, no wonder that, to their skill in working figures in their garments, and carving them in wood, they should add that of drawing them in colours. We have sometimes seen the whole process of their whale-fishery painted on the caps they wear. This, though rudely executed, serves, at least, to show, that though there be no appearance of the knowledge of letters amongst them, they have some notion of a method of commemorating and representing actions, in a lasting way, independently of what may be recorded in their songs and traditions. They have also other figures painted on some of their things; but it is doubtful if they ought to be considered as symbols, that have certain established significations, or only the mere creation of fancy and caprice.

Their canoes are of a simple structure; but, to appearance, well calculated for every useful purpose. Even the largest, which carry twenty people or more, are formed of one tree. Many of them are forty feet long, seven broad, and about three deep. From the middle, toward each end, they become gradually narrower, the after-part, or stern, ending abruptly or perpendicularly, with a small knob on the top; but the fore-part is lengthened out, stretching forward and upward, ending in a notched point or prow, considerably higher than the sides of the canoe, which run nearly in a straight line. For the most part they are without any ornament; but some have a little carving, and are decorated by setting seals' teeth on the surface, like studs; as is the practice on their masks and weapons. A few have, likewise, a kind of additional head or prow, like a large cut-water, which is painted with the figure of some animal. They have no seats, nor any other supporters, on the inside, than several round sticks, little thicker than a cane, placed across, at mid depth. They are very light, and their breadth and flatness enable them to swim firmly, without an out-rigger, which none of them have; a remarkable distinction between the navigation of all the American nations and that of the southern parts of the East Indies, and the islands in the Pacific Ocean. Their paddles are small and light; the shape, in some measure, resembling that of a large leaf, pointed at the bottom, broadest in the middle, and gradually losing itself in the shaft, the whole being about five feet long. They have acquired great dexterity in managing these paddles, by constant use; for sails are no part of their art of navigation.

Their implements for fishing and hunting, which are both ingeniously contrived and well made, are nets, hooks, and lines, harpoons, gigs, and an instrument like an oar. This last is about twenty feet long, four or five inches broad, and about half an inch thick. Each edge, for about two-thirds of its length (the other third being its handle) is set with sharp bone-teeth, about two inches long. Herrings and sardines, and such other small fish as come in shoals, are attacked with this instrument; which is struck into the shoal, and the fish are caught either upon or between the teeth. Their hooks are made of bone and wood, and rather inartificially; but the harpoon, with which they strike the whales and lesser sea animals, shows a great reach of contrivance. It is composed of a piece of bone, cut into two barbs, in which is fixed the oval blade of a large muscle-shell, in which is the point of the instrument. To this are fastened about two or three fathoms of rope; and to throw this harpoon, they use a shaft about twelve or fifteen feet long, to which the line or rope is made fast; and to one end of which the harpoon is fixed, so as to separate from the shaft, and leave it floating upon the water as a buoy, when the animal darts away with the harpoon.

We can say nothing as to the manner of their catching or killing land animals, unless we may suppose that they shoot the smaller sorts with their arrows, and engage bears, or wolves and foxes, with their spears. They have, indeed, several nets, which are probably applied to that purpose *; as they frequently throw them over their heads, to show their use, when they brought them to us for sale. They also, sometimes, decoy animals by covering themselves with a skin, and running about upon all-fours, which they do very nimbly, as appeared from the specimens of their skill which they exhibited to us, making a kind of noise or neighing at the same time; and, on these occasions, the masks, or carved heads, as well as the real dried heads, of the different animals, are put on.

* One of the methods of catching the sea-otter, when ashore, in Kamtschatka, is with nets.—See Cox's Russian Discoveries, p. 13, 4to edition.

As to the materials of which they make their various articles, it is to be observed, that everything of the rope kind is formed either from thongs of skins, and sinews of animals, or from the same flaxen substance of which their mantles are manufactured. The sinews often appeared to be of such a length, that it might be presumed they could be of no other animal than the whale. And the same may be said of the bones of which they make their weapons already mentioned; such as their bark-beating instruments, the points of their spears, and the barbs of their harpoons. Their great dexterity in works of wood may, in some measure, be ascribed to the assistance they receive from iron tools; for, as far as we know, they use no other; at least, we saw only one chisel of bone. And though, originally, their tools must have been of different materials, it is not improbable that many of their improvements have been made since they acquired a knowledge of that metal, which is now universally used in their various wooden works. The chisel and the knife are the only forms, as far as we saw, that iron assumes amongst them. The chisel is a long flat piece, fitted into a handle of wood. A stone serves for a mallet, and a piece of fish-skin for a polisher. I have seen some of these chisels that were eight or ten inches long, and three or four inches broad; but, in general, they were smaller. The knives are of various sizes; some very large, and their blades are crooked, somewhat like our pruning-knife; but the edge is on the back or convex part. Most of them, that we saw, were about the breadth and thickness of an iron hoop; and their singular form marks that they are not of European make. Probably, they are imitations of their own original instruments, used for the same purposes. They sharpen these iron tools upon a coarse slate whetstone; and likewise keep the whole instrument constantly bright.

Iron, which they call *seekemaile* (which name they also give to tin, and all white metals), being familiar to these people, it was very natural for us to speculate about the mode of its being conveyed to them. Upon our arrival in the Sound, they immediately discovered a knowledge of traffic, and an inclination for it; and we were convinced afterward, that they had not received this knowledge from a cursory interview with any strangers; but, from their method, it seemed to be an established practice, of which they were fond, and in which they were also skilled. With whom they carry on this traffic, may perhaps admit of some doubt. For though we found amongst them things doubtless of European manufacture, or at least derived from some civilised nation, such as iron and brass, it by no means appears that they receive them immediately from these nations. For we never observed the least sign of their having seen ships like ours before, nor of their having traded with such people. Many circumstances serve to prove this almost beyond a doubt. They were earnest in their inquiries, by signs, on our arrival, if we meant to settle amongst them; and if we came as friends: signifying, at the same time, that they gave the wood and water freely from friendship. This not only proves, that they considered the place as entirely their property, without fearing any superiority; but the inquiry would have been an unnatural one, on a supposition that any ships had been here before, had trafficked, and supplied themselves with wood and water, and had then departed; for, in that case, they might reasonably expect we would do the same. They indeed, expressed no marks of surprise at seeing our ships. But this, as I observed before, may be imputed to their natural indolence of temper, and want of curiosity. Nor were they even startled at the report of a musket; till one day, upon their endeavouring to make us sensible that their arrows and spears could not penetrate the hide-dresses, one of our gentlemen shot a musket-ball through [illegible] of them, folded six times. At this they were so much staggered, that they plainly discovered their ignorance of the effect of fire-arms. This was very often confirmed afterward, when we used them at their village, and other places, to shoot birds, the manner of which plainly confounded them; and our explanations of the use of shot and ball were received with the most significant marks of their having no previous ideas on this matter.

Some accounts of a Spanish voyage to this coast, in 1774, or 1775, had reached England before I sailed; but the foregoing circumstances sufficiently prove, that these ships had not been at Nootka *. Besides this, it was evident that iron was too common here; was in too

* We now know that Captain Cook's conjecture was well founded. It appears from the Journal of this Voyage, already referred to, that the Spaniards had intercourse with the natives of this coast only in three places, in

many hands; and the uses of it were too well known, for them to have had the first knowledge of it so very lately; or, indeed, at any earlier period, by an accidental supply from a ship. Doubtless, from the general use they make of this metal, it may be supposed to come from some constant source, by way of traffic, and that not of a very late date; for they are as dexterous in using their tools as the longest practice can make them. The most probable way, therefore, by which we can suppose that they get their iron, is by trading for it with other Indian tribes, who either have immediate communication with European settlements upon that continent, or receive it, perhaps, through several intermediate nations. The same might be said of the brass and copper found amongst them.

Whether these things be introduced by way of Hudson's Bay and Canada, from the Indians, who deal with our traders, and so successively across from one tribe to the other; or whether they be brought from the north-western parts of Mexico, in the same manner, perhaps cannot be easily determined. But it should seem, that not only the rude materials, but some articles in their manufactured state, find their way hither. The brass ornaments for noses, in particular, are so neatly made, that I am doubtful whether the Indians are capable of fabricating them. The materials certainly are European; as no American tribes have been found, who knew the method of making brass; though copper has been commonly met with, and, from its softness, might be fashioned into any shape, and also polished. If our traders to Hudson's-Bay and Canada do not use such articles in their traffic with the natives, they must have been introduced at Nootka from the quarter of Mexico from whence, no doubt, the two silver table-spoons met with here were originally derived. It is most probable, however, that the Spaniards are not such eager traders, nor have formed such extensive connexions with the tribes north of Mexico, as to supply them with quantities of iron, from which they can spare so much to the people here*.

Of the political and religious institutions established amongst them, it cannot be supposed that we should learn much. This we could observe, that there are such men as chiefs, who are distinguished by the name or title of *Aeweek*, and to whom the others are in some measure subordinate. But I should guess, the authority of each of these great men extends no farther than the family to which he belongs, and who own him as their head. These *Aeweeks* were not always elderly men; from which I concluded, that this title came to them by inheritance. I saw nothing that could give the least insight into their notions of religion, besides the figures before mentioned, called by them *Klumma*. Most probably these were idols; but as they frequently mentioned the word *aeweek*, when they spoke of them, we may perhaps be authorised to suppose that they are the images of some of their ancestors, whom they venerate as divinities. But all this is mere conjecture; for we saw no act of religious homage paid to them; nor could we gain any information, as we had learned little more of the language, than to ask the names of things, without being able to hold any conversation with the natives, that might instruct us as to their institutions or traditions†.

In drawing up the preceding account of the people of this Sound, I have occasionally blended Mr. Anderson's observations with my own; but I owe everything to him that relates to their language; and the following remarks are in his own words:

"Their language is by no means harsh or disagreeable, farther than proceeds from their using the *k* and *h* with more force, or pronouncing them with less softness, than we do; and

latitude 41° 7′; in latitude 47° 21′; and in latitude 57° 18′. So that they were not within two degrees of Nootka; and it is most probable, that the people there never heard of these Spanish ships.

* Though the two silver table-spoons, found at Nootka Sound, most probably came from the Spaniards in the south, there seem to be sufficient grounds for believing, that the regular supply of iron comes from a different quarter. It is remarkable, that the Spaniards, in 1775, found at Puerto de la Trinidad, in latitude 41° 7′, arrows pointed with copper or iron, which they understood were procured from the north. Mr. Daines Barrington, in a note at this part of the Spanish Journal, p. 20, says, "I should conceive that the copper and iron, here mentioned, must have originally been bartered at our forts in Hudson's Bay."

† The natives of Nootka Sound are governed by a king, whose office is hereditary, as is the rank of the chiefs. Every son of a chief, when he attained an age fitting him for bearing arms, and had passed through certain ordeals of no trifling nature, testifying his fortitude, assumed the rank of *syee* (so spelt by Jewitt), or chief, in virtue of his birth. The institution of slavery among the people of Nootka, which is not common among the North American Indians, with whom those captives who are spared are generally adopted into the tribe, probably renders it necessary to keep up this hereditary nobility to the full extent. For in tribes where slavery is not known, the dignity of the king or head chief alone is hereditary; nor is this always the case; but other honours must be won by desert.—Ed.

upon the whole, it abounds rather with what we may call labial and dental, than with guttural sounds. The simple sounds which we have not heard them use, and which consequently, may be reckoned rare, or wanting in their language, are those represented by the letters *b*, *d*, *f*, *g*, *r*, and *v*. But on the other hand, they have one which is very frequent, and not used by us. It is formed in a particular manner, by clashing the tongue partly against the roof of the mouth, with considerable force; and may be compared to a very coarse or harsh method of lisping. It is difficult to represent this sound by any composition of our letters, unless, somehow, from *lszthl*. This is one of their most usual terminations, though we sometimes found it in the beginning of words. The next most general termination is composed of *tl*; and many words end with *z* and *ss*. A specimen or two of each of these is here put down:

Opulszthl	The sun.	*Teeshcheetl*	To throw a stone.
Onulszthl	The moon*.	*Kooomitz*	A human skull.
Kahsheetl	Dead.	*Quahmiss*	Fish roe.

"They seem to take so great a latitude in their mode of speaking, that I have sometimes observed four or five different terminations of the same word. This is a circumstance very puzzling at first to a stranger, and marks a great imperfection in their language.

"As to the composition of it, we can say very little; having been scarcely able to distinguish the several parts of speech. It can only be inferred, from their method of speaking, which is very slow and distinct, that it has few prepositions or conjunctions; and as far as we could discover, is destitute of even a single interjection, to express admiration or surprise. From its having few conjunctions, it may be conceived, that these being thought unnecessary, as being understood, each single word with them will also express a great deal to comprehend several simple ideas; which seems to be the case. But for the same reason, the language will be defective in other respects; not having words to distinguish or express differences which really exist, and hence not sufficiently copious. This was observed to be the case in many instances, particularly with respect to the names of animals. The relation or affinity it may bear to other languages, either on this or on the Asiatic continent, I have not been able sufficiently to trace, for want of proper specimens to compare it with, except those of the Esquimaux and Indians about Hudson's Bay; to neither of which it bears the least resemblance. On the other hand, from the few Mexican words I have been able to procure, there is the most obvious agreement, in the very frequent terminations of the words in *l*, *tl*, or *z*, throughout the language†."

The large vocabulary of the Nootka language, collected by Mr. Anderson, shall be reserved for another place‡, as its insertion here would too much interrupt our narration. At present, I only select their numerals, for the satisfaction of such of our readers as love to compare those of different nations, in different parts of the world:

Tsawack.	One.	*Nofpo*	Six.
Akkla	Two.	*Atslepoo*	Seven.
Katsitsa	Three.	*Atlaquolthl*	Eight.
Mo or *moo*	Four.	*Tsawaquulthl*	Nine.
Sochah	Five.	*Haseoo*	Ten.

Were I to affix a name to the people of Nootka, as a distinct nation, I would call them *Wakashians*, from the word *wakash*, which was very frequently in their mouths. It seemed to express applause, approbation, and friendship; for when they appeared to be satisfied, or well pleased with anything they saw, or any incident that happened, they would, with one voice, call out, *Wakash! wakash!*§ I shall take my leave of them with remarking, that,

* Jewitt gives *Oop-helth*, as a name common to the sun and the moon. The other words in this list he does not give; but the numerals a little farther on agree with his, save in a slight difference in spelling.—Ed.

† May we not, in confirmation of Mr. Anderson's remark, observe, that *Opulszthl*, the Nootka name of the sun, and *Vitziputzli*, the name of the Mexican divinity, have no very distant affinity in sound?

‡ It will be found at the end of the volume.

§ *Wacash*, or *wocash*, as Jewitt spells it, is an expression of approbation, and in the same indefinable sense as the Italian "*Bravo*" is by us. Jewitt translates it "good," which probably does not convey its exact meaning.—Ed.

differing so essentially as they certainly do in their persons, their customs, and language, from the inhabitants of the islands in the Pacific Ocean, we cannot suppose their respective progenitors to have been united in the same tribe, or to have had any intimate connexion, when they emigrated from their original settlements, into the places where we now find their descendants.

My account of the transactions in Nootka Sound would be imperfect, without adding the astronomical and nautical observations made by us, while the ships were in that station.

LATITUDE.

The latitude of the observatory by	Sun		49°	36′	1″,	15‴
	Stars	South	49	36	8,	36
		North	49	36	10,	30
The mean of these means			49	36	6,	47 north.

LONGITUDE.

The longitude by lunar observations.	Twenty sets taken on the 21st and 23d of March	233°	26′	18″,	7‴
	Ninety-three taken at the observatory	233	18	6,	6
	Twenty-four taken on the 1st, 2d, and 3d of May	233	7	16,	7
The mean of these means		233	17	14,	0 east.
But by reducing each set taken before we arrived in the Sound, and after we left it, by the time-keeper, and adding them up with those made on the spot, the mean of the 137 sets will be		233°	17′	30″,	5‴
Longitude by the time-keeper	Greenwich rate	235°	46′	51″,	0‴
	Ulietea rate	233	59	24,	0

From the results of the last fifteen days' observations of equal altitudes of the sun, the daily rate of the time-keeper was losing, on mean time, 7″; and the 16th of April, she was too slow for mean time, by $16^h\ 0^m\ 58'', 45$. There was found an irregularity in her rate, greater than at any time before. It was thought proper to reject the first five days, as the rate in them differed so much from that of the fifteen following; and even in these, each day differed from another more than usual.

VARIATION OF THE COMPASS.

April 4th.	A. M.	Observatory	15°	57′	48½″	15° 49′ 25″ east.
	P. M.	Mean of 4 needles	15	41	2	
5th.	A. M.	On board the ship	19	50	49	19 44 57½
17th.	P. M.	Mean of 4 needles	19	38	46	

The variation found on board the ship ought to be taken for the true one, not only as it agreed with what we observed at sea; but because it was found that there was something ashore that had a considerable effect upon the compasses; in some places more than others. At one spot, on the west point of the Sound, the needle was attracted 11¾ points from its proper direction.

INCLINATION OF THE DIPPING NEEDLE.

April 5th.	On board with balanced needle	Marked	End North and dipping	71°	26′	22½″	71°	40′ 22½″
		Unmarked		71	54	22½		
	The same needle at the observatory	Marked	End North and dipping	72	3	45	70	0 0
		Unmarked		71	56	15		
18th.	Ditto	Marked	End North and dipping	71	58	20	72	7 15
		Unmarked		72	16	10		
5th.	Spare needle at the observatory	Marked	End North and dipping	72	32	30	72	49 15
		Unmarked		73	6	0		
18th.	Ditto	Marked	End North and dipping	72	55	0	73	11 45
		Unmarked		73	28	30		
22d.	Spare needle on board	Marked	End North and dipping	73	28	38	73	11 0
		Unmarked		72	53	30		
Hence the mean dip with both needles on shore, was							72	32 3¾
On board							72	25 41¼

This is as near as can be expected; and shows that whatever it was that affected the compasses, whether on board or ashore, it had no effect upon the dipping needles.

TIDES.

It is high-water on the days of the new and full moon at $12^h\ 20^m$. The perpendicular rise and fall eight feet nine inches; which is to be understood of the day tides, and those which happen two or three days after the new and full moon. The night tides at this time rise near two feet higher. This was very conspicuous during the spring-tide of the full moon, which happened soon after our arrival; and it was obvious that it would be the same in those of the new moon, though we did not remain here long enough to see the whole of its effect.

Some circumstances that occurred daily, relating to this, deserve particular notice. In the cove where we got wood and water, was a great deal of drift-wood thrown ashore, a part of which we had to remove to come at the water. It often happened that large pieces of trees which we had removed during the day out of the reach of the then high-water, were found the next morning floated again in our way, and all our spouts for conveying down the water thrown out of their places, which were immoveable during the day tides. We also found that wood which we had split up for fuel, and had deposited beyond the reach of the day tide, floated during the night. Some of these circumstances happened every night or morning for three or four days, in the height of the spring tides; during which time we were obliged to attend every morning tide, to remove the large logs out of the way of watering. I cannot say whether the flood tide falls into the Sound from the N.W., S.W., or S.E. I think it does not come from the last quarter; but this is only conjecture founded upon the following observations: the S.E. gales which we had in the Sound, were so far from increasing the rise of the tide, that they rather diminished it; which would hardly have happened if the flood and wind had been in the same direction.

CHAPTER IV.—A STORM AFTER SAILING FROM NOOTKA SOUND.—RESOLUTION SPRINGS A LEAK.—PRETENDED STRAIT OF ADMIRAL DE FONTE PASSED UNEXAMINED.—PROGRESS ALONG THE COAST OF AMERICA.—BEERING'S BAY.—KAYE'S ISLAND—ACCOUNT OF IT.—THE SHIPS COME TO ANCHOR.—VISITED BY THE NATIVES.—THEIR BEHAVIOUR.—FONDNESS FOR BEADS AND IRON.—ATTEMPT TO PLUNDER THE DISCOVERY.—RESOLUTION'S LEAK STOPPED.—PROGRESS UP THE SOUND.—MESSRS. GORE AND ROBERTS SENT TO EXAMINE ITS EXTENT.—REASONS AGAINST A PASSAGE TO THE NORTH THROUGH IT.—THE SHIPS PROCEED DOWN IT TO THE OPEN SEA.

Having put to sea on the evening of the 26th, as before related, with strong signs of an approaching storm, these signs did not deceive us. We were hardly out of the Sound before the wind, in an instant, shifted from N.E. to S.E. by E., and increased to a strong gale with squalls and rain, and so dark a sky that we could not see the length of the ship. Being apprehensive, from the experience I had since our arrival on this coast, of the wind veering more to the S., which would put us in danger of a lee-shore, we got the tacks on board, and stretched off to the S.W., under all the sail the ships could bear. Fortunately the wind veered no farther southerly than S.E., so that at day-light the next morning we were quite clear of the coast. The Discovery being at some distance astern, I brought to, till she came up, and then bore away, steering N.W., in which direction I supposed the coast to lie. The wind was at S.E., blew very hard, and in squalls, with thick hazy weather. At half past one [illegible] afternoon, it blew a perfect hurricane, so that I judged it highly dangerous to run any longer before it, and, therefore, brought the ships to with their heads to the southward, under the foresails and mizen stay-sails. At this time the Resolution sprung a leak, which, at first, alarmed us not a little. It was found to be under the starboard buttock; where, from the bread-room, we could both hear and see the water rush in, and, as we then

thought, two feet under water. But in this we were happily mistaken; for it was afterward found to be even with the water-line, if not above it, when the ship was upright. It was no sooner discovered, than the fish-room was found to be full of water, and the casks in it afloat; but this was, in a great measure, owing to the water not finding its way to the pumps through the coals that lay in the bottom of the room; for after the water was baled out, which employed us till midnight, and had found its way directly from the leak to the pumps, it appeared that one pump kept it under, which gave us no small satisfaction. In the evening, the wind veered to the S., and its fury in some degree ceased. On this we set the mainsail and two topsails close-reefed, and stretched to the westward; but at eleven o'clock the gale again increased, and obliged us to take in the topsails, till five o'clock the next morning, when the storm began to abate; so that we could bear to set them again.

The weather now began to clear up; and being able to see several leagues round us, I steered more to the northward. At noon, the latitude, by observation, was 50° 1′; longitude 229° 26′*. I now steered N.W. by N., with a fresh gale at S.S.E., and fair weather. But at nine in the evening it began again to blow hard and in squalls with rain. With such weather, and the wind between S.S.E. and S.W., I continued the same course till the 30th, at four in the morning, when I steered N. by W., in order to make the land. I regretted very much indeed that I could not do it sooner, for this obvious reason, that we were now passing the place where geographers† have placed the pretended strait of Admiral de Fonte. For my own part, I give no credit to such vague and improbable stories, that carry their own confutation along with them. Nevertheless, I was very desirous of keeping the American coast aboard, in order to clear up this point beyond dispute. But it would have been highly imprudent in me to have engaged with the land in weather so exceedingly tempestuous, or to have lost the advantage of a fair wind by waiting for better weather. The same day at noon we were in the latitude of 53° 22′, and in the longitude of 225° 14′.

The next morning, being the first of May, seeing nothing of the land, I steered northeasterly, with a fresh breeze at S.S.E. and S., with squalls and showers of rain and hail. Our latitude at noon was 54° 43′, and our longitude 224° 44′. At seven in the evening, being in the latitude of 55° 20′, we got sight of the land, extending from N.N.E. to E., or E. by S., about twelve or fourteen leagues distant. An hour after I steered N. by W., and at four the next morning, the coast was seen from N. by W. to S.E., the nearest part about six leagues distant‡. At this time the northern point of an inlet, or what appeared to be one, bore E. by S. It lies in the latitude of 56°, and from it to the northward, the coast seemed to be much broken, forming bays and harbours every two or three leagues, or else appearances much deceived us. At six o'clock, drawing nearer the land, I steered N.W. by N., this being the direction of the coast, having a fresh gale at S.E., with some showers of hail, snow, and sleet. Between eleven and twelve o'clock, we passed a group of small islands lying under the main land, in the latitude of 56° 48′, and off, or rather to the northward of, the S. point of a large bay. An arm of this bay, in the northern part of it, seemed to extend in toward the N., behind a round elevated mountain that lies between it and the sea. This mountain I called Mount Edgecumbe, and the point of land that shoots out from it, Cape Edgecumbe. The latter lies in the latitude of 57° 3′, and in the longitude of 224° 7′, and at noon it bore N. 20° W., six leagues distant.

The land, except in some places close to the sea, is all of a considerable height, and hilly; but Mount Edgecumbe far out-tops all the other hills. It was wholly covered with snow;

* As in the remaining part of this volume, the latitude and longitude are very frequently set down; the former being invariably *north* and the latter *east*, the constant repetition of the two words *north* and *east* has been omitted, to avoid unnecessary precision.

† See De Lisle's Carte Générale des Découvertes de l'Amiral de Fonte, &c. Paris, 1752; and many other maps.

‡ This must be very near that part of the American coast where Tscherikow anchored in 1741. For Muller places its latitude in 56°. Had this Russian navigator been so fortunate as to proceed a little farther northward along the coast, he would have found, as we now learn from Captain Cook, bays, and harbours, and islands, where his ship might have been sheltered, and his people protected in landing. For the particulars of the misfortunes he met with here, two boats' crews, which he sent ashore, having never returned, probably cut off by the natives, see Muller's Découvertes des Russes, p. 248. 254. The Spaniards, in 1775, found two good harbours on this part of the coast; that called Gualoupe, in latitude 57° 11′; and the other, De los Remedios, in latitude 57° 18′.

as were also all the other elevated hills; but the lower ones, and the flatter spots, bordering upon the sea, were free from it, and covered with wood.

As we advanced to the north, we found the coast from Cape Edgecumbe to trend to north and north-easterly for six or seven leagues, and there form a large bay. In the entrance of that bay are some islands; for which reason I named it the *Bay of Islands.* It lies in the latitude of 57° 20′*; and seemed to branch into several arms, one of which turned to the south, and may probably communicate with the bay on the east side of Cape Edgecumbe, and make the land of that cape an island. At eight o'clock in the evening, the cape bore south-east half south; the Bay of Islands N. 53° E.; and another inlet, before which are also some islands, bore N. 52° E., five leagues distant. I continued to steer N.N.W., half W., and N.W. by W., as the coast trended, with a fine gale at N.E., and clear weather. At half an hour past four in the morning, on the 3rd, Mount Edgecumbe bore S. 54° E.; a large inlet, N. 50° E., distant six leagues; and the most advanced point of the land, to the N.W., lying under a very high peaked mountain, which obtained the name of Mount Fair Weather, bore N. 32° W. The inlet was named Cross Sound, as being first seen on that day, so marked in our calendar. It appeared to branch in several arms, the largest of which turned to the northward. The south-east point of this sound is a high promontory, which obtained the name of Cross Cape. It lies in the latitude of 57° 57′, and its longitude is 223° 21′. At noon it bore south-east; and the point, under the peaked mountain, which was called Cape Fair Weather, north by west a quarter west, distant thirteen leagues. Our latitude at this time was 58° 17′, and our longitude 222° 14′; and we were distant from the shore three or four leagues. In this situation we found the variation of the compass to be from 24° 11′ to 26° 11′ E.

Here the north-east wind left us, and was succeeded by light breezes from the north-west, which lasted for several days. I stood to the south-west, and west-south-west, till eight o'clock the next morning, when we tacked and stood toward the shore. At noon the latitude was 58° 22′, and the longitude 220° 45′. Mount Fair Weather, the peaked mountain over the cape of the same name, bore N., 63° E.; the shore under it twelve leagues distant. This mountain, which lies in the latitude of 58° 52′, and in the longitude of 222°, and five leagues inland, is the highest of a chain, or rather a ridge of mountains, that rise at the north-west entrance of Cross Sound, and extend to the north-west in a parallel direction with the coast. These mountains were wholly covered with snow, from the highest summit down to the sea-coast, some few places excepted, where we could perceive trees rising, as it were, out of the sea; and which, therefore, we supposed grew on low land, or on islands bordering upon the shore of the continent†. At five in the afternoon, our latitude being then 58° 53′, and our longitude 220° 52′, the summit of an elevated mountain appeared above the horizon, being N. 26° W.; and, as was afterward found, forty leagues distant. We supposed it to be Beering's Mount St. Elias; and it stands by that name in our chart. This day we saw several whales, seals, and porpoises; many gulls, and several flocks of birds, which had a black ring about the head; the tip of the tail and upper part of the wings with a black band; and the rest bluish above, and white below. We also saw a brownish duck, with a black or deep blue head and neck, sitting upon the water.

Having but light winds, with some calms, we advanced slowly; so that, on the 6th at noon, we were only in the latitude of 59° 8′, and in the longitude of 220° 19′. Mount Fair Weather bore S., 63° E., and Mount Elias N., 30° W.; the nearest land about eight leagues distant. In the direction of north, 47° E. from this station, there was the appearance of a bay, and an island off the south point of it, that was covered with wood. It is here where I suppose Commodore Beering to have anchored. The latitude, which is 59° 18′,

* It should seem that in this very bay, the Spaniards, in 1775, found their port which they call De los Remedios. The latitude is exactly the same; and their journal mentions its "being protected by a long ridge of high islands." —See Miscellanies, by the Honourable Daines Barrington, p. 503, 504.

† According to Muller, Beering fell in with the coast of North America in latitude 58° 28′; and he describes its aspect thus: "L'aspect du pays étoit effrayant par ses hautes montagnes couvertes de neige." The chain, or ridge of mountains, covered with snow, mentioned here by Captain Cook, in the same latitude, exactly agrees with what Beering met with.—See Muller's Voyages et Découvertes des Russes, p. 248—254.

corresponds pretty well with the map of his voyage*, and the longitude is 221° E. Behind the bay (which I shall distinguish by the name of Beering's Bay, in honour of its discoverer), or rather to the south of it, the chain of mountains before mentioned is interrupted by a plain of a few leagues' extent; beyond which the sight was unlimited; so that there is either a level country or water behind it. In the afternoon, having a few hours' calm, I took this opportunity to sound, and found twenty fathoms' water over a muddy bottom. The calm was succeeded by a light breeze from the north, with which we stood to the westward; and at noon the next day we were in the latitude of 59° 27′, and the longitude of 219° 7′. In this situation, Mount Fair Weather bore S., 70′ E.; Mount St. Elias N. half W.; the westernmost land in sight, N., 52° W.; and our distance from the shore four or five leagues; the depth of water being eighty-two fathoms over a muddy bottom. From this station we could see a bay (circular to appearance) under the high land, with low wood-land on each side of it.

We now found the coast to trend very much to the west, inclining hardly anything to the north; and as we had the wind mostly from the westward, and but little of it, our progress was slow. On the 9th, at noon, the latitude was 59° 30′, and the longitude 217°. In this situation the nearest land was nine leagues distant; and Mount St. Elias bore N. 30° E., nineteen leagues distant. This mountain lies twelve leagues inland, in the latitude of 60° 27′, and in the longitude of 219°. It belongs to a ridge of exceedingly high mountains, that may be reckoned a continuation of the former; as they are only divided from them by the plain above-mentioned. They extend as far to the west as the longitude of 217°; where, although they do not end, they lose much of their height, and become more broken and divided. At noon, on the 10th, our latitude was 59° 51′, and our longitude 215° 56′, being no more than three leagues from the coast of the continent, which extended from east half north, to north-west half west, as far as the eye could reach. To the westward of this last direction was an island that extended from N., 52° W., to S., 85° W., distant six leagues. A point shoots out from the main toward the north-east end of the island, bearing at this time N., 30° W., five or six leagues distant. This point I named Cape Suckling. The point of the cape is low; but within it is a tolerably high hill, which is disjoined from the mountains by low land; so that, at a distance, the cape looks like an island. On the north side of Cape Suckling is a bay that appeared to be of some extent, and to be covered from most winds. To this bay I had some thoughts of going to stop our leak, as all our endeavours to do it at sea had proved ineffectual. With this view I steered for the Cape; but as we had only variable light breezes, we approached it slowly. However, before night, we were near enough to see some low land spitting out from the Cape to the north-west, so as to cover the east part of the bay from the south wind. We also saw some small islands in the bay, and elevated rocks between the Cape and the north-east end of the island. But still there appeared to be a passage on both sides of these rocks; and I continued steering for them all night, having from forty-three to twenty-seven fathoms water over a muddy bottom.

At four o'clock next morning, the wind, which had been mostly at north-east, shifted to north. This being against us, I gave up the design of going within the island, or into the bay, as neither could be done without loss of time. I therefore bore up for the west end of the island. The wind blew faint; and at ten o'clock it fell calm. Being not far from the island, I went in a boat and landed upon it, with a view of seeing what lay on the other side; but finding it farther to the hills than I expected, and the way being steep and woody, I was obliged to drop the design. At the foot of a tree, on a little eminence not far from the shore, I left a bottle with a paper in it, on which were inscribed the names of the ships, and the date of our discovery. And along with it I inclosed two silver twopenny pieces of his majesty's coin, of the date 1772. These, with many others, were furnished me by the Reverend Dr. Kaye †; and, as a mark of my esteem and regard for that gentleman, I named the island, after him, Kaye's Island. It is eleven or twelve leagues in length, in the

* Probably Captain Cook means Muller's map, prefixed to his History of the Russian Discoveries.

† Then sub-almoner and chaplain to his majesty, afterwards dean of Lincoln.

direction of north-east and south-west; but its breadth is not above a league, or a league and a half, in any part of it. The south-west point, which lies in the latitude of 59° 49′, and the longitude of 216° 58′, is very remarkable, being a naked rock, elevated considerably above the land within it. There is also an elevated rock lying off it, which, from some points of view, appears like a ruined castle. Toward the sea the island terminates in a kind of bare sloping cliffs, with a beach, only a few paces across to their foot, of large pebble stones, intermixed in some places with a brownish clayey sand, which the sea seems to deposit after rolling in, having been washed down from the higher parts by the rivulets or torrents. The cliffs are composed of a bluish stone or rock, in a soft or mouldering state, except in a few places. There are parts of the shore interrupted by small valleys and gullies. In each of these a rivulet or torrent rushes down with considerable impetuosity; though it may be supposed that they are only furnished from the snow, and last no longer than till it is all melted. These valleys are filled with pine-trees, which grow down close to the entrance, but only to about half way up the higher or middle part of the island. The woody part also begins everywhere immediately above the cliffs, and is continued to the same height with the former; so that the island is covered, as it were, with a broad girdle of wood, spread upon its side, included between the top of the cliffy shore, and the higher parts in the centre. The trees, however, are far from being of an uncommon growth; few appearing to be larger than one might grasp round with his arms, and about forty or fifty feet high; so that the only purpose they could answer for shipping would be to make top-gallant masts, and other small things. How far we may judge of the size of the trees which grow on the neighbouring continent, it may be difficult to determine. But it was observed that none larger than those we saw growing lay upon the beach amongst the drift-wood. The pine-trees seemed all of one sort; and there was neither the Canadian pine nor cypress to be seen. But there were a few which appeared to be the alder, that were but small, and had not yet shot forth their leaves. Upon the edges of the cliffs, and on some sloping ground, the surface was covered with a kind of turf, about half a foot thick; which seemed composed of the common moss; and the top, or upper part, of the island had almost the same appearance as to colour; but whatever covered it seemed to be thicker. I found amongst the trees some currant and hawberry bushes; a small yellow-flowered violet; and the leaves of some other plants not yet in flower, particularly one which Mr. Anderson supposed to be the *Heracleum* of Linnæus, the sweet herb, which Steller, who attended Beering, imagined the Americans here dress for food, in the same manner as the natives of Kamtschatka *.

We saw, flying about the wood, a crow; two or three of the white-headed eagles mentioned at Nootka; and another sort full as large, which appeared also of the same colour, or blacker, and had only a white breast. In the passage from the ship to the shore, we saw a great many fowls sitting upon the water, or flying about in flocks or pairs; the chief of which were a few quebrantahuessos, divers, ducks, or large peterels, gulls, shags, and burres. The divers were of two sorts; one very large, of a black colour, with a white breast and belly; the other smaller, and with a longer and more pointed bill, which seemed to be the common guillemot. The ducks were also of two sorts; one brownish, with a black or deep blue head and neck, and is perhaps the stone-duck described by Steller. The others fly in larger flocks, but are smaller than these, and are of a dirty black colour. The gulls were of the common sort, and those which fly in flocks. The shags were large and black, with a white spot behind the wings as they flew; but probably only the larger water-cormorant. There was also a single bird seen flying about, to appearance of the gull kind, of a snowy white colour, with black along part of the upper side of its wings. I owe all these remarks to Mr. Anderson. At the place where we landed, a fox came from the verge of the wood, and eyed us with very little emotion, walking leisurely, without any signs of fear. He was of a reddish-yellow colour, like some of the skins we bought at Nootka, but not of a large size. We also saw two or three little seals off-shore; but no other animals or birds, nor the least signs of inhabitants having ever been upon the island.

* See Müller, p. 256.

I returned on board at half-past two in the afternoon; and, with a light breeze easterly, steered for the south-west of the island, which we got round by eight o'clock, and then stood for the westernmost land now in sight, which at this time bore north-west half-north. On the north-west side of the north-east end of Kaye's Island, lies another island stretching south-east and north-west about three leagues, to within the same distance of the north-west boundary of the bay above mentioned, which is distinguished by the name of Comptroller's Bay.

Next morning at four o'clock Kaye's Island was still in sight, bearing east a quarter south. At this time we were about four or five leagues from the main; and the most western part in sight bore north-west half north. We had now a fresh gale at east-south-east; and as we advanced to the north-west we raised land more and more westerly, and at last to the southward of west; so that at noon, when the latitude was 61° 11′ and the longitude 213° 28′, the most advanced land bore from us south-west by west half west. At the same time the east point of a large inlet bore west-north-west, three leagues distant. From Comptroller's Bay to this point, which I name Cape Hinchinbroke, the direction of the coast is nearly east and west. Beyond this it seemed to incline to the southward; a direction so contrary to the modern charts founded upon the late Russian discoveries, that we had reason to expect that by the inlet before us we should find a passage to the north, and that the land to the west and south-west was nothing but a group of islands. Add to this, that the wind was now at south-east, and we were threatened with a fog and a storm; and I wanted to get into some place to stop the leak before we encountered another gale. These reasons induced me to steer for the inlet, which we had no sooner reached than the weather became so foggy that we could not see a mile before us, and it became necessary to secure the ships in some place to wait for a clearer sky. With this view, I hauled close under Cape Hinchinbroke, and anchored before a small cove, a little within the cape, in eight fathoms' water, a clayey bottom, and about a quarter of a mile from the shore.

The boats were then hoisted out, some to sound and others to fish. The seine was drawn in the cove; but without success, for it was torn. At some short intervals the fog cleared away, and gave us a sight of the lands around us. The cape bore south by west half west, one league distant; the west point of the inlet south-west by west, distant five leagues; and the land on that side extended as far as west by north. Between this point and north-west by west we could see no land; and what was in the last direction seemed to be at a great distance. The westernmost point we had in sight on the north shore, bore north-north-west half west, two leagues distant. Between this point and the shore under which we were at anchor is a bay about three leagues deep; on the south-east side of which there are two or three coves, such as that before which we had anchored; and in the middle some rocky islands. To these islands Mr. Gore was sent in a boat, in hopes of shooting some eatable birds. But he had hardly got to them before about twenty natives made their appearance in two large canoes; on which he thought proper to return to the ships, and they followed him. They would not venture alongside, but kept at some distance, holloing aloud, and alternately clasping and extending their arms; and, in a short time, began a kind of song exactly after the manner of those at Nootka. Their heads were also powdered with feathers. One man held out a white garment, which we interpreted as a sign of friendship; and another stood up in the canoe quite naked, for almost a quarter of an hour, with his arms stretched out like a cross, and motionless. The canoes were not constructed of wood, as at King George's or Nootka Sound. The frame only, being slender laths, was of that substance; the outside consisting of the skins of seals, or of such-like animals. Though we returned all their signs of friendship, and, by every expressive gesture, tried to encourage them to come alongside, we could not prevail. Some of our people repeated several of the common words of the Nootka language, such as *seekemaile* and *mahook;* but they did not seem to understand them. After receiving some presents which were thrown to them, they retired toward that part of the shore from whence they came; giving us to understand by signs, that they would visit us again the next morning. Two of them, however, each in a small canoe, waited upon us in the night;

probably with a design to pilfer something, thinking we should be all asleep, for they retired as soon as they found themselves discovered.

During the night the wind was at south-south-east, blowing hard and in squalls, with rain, and very thick weather. At ten o'clock next morning the wind became more moderate, and the weather being somewhat clearer, we got under sail in order to look out for some snug place where we might search for and stop the leak; our present station being too much exposed for this purpose. At first I proposed to have gone up the bay, before which we had anchored; but the clearness of the weather tempted me to steer to the northward, farther up the great inlet, as being all in our way. As soon as we had passed the north-west point of the bay above-mentioned, we found the coast on that side turn short to the eastward. I did not follow it, but continued our course to the north, for a point of land which we saw in that direction.

The natives who visited us the preceding evening, came off again in the morning, in five or six canoes, but not till we were under sail; and although they followed us for some time, they could not get up with us. Before two in the afternoon the bad weather returned again, with so thick a haze that we could see no other land besides the point just mentioned, which we reached at half past four, and found it to be a small island lying about two miles from the adjacent coast, being a point of land, on the east side of which we discovered a fine bay, or rather harbour. To this we plied up under reefed topsails and courses. The wind blew strong at south-east, and in excessively hard squalls, with rain. At intervals we could see land in every direction; but in general the weather was so foggy, that we could see none but the shores of the bay into which we were plying. In passing the island the depth of water was twenty-six fathoms, with a muddy bottom. Soon after the depth increased to sixty and seventy fathoms, a rocky bottom; but in the entrance of the bay the depth was from thirty to six fathoms, the last very near the shore. At length, at eight o'clock, the violence of the squalls obliged us to anchor in thirteen fathoms, before we had got so far into the bay as I intended; but we thought ourselves fortunate that we had already sufficiently secured ourselves at this hour, for the night was exceedingly stormy. The weather, bad as it was, did not hinder three of the natives from paying us a visit. They came off in two canoes, two men in one and one in the other, being the number each could carry; for they were built and constructed in the same manner with those of the Esquimaux, only in the one were two holes for two men to sit in, and in the other but one. Each of these men had a stick about three feet long, with the large feathers or wing of birds tied to it. These they frequently held up to us; with a view, as we guessed, to express their pacific disposition*.

The treatment these men met with, induced many more to visit us between one and two the next morning, in both great and small canoes. Some ventured on board the ship; but not till some of our people had stepped into their boats. Amongst those who came on board, was a good-looking middle-aged man, whom we afterwards found to be the chief. He was clothed in a dress made of the sea-otter's skin; and had on his head such a cap as is worn by the people of King George's Sound, ornamented with sky-blue glass beads, about the size of a large pea. He seemed to set a much higher value upon these than upon our white glass beads. Any sort of beads, however, appeared to be in high estimation with these people; and they readily gave whatever they had in exchange for them; even their fine sea-otter skins. But here I must observe, that they set no more value upon these than upon other skins, which was also the case at King George's Sound, till our people set a higher price upon them; and even after that, the natives of both places would sooner part with a dress made of these, than with one made of the skins of wild cats or of martins. These people were also desirous of iron; but they wanted pieces of eight or ten inches long at least, and of the breadth of three or four fingers. For they absolutely rejected small pieces. Consequently they got but little from us; iron having, by this time, become rather a scarce article. The

* Exactly corresponding to this, was the manner of receiving Beering's people at the Schumagin Islands on this coast, in 1741. Muller's words are—"On sait ce que c'est que le *calumet*, que les Américains Septentrionaux présentent en signe de paix. Ceux-ci en tenoient de pareils en main. C'étoient des bâtons avec *ailes de faucon* attachés au bout."—Découvertes, p. 268.

points of some of their spears or lances were of that metal; others were of copper, and a few of bone; of which the points of their darts, arrows, &c., were composed. I could not prevail upon the chief to trust himself below the upper deck; nor did he and his companions remain long on board. But while we had their company it was necessary to watch them narrowly, as they soon betrayed a thievish disposition. At length, after being about three or four hours alongside the Resolution, they all left her and went to the Discovery; none having been there before, except one man, who at this time came from her, and immediately returned thither in company with the rest. When I observed this, I thought this man had met with something there, which he knew would please his countrymen better than what they met with at our ship. But in this I was mistaken, as will soon appear.

As soon as they were gone, I sent a boat to sound the head of the bay. For as the wind was moderate, I had thoughts of laying the ship ashore, if a convenient place could be found where I might begin our operations to stop the leak. It was not long before all the Americans left the Discovery, and instead of returning to us, made their way toward our boat employed as above. The officer in her seeing this, returned to the ship, and was followed by all the canoes. The boat's crew had no sooner come on board, leaving in her two of their number by way of a guard, than some of the Americans stepped into her. Some presented their spears before the two men; others cast loose the rope which fastened her to the ship; and the rest attempted to tow her away. But the instant they saw us preparing to oppose them, they let her go, stepped out of her into canoes, and made signs to us to lay down our arms, having the appearance of being as perfectly unconcerned as if they had done nothing amiss. This, though rather a more daring attempt, was hardly equal to what they had meditated on board the Discovery. The man who came and carried all his countrymen from the Resolution to the other ship, had first been on board of her; where, after looking down all the hatchways, and seeing nobody but the officer of the watch, and one or two more, he, no doubt, thought they might plunder her with ease; especially as she lay at some distance from us. It was unquestionably with this view that they all repaired to her. Several of them, without any ceremony, went on board; drew their knives, and made signs to the officer and people on deck to keep off; and began to look about them for plunder. The first thing they met with was the rudder of one of the boats, which they threw overboard to those of their party who had remained in the canoes. Before they had time to find another object that pleased their fancy, the crew were alarmed, and began to come upon deck armed with cutlasses. On seeing this, the whole company of plunderers sneaked off into their canoes, with as much deliberation and indifference as they had given up the boat; and they were observed describing to those who had not been on board, how much longer the knives of the ship's crew were than their own. It was at this time that my boat was on the sounding duty; which they must have seen; for they proceeded directly for her, after their disappointment at the Discovery. I have not the least doubt that their visiting us so very early in the morning, was with a view to plunder; on a supposition that they should find everybody asleep. May we not, from these circumstances, reasonably infer, that these people are unacquainted with fire-arms? For certainly, if they had known anything of their effect, they never would have dared to attempt taking a boat from under a ship's guns, in the face of above a hundred men; for most of my people were looking at them, at the very instant they made the attempt. However, after all these tricks, we had the good fortune to leave them as ignorant, in this respect, as we found them. For they neither heard nor saw a musket fired, unless at birds.

Just as we were going to weigh the anchor, to proceed farther up the bay, it began to blow and to rain as hard as before; so that we were obliged to bear away the cable again, and lay fast. Toward the evening, finding that the gale did not moderate, and that it might be some time before an opportunity offered to get higher up, I came to a resolution to heel the ship where we were; and with this view, moored her with a kedge-anchor and hawser. In heaving the anchor out of the boat, one of the seamen, either through ignorance or carelessness, or both, was carried overboard by the buoy-rope, and followed the anchor to the bottom. It is remarkable that, in this very critical situation, he had presence of mind

to disengage himself, and come up to the surface of the water, where he was taken up, with one of his legs fractured in a dangerous manner. Early the next morning we gave the ship a good heel to port, in order to come at and stop the leak. On ripping off the sheathing it was found to be in the seams, which were very open both in and under the wale; and in several places not a bit of oakum in them. While the carpenters were making good these defects, we filled all our empty water-casks at a stream hard by the ship. The wind was now moderate, but the weather was thick and hazy, with rain. The natives, who left us the preceding day, when the bad weather came on, paid us another visit this morning. Those who came first were in small canoes; others afterwards arrived in large boats; in one of which were twenty women and one man, besides children.

In the evening of the 16th, the weather cleared up, and we then found ourselves surrounded on every side by land. Our station was on the east side of the sound, in a place which in a chart is distinguished by the name of Snug Corner Bay; and a very snug place it is. I went, accompanied by some of the officers, to view the head of it; and we found that it was sheltered from all winds; with a depth of water from seven to three fathoms over a muddy bottom. The land near the shore is low; part clear, and part wooded. The clear ground was covered, two or three feet thick, with snow; but very little lay in the woods. The very summits of the neighbouring hills were covered with wood; but those farther inland seemed to be naked rocks buried in snow.

The leak being stopped, and the sheathing made good over it, at four o'clock in the morning of the 17th we weighed, and steered to the north-westward, with a light breeze at east-north-east; thinking if there should be any passage to the north through this inlet, that it must be in that direction. Soon after we were under sail, the natives, in both great and small canoes, paid us another visit, which gave us an additional opportunity of forming a more perfect idea of their persons, dress, and other particulars, which shall be afterward described. Our visitors seemed to have no other business but to gratify their curiosity; for they entered into no sort of traffic with us. After we had got over to the north-west point of the arm in which we had anchored, we found that the flood-tide came into the inlet, through the same channel by which we had entered. Although this circumstance did not make wholly against a passage, it was, however, nothing in its favour. After passing the point above-mentioned, we met with a good deal of foul ground, and many sunken rocks even out in the middle of the channel, which is here five or six leagues wide. At this time the wind failed us, and was succeeded by calms and light airs from every direction; so that we had some trouble to extricate ourselves from the threatening danger. At length, about one o'clock, with the assistance of our boats, we got to an anchor, under the eastern shore, in thirteen fathoms' water, and about four leagues to the north of our last station. In the morning the weather had been very hazy; but it afterward cleared up, so as to give us a distinct view of all the land round us, particularly to the northward, where it seemed to close. This left us but little hopes of finding a passage that way; or indeed in any other direction, without putting out again to sea.

To enable me to form a better judgment, I despatched Mr. Gore, with two armed boats, to examine the northern arm; and the master, with two other boats, to examine another arm that seemed to take an easterly direction. Late in the evening they both returned. The master reported that the arm he had been sent to communicated with that from which he had last come; and that one side of it was only formed by a group of islands. Mr. Gore informed me that he had seen the entrance of an arm, which, he was of opinion, extended a long way to the north-east; and that probably by it a passage might be found. On the other hand, Mr. Roberts, one of the mates, whom I had sent with Mr. Gore to sketch out the parts they had examined, was of opinion that they saw the head of this arm. The disagreement of these two opinions, and the circumstance already mentioned of the flood-tide entering the Sound from the south, rendered the existence of a passage this way very doubtful. And, as the wind in the morning had become favourable for getting out to sea, I resolved to spend no more time in searching for a passage in a place that promised so little success. Besides this, I considered that if the land on the west should prove to be islands,

agreeably to the late Russian discoveries*, we could not fail of getting far enough to the north, and that in good time; provided we did not lose the season in searching places where a passage was not only doubtful, but improbable. We were now upward of five hundred and twenty leagues to the westward of any part of Baffin's or of Hudson's Bay. And whatever passage there may be, it must be, or at least part of it must lie to the north of latitude 72°. Who could expect to find a passage or strait of such extent?

Having thus taken my resolution, next morning, at three o'clock, we weighed, and with a gentle breeze at north, proceeded to the southward down the inlet; and met with the same broken ground as on the preceding day. However, we soon extricated ourselves from it, and afterward never struck ground with a line of forty fathoms. Another passage into this inlet was now discovered, to the south-west of that by which we came in, which enabled us to shorten our way out to sea. It is separated from the other by an island, extending eighteen leagues in the direction of north-east and south-west; to which I gave the name of Montagu Island. In this south-west channel are several islands. Those that lie in the entrance, next the open sea, are high and rocky. But those within are low ones; and being entirely free from snow, and covered with wood and verdure, on this account they were called Green Islands.

At two in the afternoon the wind veered to the south-west, and south-west by south, which reduced us to the necessity of plying. I first stretched over to within two miles of the eastern shore, and tacked in fifty-three fathoms water. In standing back to Montagu Island, we discovered a ledge of rocks; some above, and others under water, lying three miles within, or to the north of the northern point of Green Islands. Afterward some others were seen in the middle of the channel, farther out than the islands. These rocks made unsafe plying in the night (though not very dark); and, for that reason, we spent it standing off and on, under Montagu Island; for the depth of water was too great to come to an anchor. At daybreak, the next morning, the wind became more favourable, and we steered for the channel between Montagu Island and the Green Islands, which is between two and three leagues broad, and from thirty-four to seventeen fathoms deep. We had but little wind all the day; and at eight o'clock in the evening it was a dead calm; when we anchored in twenty-one fathoms' water, over a muddy bottom, about two miles from the shore of Montagu's Island. The calm continued till ten o'clock the next morning, when it was succeeded by a small breeze from the north, with which we weighed; and, by six o'clock in the evening, we were again in the open sea, and found the coast trending west by south, as far as the eye could reach.

CHAPTER V.—THE INLET CALLED PRINCE WILLIAM'S SOUND.—ITS EXTENT.—PERSONS OF THE INHABITANTS DESCRIBED.—THEIR DRESS.—INCISION OF THEIR UNDER LIP.—VARIOUS OTHER ORNAMENTS.—THEIR BOATS.—WEAPONS, FISHING, AND HUNTING INSTRUMENTS.—UTENSILS.—TOOLS.—USES IRON IS APPLIED TO.—FOOD.—LANGUAGE, AND A SPECIMEN OF IT.—ANIMALS.—BIRDS.—FISH.—IRON AND BEADS, WHENCE RECEIVED.

To the inlet, which we had now left, I gave the name of Prince William's Sound. To judge of this sound from what we saw of it, it occupies, at least, a degree and a half of latitude, and two of longitude, exclusive of the arms or branches, the extent of which is not known. The direction which they seemed to take, as also the situation and magnitude of the several islands in and about it, will be best seen in the sketch, which is delineated with as much accuracy as the short time and other circumstances would allow.

The natives, who came to make us several visits while we were in the Sound, were generally not above the common height; though many of them were under it. They were square, or strong-chested; and the most disproportioned part of their body seemed to be their heads, which were very large, with thick short necks, and large, broad, or spreading

* Captain Cook seems to take his ideas of these from Mr. Stæhlin's map, prefixed to the account of the Northern Archipelago; published by Dr. Maty. London, 1774.

faces; which, upon the whole, were flat. Their eyes, though not small, scarcely bore a proportion to the size of their faces; and their noses had full, round points, hooked, or turned up at the tip. Their teeth were broad, white, equal in size, and evenly set. Their hair was black, thick, straight and strong; and their beards, in general thin, or wanting; but the hairs about the lips of those who have them were stiff or bristly, and frequently of a brown colour. And several of the elderly men had even large and thick, but straight beards.

Though, in general, they agree in the make of their persons and largeness of their heads, there is a considerable variety in their features; but very few can be said to be of the handsome sort, though their countenance commonly indicates a considerable share of vivacity, good-nature, and frankness. And yet some of them had an air of sullenness and reserve. Some of the women have agreeable faces; and many are easily distinguishable from the men by their features, which are more delicate; but this should be understood chiefly of the younger sort, or middle-aged. The complexion of some of the women, and of the children, is white, but without any mixture of red. And some of the men, who were seen naked, had rather a brownish or swarthy cast, which could scarcely be the effect of any stain; for they do not paint their bodies.

Their common dress (for men, women, and children are clothed alike) is a kind of close frock, or rather robe; reaching generally to the ankles, though sometimes only to the knees. At the upper part is a hole just sufficient to admit the head, with sleeves that reach to the wrist. These frocks are made of the skins of different animals; the most common of which are those of the sea-otter, grey fox, racoon, and pine martin; with many of seal skins; and, in general, they are worn with the hairy side outward. Some also have these frocks made of the skins of fowls, with only the down remaining on them, which they glue on other substances. And we saw one or two woollen garments like those of Nootka. At the seams, where the different skins are sewed together, they are commonly ornamented with tassels or fringes of narrow thongs, cut out of the same skins. A few have a kind of cape or collar, and some a hood; but the other is the most common form, and seems to be their whole dress in good weather. When it rains, they put over this another frock, ingeniously made from the intestines of whales, or some other large animal, prepared so skilfully as almost to resemble our gold-beaters' leaf. It is made to draw tight round the neck; its sleeves reach as low as the wrist, round which they are tied with a string; and its skirts, when they are in their canoes, are drawn over the rim of the hole in which they sit, so that no water can enter. At the same time, it keeps the men entirely dry upward. For no water can penetrate through it any more than through a bladder. It must be kept continually moist or wet; otherwise it is apt to crack or break. This, as well as the common frock made of the skins, bears a great resemblance to the dress of the Greenlanders, as described by Crantz*.

MAN OF OONALASHKA.

* Crantz's History of Greenland, vol. i. p. 136—138. The reader will find in Crantz many striking instances, in which the Greenlanders and Americans of Prince William's Sound resemble each other, besides those mentioned in this chapter by Captain Cook. The dress of the people of Prince William's Sound, as described by Captain Cook, also agrees with that of the inhabitants of Schumagin's Islands, discovered by Beering in 1741. Muller's words are, "Leur habillement étoit de boyaux de baleines pour le haut du corps, et de peaux de chiens-marins pour le bas."—Découvertes des Russes, p. 274.

In general, they do not cover their legs or feet; but a few have a kind of skin stockings, which reach half-way up the thigh; and scarcely any of them are without mittens for the hands, made of the skins of bears' paws. Those who wear anything on their heads resembled in this respect our friends at Nootka; having high truncated conic caps, made of straw, and sometimes of wood, resembling a seal's head well painted.

The men commonly wear their hair cropped round the neck and forehead; but the women allow it to grow long, and most of them tie a small lock of it on the crown, or a few club it behind, after our manner. Both sexes have the ears perforated with several holes about the outer and lower part of the edge, in which they hang little bunches of beads, made of the same tubulose shelly substance used for this purpose by those of Nootka. The septum of the nose is also perforated, through which they frequently thrust the quill-feathers of small birds, or little bending ornaments made of the above shelly substance, strung on a stiff string or cord three or four inches long, which give them a truly grotesque appearance. But the most uncommon and unsightly ornamental fashion adopted by some of both sexes, is their having the under lip slit, or cut quite through in the direction of the mouth, a little below the swelling part. This incision, which is made even in the sucking children, is often above two inches long; and either by its natural retraction when the wound is fresh, or by the repetition of some artificial management, assumes the true shape of lips, and become so large as to admit the tongue through. This happened to be the case, when the first person having this incision was seen by one of the seamen, who called out that the man had two mouths, and, indeed it does not look unlike it. In this artificial mouth they stick a flat narrow ornament, made chiefly out of a solid shell or bone, cut into little narrow pieces like small teeth, almost down to the base or thickest part, which has a small projecting bit at each end that supports it when put into the divided lip, the cut part then appearing outward. Others have the lower lip only perforated into separate holes, and then the ornament consists of as many distinct shelly studs, whose points are pushed through these holes; and their heads appear within the lip, as another row of teeth immediately under their own.

These are their native ornaments. But we found many beads of European manufacture among them, chiefly of a pale blue colour, which they hang in their ears, about their caps, or join to their lip-ornaments, which have a small hole drilled in each point, to which they are fastened, and others to them, till they hang sometimes as low as the point of the chin. But, in this last case, they cannot remove them so easily; for as to their own lip-ornaments, they can take them out with their tongue, or suck within, at pleasure. They also wear bracelets of the shelly beads, or others of a cylindrical shape, made of a substance like amber, with such also as are used in their ears and noses. And so fond are they, in general, of ornament, that they stick anything in their perforated lip, one man appearing with two of our iron nails projecting from it like prongs, and another endeavouring to put a large brass button into it.

The men frequently paint their faces of a bright red and of a black colour, and sometimes of a blue or leaden colour; but not in any regular figure; and the women, in some measure, endeavoured to imitate them, by puncturing or staining the chin with black, that comes to a point in each cheek; a practice very similar to which is in fashion amongst the females of Greenland, as we learn from Crantz *. Their bodies are not painted, which may be owing to the scarcity of proper materials, for all the colours which they brought to sell in bladders were in very small quantities. Upon the whole, I have nowhere seen savages who take more pains than these people do to ornament, or rather to disfigure, their persons.

Their boats or canoes are of two sorts, the one being large and open, and the other small and covered. I mentioned already, that in one of the large boats were twenty women and one man, besides children. I attentively examined and compared the construction of this with Crantz's description of what he calls the great, or women's boat, in Greenland, and found that they were built in the same manner, parts like parts, with no other difference than in the form of the head and stern, particularly of the first, which bears some resemblance to the head of a whale. The framing is of slender pieces of wood, over which the skins of seals, or of other larger sea-animals, are stretched to compose the outside. It appeared also, that the small canoes of these people are made nearly of the same form and of the same

* Vol. i. p. 138.

materials with those used by the Greenlanders* and Esquimaux; at least the difference is not material. Some of these, as I have before observed, carry two men; they are broader in proportion to their length than those of the Esquimaux, and the head or fore-part curves somewhat like the head of a violin.

The weapons and instruments for fishing and hunting are the very same that are made use of by the Esquimaux and Greenlanders, and it is unnecessary to be particular in my account of them, as they are all very accurately described by Crantz†. I did not see a single one with these people that he has not mentioned, nor has he mentioned one that they have not. For defensive armour, they have a kind of jacket or coat of mail made of thin laths bound together with sinews, which makes it quite flexible, though so close as not to admit an arrow or dart. It only covers the trunk of the body, and may not be improperly compared to a woman's stays.

As none of these people lived in the bay where we anchored, or where any of us landed, we saw none of their habitations, and I had not time to look after them. Of their domestic utensils, they brought in their boats some round and oval shallow dishes of wood, and others of a cylindrical shape much deeper. The sides were made of one piece, bent round like chip-boxes, though thick, neatly fastened with thongs, and the bottoms fixed in with small wooden pegs. Others were smaller and of a more elegant shape, somewhat resembling a large oval butter-boat without a handle, but more shallow, made from a piece of wood or horny substance. The [illegible]st were sometimes neatly carved. They had many little square bags, made of the same gut with their outer frocks, neatly ornamented with very minute red feathers interwoven with it, in which were contained some very fine sinews and bundles of small cord made from them, most ingeniously platted. They also brought many checkered baskets so closely wrought as to hold water, some wooden models of their canoes, a good many little images four or five inches long, either of wood or stuffed, which were covered with a bit of fur, and ornamented with pieces of small quill feathers, in imitation of their shelly beads, with hair fixed on their heads. Whether these might be more toys for children, or held in veneration as representing their deceased friends, and applied to some superstitious purpose, we could not determine. But they have many instruments made of two or three hoops, or concentric pieces of wood, with a cross-bar fixed in the middle, to hold them by. To these are fixed a great number of dried barnacle-shells, with threads, which serve as a rattle, and make a loud noise when they shake them. This contrivance seems to be a substitute for the rattling-bird at Nootka, and perhaps both of them are employed on the same occasions‡.

With what tools they make their wooden utensils, frames of boats, and other things, is uncertain, as the only one seen amongst them was a kind of strong adze, made almost after the manner of those of Otaheite and the other islands of the South Sea. They have a great many iron knives, some of which are straight, others a little curved, and some very small ones fixed in pretty long handles, with the blades bent upward, like some of our shoemakers' instruments. But they have still knives of another sort, which are sometimes near two feet long, shaped almost like a dagger, with a ridge in the middle. These they wear in sheaths of skins, hung by a thong round the neck under their robe, and they are probably only used as weapons, the other knives being apparently applied to other purposes. Everything they have, however, is as well and ingeniously made as if they were furnished with the most complete tool-chest; and their sewing, platting of sinews, and small work on their little bags, may be put in competition with the most delicate manufactures found in any part of the known world. In short, considering the otherwise uncivilised or rude state in which these people are, their northern situation, amidst a country perpetually covered with snow, and the wretched materials they have to work with, it appears that their invention and dexterity in all manual works is at least equal to that of any other nation.

The food which we saw them eat, was dried fish and the flesh of some animal, either

* See Crantz, vol. i. p. 150.

† Vol. i. p. 146. He has also given a representation of them on a plate there inserted.

‡ The rattling-ball found by Steller, who attended Beering in 1741, at no great distance from this Sound, seems to be for a similar use.—See Muller, p. 256.

broiled or roasted. Some of the latter that was bought seemed to be bear's flesh, but with a fishy taste. They also eat the larger sort of fern-root, mentioned at Nootka, either baked or dressed in some other way; and some of our people saw them eat freely of a substance which they supposed to be the inner part of the pine bark. Their drink is most probably water, for in their boats they brought snow in the wooden vessels, which they swallowed by mouthfuls. Perhaps it could be carried with less trouble in these open vessels than water itself. Their method of eating seems decent and cleanly, for they always took care to separate any dirt that might adhere to their victuals. And though they sometimes did eat the raw fat of some sea animal, they cut it carefully into mouthfuls with their small knives. The same might be said of their persons, which, to appearance, were always clean and decent, without grease or dirt; and the wooden vessels in which their victuals are probably put, were kept in excellent order, as well as their boats, which were neat and free from lumber.

Their language seems difficult to be understood at first, not from any indistinctness or confusion in their words and sounds, but from the various significations they have. For they appeared to use the very same word frequently on very different occasions, though doubtless this might, if our intercourse had been of longer duration, have been found to be a mistake on our side. The only words I could obtain, and for them I am indebted to Mr. Anderson *, were those that follow, the first of which was also used at Nootka in the same sense, though we could not trace an affinity between the two dialects in any other instance.

Akashou,	What's the name of that?
Namuk,	An ornament for the ear.
Lukluk,	A brown shaggy skin, perhaps a bear's.
Au,	Yes.
Natooncshuk,	The skin of a sea-otter.
Keeta,	Give me something.
Naema,	Give me something in exchange or barter.
Ooonaka,	Of, or belonging to me.—Will you barter for this that belongs to me?
Manaka,	
Ahleu,	A spear.
Weena, or Veena,	Stranger—calling to one.
Keelashuk,	Guts of which they make jackets.
Tawuk,	Keep it.
Amilhtoo,	A piece of white bear's skin, or perhaps the hair that covered it.
Whaehai,	Shall I keep it? Do you give it me?
Yaut,	I'll go; or, shall I go?
Chilke,	One.
Taiha,	Two.
Tokke,	Three.
(Tinke)	
Chukelo †,	Four?
Kocheene,	Five?
Takulai,	Six?
Keichilho,	Seven?
Klu, or Kliew,	Eight?

As to the animals of this part of the continent, the same must be understood as of those at Nootka, that is, that the knowledge we have of them is entirely taken from the skins which the natives brought to sell. These were chiefly of seals, a few foxes, the whitish cat, or *lynx*, common and pine martins, small ermins, bears, racoons, and sea-otters. Of these, the most common were the martin, racoon, and sea-otter skins, which composed the ordinary dress of the natives; but the skins of the first, which in general were of a much lighter brown than those of Nootka, were far superior to them in fineness; whereas the last, which, as well as the martins, were far more plentiful than at Nootka, seemed greatly inferior in the fineness and thickness of their fur, though they greatly exceeded them in size, and were almost all of the glossy black sort, which is doubtless the colour most esteemed in those skins. Bear and seal skins were also pretty common; and the last were in general white, very beautifully spotted with black, or sometimes simply white, and many of the bears here were of a brown or sooty colour.

Besides these animals, which were all seen at Nootka, there are some others in this place which we did not find there, such as the white bear, of whose skins the natives brought several pieces, and some entire skins of cubs, from which their size could not be determined. We also found the wolverene, or quickhatch, which had very bright colours; a larger sort

* We are also indebted to him for many remarks in this chapter, interwoven with those of Captain Cook, as throwing considerable light on many parts of his Journal.

† With regard to these numerals, Mr. Anderson observes, that the words corresponding to ours are not certain after passing three; and therefore he marks these, about whose position he is doubtful, with a point of interrogation.

of ermine than the common one, which is the same as at Nootka, varied with a brown colour, and with scarcely any black on its tail. The natives also brought the skin of the head of some very large animal, but it could not be positively determined what it was, though, from the colour and shagginess of the hair, and its unlikeness to any land animal, we judged it might probably be that of the large male ursine seal or sea-bear. But one of the most beautiful skins, and which seems peculiar to this place as we never saw it before, is that of a small animal about ten inches long, of a brown or rusty colour on the back, with a great number of obscure whitish specks, and the sides of a blueish ash-colour, also with a few of these specks. The tail is not above a third of the length of its body, and is covered with a hair of a whitish colour at the edges. It is no doubt the same with those called spotted field-mice by Mr. Stæhlin*, in his short account of the New Northern Archipelago; but whether they be really of the mouse kind or a squirrel, we could not tell, for want of perfect skins, though Mr. Anderson was inclined to think that it is the same animal described under the name of the *Casan* marmot, by Mr. Pennant. The number of skins we found here, points out the great plenty of these several animals just mentioned; but it is remarkable, that we neither saw the skins of the moose nor of the common deer.

Of the birds mentioned at Nootka, we found here only the white-headed eagle; the shag; the alcyon, or great king-fisher, which had very bright colours; and the humming-bird, which came frequently and flew about the ship, while at anchor; though it can scarcely live here in the winter, which must be very severe. The water-fowl were geese; a small sort of duck, almost like that mentioned at Kerguelen's Land; another sort which none of us knew; and some of the black seapyes, with red bills, which we found at Van Diemen's Land, and New Zealand. Some of the people who went on shore, killed a grouse, a snipe, and some plover. But though, upon the whole, the water-fowl were pretty numerous, especially the ducks and geese, which frequent the shores, they were so shy, that it was scarcely possible to get within shot; so that we obtained a very small supply of them as refreshment. The duck mentioned above, is as large as the common wild-duck, of a deep black colour, with a short pointed tail, and red feet. The bill is white, tinged with red toward the point, and has a large black spot, almost square, near its base, on each side, where it is also enlarged or distended: and on the forehead is a large triangular white spot; with one still larger on the back part of the neck. The female has much duller colours, and none of the ornaments of the bill, except the two black spots, which are obscure.

There is likewise a species of diver here, which seems peculiar to the place. It is about the size of a partridge; has a short, black, compressed bill; with the head and upper part of the neck of a brown black; the rest of a deep brown, obscurely waved with black, except the under part, which is entirely of a blackish cast, very minutely varied with white; the other (perhaps the female) is blacker above, and whiter below. A small land-bird, of the finch kind, about the size of a yellow-hammer, was also found; but was suspected to be one of those which change their colour with the season, and with their migrations. At this time, it was of a dusky brown colour, with a reddish tail; and the supposed male had a large yellow spot on the crown of the head, with some varied black on the upper part of the neck; but the last was on the breast of the female.

The only fish we got, were some torsk and halibut, which were chiefly brought by the natives to sell; and we caught a few sculpins about the ship; with some purplish star-fish, that had seventeen or eighteen rays. The rocks were observed to be almost destitute of shell-fish; and the only other animal of this tribe seen, was a red crab, covered with spines of a very large size.

The metals we saw were copper and iron; both which, particularly the latter, were in such plenty, as to constitute the points of most of the arrows and lances. The ores, with which they painted themselves, were a red, brittle, unctuous ochre, or iron ore, not much unlike cinnabar in colour; a bright blue pigment, which we did not procure; and black lead. Each of these seems to be very scarce, as they brought very small quantities of the first and last, and seemed to keep them with great care.

* In his Account of Kodjak, p. 32, 34.

Few vegetables of any kind were seen; and the trees which chiefly grew here, were the Canadian and spruce pine, and some of them tolerably large.

The beads and iron found amongst these people, left no room to doubt, that they must have received them from some civilised nation. We were pretty certain, from circumstances already mentioned, that we were the first Europeans with whom they had ever communicated directly; and it remains only to be decided, from what quarter they had got our manufactures, by intermediate conveyance. And there cannot be the least doubt of their having received these articles through the intervention of the more inland tribes, from Hudson's Bay, or the settlements on the Canadian lakes; unless it can be supposed (which however is less likely) that the Russian traders from Kamtschatka have already extended their traffic thus far; or at least that the natives of their most easterly Fox Islands communicate along the coast with those of Prince William's Sound*.

As to the copper, these people seem to procure it themselves, or at most it passes through few hands to them; for they used to express its being in a sufficient quantity amongst them, when they offered any to barter, by pointing to their weapons; as if to say, that having so much of this metal of their own, they wanted no more.

It is, however, remarkable, if the inhabitants of this Sound be supplied with European articles, by way of the intermediate traffic to the east coast, that they should, in return, never have given to the more inland Indians any of their sea-otter skins; which would certainly have been seen, some time or other, about Hudson's Bay. But, as far as I know, that is not the case; and the only method of accounting for this, must be by taking into consideration the very great distance; which, though it might not prevent European goods coming so far, as being so uncommon, might prevent the skins, which are a common article, from passing through more than two or three different tribes, who might use them for their own clothing, and send others, which they esteemed less valuable, as being of their own animals, eastward, till they reach the traders from Europe.

CHAPTER VI.—PROGRESS ALONG THE COAST.—CAPE ELIZABETH.—CAPE ST. HERMOGENES.—ACCOUNTS OF BEERING'S VOYAGE VERY DEFECTIVE.—POINT BANKS.—CAPE DOUGLAS.—CAPE BEDE.—MOUNT ST. AUGUSTIN.—HOPES OF FINDING A PASSAGE UP AN INLET.—THE SHIPS PROCEED UP IT.—INDUBITABLE MARKS OF ITS BEING A RIVER.—NAMED COOK'S RIVER.—THE SHIPS RETURN DOWN IT.—VARIOUS VISITS FROM THE NATIVES.—LIEUTENANT KING LANDS, AND TAKES POSSESSION OF THE COUNTRY.—HIS REPORT.—THE RESOLUTION RUNS AGROUND ON A SHOAL.—REFLECTIONS ON THE DISCOVERY OF COOK'S RIVER.—THE CONSIDERABLE TIDES IN IT ACCOUNTED FOR.

After leaving Prince William's Sound, I steered to the south-west, with a gentle breeze at north north-east; which, at four o'clock the next morning, was succeeded by a calm; and soon after, the calm was succeeded by a breeze from south-west. This freshening, and veering to north-west, we still continued to stretch to the south-west, and passed a lofty promontory, situated in the latitude of 59° 10′, and the longitude of 207° 45′. As the discovery of it was connected with the Princess Elizabeth's birth-day, I named it Cape Elizabeth. Beyond it we could see no land; so that, at first, we were in hopes that it was the western extremity of the continent; but not long after, we saw our mistake; for fresh land appeared in sight, bearing west south-west.

The wind, by this time, had increased to a very strong gale, and forced us to a good distance

* There is a circumstance mentioned by Muller, in his account of Beering's voyage to the coast of America in 1741, which seems to decide this question. His people found iron at the Schumagin Islands, as may be fairly presumed from the following quotation. "Un seul homme avoit un couteau pendu à sa ceinture, qui parut fort singulier à nos gens par sa figure. Il étoit long de huit pouces, et fort épais, et large à l'endroit où devoit être la pointe. On ne peut savoir quel étoit l'usage de cet outil."—*Découvertes des Russes*, p. 274.

If there was iron amongst the natives on this part of the American coast, prior to the discovery of it by the Russians, and before there was any traffic with them carried on from Kamtschatka, what reason can there be to make the least doubt of the people of Prince William's Sound, as well as those of Schumagin's Islands, having got this metal from the only probable source, the European settlements on the north-east coast of this continent?

from the coast. In the afternoon of the 22d, the gale abated; and we stood to the northward for Cape Elizabeth; which at noon, the next day, bore west, ten leagues distant. At the same time, a new land was seen, bearing south 77° west, which was supposed to connect Cape Elizabeth with the land we had seen to the westward.

The wind continued at west, and I stood to the southward till noon the next day, when we were within three leagues of the coast which we had discovered on the 22d. It here formed a point that bore west north-west. At the same time, more land was seen extending to the southward, as far as south south-west; the whole being twelve or fifteen leagues distant. On it was seen a ridge of mountains covered with snow, extending, to the north-west, behind the first land, which we judged to be an island, from the very inconsiderable quantity of snow that lay upon it. This point of land is situated in the latitude of 58° 15′, and in the longitude of 207° 42′; and by what I can gather from the account of Beering's voyage, and the chart that accompanies it in the English edition*, I conclude, that it must be what he called Cape St. Hermogenes. But the account of that voyage is so very much abridged, and the chart so extremely inaccurate, that it is hardly possible, either by the one or by the other, or by comparing both together, to find out any one place which that navigator either saw or touched at. Were I to form a judgment of Beering's proceedings on this coast, I should suppose, that he fell in with the continent near Mount Fairweather. But I am by no means certain, that the bay to which I have given his name is the place where he anchored. Nor do I know, that what I called Mount St. Elias, is the same conspicuous mountain to which he gave that name. And as to his Cape St. Elias, I am entirely at a loss to pronounce where it lies.

On the north side of Cape St. Hermogenes, the coast turned toward the north-west, and appeared to be wholly unconnected with the land seen by us the preceding day. In the chart above mentioned, there is here a space, where Beering is supposed to have seen no land. This also favoured the latter account published by Mr. Stæhlin, who makes Cape St. Hermogenes, and all the land that Beering discovered to the south-west of it, to be a cluster of islands; placing St. Hermogenes amongst those which are destitute of wood. What we now saw seemed to confirm this; and every circumstance inspired us with hopes of finding here a passage northward, without being obliged to proceed any farther to the south-west.

We were detained off the cape by variable light airs and calms, till two o'clock the next morning, when a breeze springing up at north-east, we steered north north-west along the coast; and soon found the land of Cape St. Hermogenes to be an island, about six leagues in circuit, separated from the adjacent coast by a channel one league broad. A league and a half to the north of this island lie some rocks above water; on the north-east side of which we had from thirty to twenty fathoms water. At noon, the island of St. Hermogenes bore south-east, eight leagues distant; and the land to the north-west of it extended from south half west to near west. In this last direction it ended in a low point, now five leagues distant, which was called Point Banks. The latitude of the ship, at this time, was 58° 41′, and its longitude 207° 44′. In this situation, the land, which was supposed to connect Cape Elizabeth with this south-west land, was in sight, bearing north-west half north. I steered directly for it; and on a nearer approach, found it to be a group of high islands and rocks entirely unconnected with any other land. They obtained the name of Barren Isles, from their very naked appearance. Their situation is in the latitude of 59°, and in a line with Cape Elizabeth and Point Banks; three leagues distant from the former, and five from the latter.

I intended going through one of the channels that divide these islands, but meeting with a strong current setting against us, I bore up and went to the leeward of them all. Toward the evening, the weather, which had been hazy all day, cleared up, and we got sight of a very lofty promontory, whose elevated summit, forming two exceedingly high mountains, was seen above the clouds. This promontory I named Cape Douglas, in honour of my very good friend, Dr. Douglas, canon of Windsor. It is situated in the latitude of 58° 56′, and in the longitude of 206° 10′, ten leagues to the westward of Barren Isles, and twelve from Point Banks, in the direction of N.W. by W. half W. Between this point and Cape Douglas, the

* Captain Cook means Muller's; of which a translation had been published in London, some time before he sailed.

coast seemed to form a large and deep bay; which, from some smoke that had been seen on Point Banks, obtained the name of Smokey Bay.

At daybreak the next morning, being the 26th, having got to the northward of the Barren Isles, we discovered more land, extending from Cape Douglas to the north. It formed a chain of mountains of vast height, one of which, far more conspicuous than the rest, was named Mount Saint Augustin. The discovery of this land did not discourage us, as it was supposed to be wholly unconnected with the land of Cape Elizabeth. For, in an N.N.E. direction, the sight was unlimited by everything but the horizon. We also thought that there was a passage to the N.W., between Cape Douglas and Mount St. Augustin. In short, it was imagined, that the land on our larboard to the N. of Cape Douglas was composed of a group of islands, disjoined by so many channels, any one of which we might make use of according as the wind should serve.

With these flattering ideas, having a fresh gale at N.N.E., we stood to the N.W. till eight o'clock, when we clearly saw that what we had taken for islands were summits of mountains, everywhere connected by lower land, which the haziness of the horizon had prevented us from seeing at a greater distance. This land was everywhere covered with snow, from the tops of the hills down to the very sea-beach, and had every other appearance of being part of a great continent. I was now fully persuaded that I should find no passage by this inlet; and my persevering in the search of it here was more to satisfy other people than to confirm my own opinion. At this time, Mount St. Augustin bore N. 40° W., three or four leagues distant. This mountain is of a conical figure, and of very considerable height, but it remains undetermined whether it be an island or part of the continent. Finding that nothing could be done to the W., we tacked and stood over to Cape Elizabeth, under which we fetched at half-past five in the afternoon. On the north side of Cape Elizabeth, between it and a lofty promontory, named Cape Bede*, is a bay, in the bottom of which there appeared to be two snug harbours. We stood well into this bay, where we might have anchored in twenty-three fathoms water: but as I had no such view, we tacked, and stood to the westward, with the wind at N., a very strong gale, attended by rain, and thick hazy weather.

The next morning the gale abated, but the same weather continued till three o'clock in the afternoon, when it cleared up. Cape Douglas bore S.W. by W.; Mount St. Augustin W. ½ S., and Cape Bede S. 15° E., five leagues distant. In this situation, the depth of water was forty fathoms, over a rocky bottom. From Cape Bede, the coast trended N.E. by E., with a chain of mountains inland, extending in the same direction. The land on the coast was woody, and there seemed to be no deficiency of harbours. But what was not much in our favour, we discovered low land in the middle of the inlet, extending from N.N.E. to N.E. by E. ½ E. However, as this was supposed to be an island, it did not discourage us. About this time we got a light breeze southerly, and I steered to the westward of this low land, nothing appearing to obstruct us in that direction. Our soundings during the night were from thirty to twenty-five fathoms. On the 28th in the morning, having but very little wind, and observing the ship to drive to the southward, in order to stop her I dropped a kedge-anchor, with an eight-inch hawser bent to it. But, in bringing the ship up, the hawser parted near the inner end, and we lost both it and the anchor. For although we brought the ship up with one of the bowers, and spent most of the day in sweeping for them, it was to no effect. By an observation, we found our station to be in the latitude of 59° 51′; the low land above mentioned extended from N.E. to S. 75° E., the nearest part two leagues distant, and extended from S. 35° W. to N. 7° E., so that the extent of the inlet was now reduced to three points and a half of the compass; that is, from N. ½ E. to N.E. Between these two points no land was to be seen. Here was a strong tide setting to the southward out of the inlet. It was the ebb, and ran between three and four knots in an hour, and it was low water at ten o'clock. A good deal of sea-weed and some drift-wood were carried out with the tide. The water, too, had become thick like that in rivers, but we were encouraged to proceed by finding it as salt at low water as the ocean. The strength of the flood-tide was three knots, and the stream ran up till four in the afternoon.

* In naming this and Mount St. Augustin, Captain Cook was directed by our Calendar.

As it continued calm all day, I did not move till eight o'clock in the evening, when, with a light breeze at E., we weighed and stood to the N., up the inlet. We had not been long under sail, before the wind veered to the N., increasing to a fresh gale, and blowing in squalls, with rain. This did not, however, hinder us from plying up as long as the flood continued, which was till near five o'clock the next morning. We had soundings from thirty-five to twenty-four fathoms. In this last depth we anchored about two leagues from the eastern shore, in the latitude of 60° 8′; some low land that we judged to be an island, lying under the western shore, extended from N. ½ W. to N.W. by N., distant three or four leagues.

The weather had now become fair and tolerably clear, so that we could see any land that might lie within our horizon; and in a N.N.E. direction, no land, nor anything to obstruct our progress, was visible. But on each side was a ridge of mountains, rising one behind another without the least separation. I judged it to be low water by the shore about ten o'clock; but the ebb ran down till near noon. The strength of it was four knots and a half, and it fell upon a perpendicular ten feet three inches, that is, while we lay at anchor; so that there is reason to believe this was not the greatest fall. On the eastern shore we now saw two columns of smoke, a sure sign that there were inhabitants. At one in the afternoon we weighed, and plied up under double-reefed top-sails and courses, having a very strong gale at N.N.E., nearly right down the inlet. We stretched over to the western shore, and fetched within two leagues of the south end of the low land or island before mentioned, under which I intended to have taken shelter till the gale should cease. But falling suddenly into twelve fathoms water, from upward of forty, and seeing the appearance of a shoal ahead spitting out from the low land, I tacked and stretched back to the eastward; and anchored under the shore in nineteen fathoms water, over a bottom of small pebble-stones.

Between one and two in the morning of the 30th, we weighed again with the first of the flood, the gale having by this time quite abated, but still continuing contrary, so that we plied up till near seven o'clock, when the tide being done, we anchored in nineteen fathoms, under the same shore as before. The N.W. part of it forming a bluff point, bore N. 20° E., two leagues distant; a point on the other shore opposite to it, and nearly of the same height, bore N. 36° W., our latitude, by observation, 60° 37′. About noon two canoes with a man in each came off to the ship, from near the place where we had seen the smoke the preceding day. They laboured very hard in paddling across the strong tide, and hesitated a little before they would come quite close; but, upon signs being made to them, they approached. One of them talked a great deal to no purpose, for we did not understand a word he said. He kept pointing to the shore, which we interpreted to be an invitation to go thither. They accepted a few trifles from me, which I conveyed to them from the quarter gallery. These men in every respect resembled the people we had met with in Prince William's Sound, as to their persons and dress. Their canoes were also of the same construction. One of our visitors had his face painted jet black, and seemed to have no beard; but the other, who was more elderly, had no paint, and a considerable beard, with a visage much like the common sort of the Prince William's people. There was also smoke seen upon the flat western shore this day, from whence we may infer, that these lower spots and islands are the only inhabited places.

When the flood made, we weighed, and then the canoes left us. I stood over to the western shore, with a fresh gale at N.N.E., and fetched under the point above mentioned. This, with the other on the opposite shore, contracted the channel to the breadth of four leagues. Through this channel ran a prodigious tide. It looked frightful to us, who could not tell whether the agitation of the water was occasioned by the stream, or by the breaking of the waves against rocks or sands. As we met with no shoal, it was concluded to be the former; but in the end we found ourselves mistaken. I now kept the western shore aboard, it appearing to be the safest. Near the shore we had a depth of thirteen fathoms; and two or three miles off, forty and upward. At eight in the evening, we anchored under a point of land which bore N.E., three leagues distant, in fifteen fathoms water. Here we lay during the ebb, which ran near five knots in the hour.

Until we got thus far, the water had retained the same degree of saltness at low as at

high water, and at both periods was as salt as that in the ocean. But now the marks of a river displayed themselves. The water taken up this ebb, when at the lowest, was found to be very considerably fresher than any we had hitherto tasted, insomuch, that I was convinced that we were in a large river, and not in a strait, communicating with the northern seas. But as we had proceeded thus far, I was desirous of having stronger proofs, and therefore weighed with the next flood in the morning of the 31st, and plied higher up, or rather drove up with the tide, for we had but little wind.

About eight o'clock we were visited by several of the natives, in one large and several small canoes. The latter carried only one person each, and some had a paddle with a blade at each end, after the manner of the Esquimaux. In the large canoes were men, women, and children. Before they reached the ship, they displayed a leathern frock upon a long pole as a sign, as we understood it, of their peaceable intentions. This frock they conveyed into the ship, in return for some trifles which I gave them. I could observe no difference between the persons, dress, ornaments, and boats of these people, and those of Prince William's Sound, except that the small canoes were rather of a less size, and carried only one man. We procured from them some of their fur dresses, made of the skins of sea-otters, martins, hares, and other animals, a few of their darts, and a small supply of salmon and halibut. In exchange for these they took old clothes, beads, and pieces of iron. We found that they were in possession of large iron knives, and of sky-blue glass beads, such as we had found amongst the natives of Prince William's Sound. These latter they seemed to value much, and consequently those which we now gave them. But their inclination led them, especially, to ask for large pieces of iron, which metal, if I was not much mistaken, they called by the name of *goone*, though, like their neighbours in Prince William's Sound, they seemed to have many significations to one word. They evidently spoke the same language; as the words *keeta*, *naema*, *oonaka*, and a few others of the most common we heard in that Sound, were also frequently used by this new tribe. After spending about two hours between the one ship and the other, they all retired to the western shore.

At nine o'clock we came to an anchor in sixteen fathoms water, about two leagues from the west shore, and found the ebb already begun. At its greatest strength it ran only three knots in the hour, and fell upon a perpendicular, after we had anchored, twenty-one feet. The weather was misty, with drizzling rain, and clear by turns. At the clear intervals, we saw an opening between the mountains on the eastern shore, bearing east from the station of the ships, with low land, which we supposed to be islands lying between us and the main land. Low land was also seen to the northward, that seemed to extend from the foot of the mountains on the one side to those on the other; and at low water we perceived large shoals stretching out from this low land, some of which were at no great distance from us. From these appearances, we were in some doubt whether the inlet did not take an easterly direction, through the above opening, or whether that opening was only a branch of it, and the main channel continued its northern direction through the low land now in sight. The continuation and direction of the chain of mountains on each side of it strongly indicated the probability of the latter supposition. To determine this point, and to examine the shoals, I despatched two boats, under the command of the master; and, as soon as the flood-tide made, followed with the ships; but, as it was a dead calm, and the tide strong, I anchored, after driving about ten miles in an east direction. At the lowest of the preceding ebb, the water at the surface, and for near a foot below it, was found to be perfectly fresh; retaining, however, a considerable degree of saltness at a greater depth. Besides this, we had now many other and but too evident proofs of being in a great river; such as low shores, very thick and muddy water, large trees, and all manner of dirt and rubbish, floating up and down with the tide. In the afternoon the natives, in several canoes, paid us another visit; and trafficked with our people for some time, without ever giving us reason to accuse them of any act of dishonesty.

At two o'clock next morning, being the 1st of June, the master returned, and reported that he found the inlet, or rather river, contracted to the breadth of one league, by low land on each side, through which it took a northerly direction. He proceeded three leagues through this narrow part, which he found navigable for the largest ships, being from twenty to seven-

teen fathoms deep. The least water, at a proper distance from the shore and shoals, was ten fathoms; and this was before he entered the narrow part. While the ebb or stream ran down, the water was perfectly fresh; but after the flood made, it became brackish; and, toward high water, very much so, even as high up as he went. He landed upon an island, which lies between this branch and the eastern one; and upon it saw some currant bushes, with the fruit already set, and some other fruit-trees and bushes unknown to him. The soil appeared to be clay, mixed with sand. About three leagues beyond the extent of his search, or to the northward of it, he observed there was another separation in the eastern chain of mountains, through which he supposed the river took a north-east direction; but it seemed rather more probable that this was only another branch, and that the main channel kept its northern direction, between the two ridges or chains of mountains before mentioned. He found that these two ridges, as they extended to the north, inclined more and more to each other, but never appeared to close; nor was any elevated land seen between them, only low land, part woody, and part clear.

All hopes of finding a passage were now given up. But as the ebb was almost spent, and we could not return against the flood, I thought I might as well take the advantage of the latter, to get a nearer view of the eastern branch; and, by that means, finally to determine whether the low land on the east side of the river was an island, as we had supposed, or not. With this purpose in view, we weighed with the first of the flood, and, having a faint breeze at north-east, stood over for the eastern shore, with boats ahead, sounding. Our depth was from twelve to five fathoms; the bottom a hard gravel, though the water was exceedingly muddy. At eight o'clock a fresh breeze sprung up at east, blowing in an opposite direction to our course; so that I despaired of reaching the entrance of the river to which we were plying up, before high-water. But thinking that what the ships could not do might be done with boats, I despatched two, under the command of Lieutenant King, to examine the tides, and to make such observations as might give us some insight into the nature of the river.

At ten o'clock, finding the ebb begun, I anchored in nine fathoms water, over a gr[illegible] bottom. Observing the tide to be too strong for the boats to make head against it, I made a signal for them to return on board, before they had got half way to the entrance of the river they were sent to examine, which bore from us S., 80° E., three leagues distant. The principal information gained by this tide's work, was the determining that all the low land, which we had supposed to be an island or islands, was one continued tract, from the banks of the great river to the foot of the mountains, to which it joined; and that it terminated at the south entrance of this eastern branch, which I shall distinguish by the name of River Turnagain. On the north side of this river, the low land again begins, and stretches out from the foot of the mountains down to the banks of the great river; so that, before the river Turnagain, it forms a large bay, on the south side of which we were now at anchor, and where we had from twelve to five fathoms, from half-flood to high-water. After we had entered the bay, the flood set strong into the river Turnagain; the ebb came out with still greater force; the water falling, while we lay at anchor, twenty feet upon a perpendicular. These circumstances convinced me, that no passage was to be expected by this side river, any more than by the main branch. However, as the water during the ebb, though very considerably fresher, had still a strong degree of saltness, it is but reasonable to suppose that both these branches are navigable by ships, much farther than we examined them; and that by means of this river, and its several branches, a very extensive inland communication lies open. We had traced it as high as the latitude of 61° 30′, and the longitude of 201°; which is seventy leagues, or more, from its entrance, without seeing the least appearance of its source.

If the discovery of this great river*, which promises to vie with the most considerable ones already known to be capable of extensive inland navigation, should prove of use either to the present or to any future age, the time we spent in it ought to be the less regretted. But to us, who had a much greater object in view, the delay thus occasioned was an essential

* Captain Cook having here left a blank which he had not filled up with any particular name, Lord Sandwich directed, with the greatest propriety, that it should be called Cook's River.

loss. The season was advancing apace. We knew not how far we might have to proceed to the south; and we were now convinced that the continent of North America extended farther to the west than, from the modern most reputable charts, we had reason to expect. This made the existence of a passage into Baffin's or Hudson's Bays less probable, or, at least, showed it to be of greater extent. It was a satisfaction to me, however, to reflect that, if I had not examined this very considerable inlet, it would have been assumed, by speculative fabricators of geography, as a fact that it communicated with the sea to the north, or with Baffin's or Hudson's Bay to the east; and been marked, perhaps, on future maps of the world, with greater precision, and more certain signs of reality, than the invisible, because imaginary, Straits of de Fuca, and de Fonte.

In the afternoon I sent Mr. King again, with two armed boats, with orders to land on the northern point of the low land, on the south-east side of the river; there to display the flag, and to take possession of the country and river in his Majesty's name; and to bury in the ground a bottle, containing some pieces of English coin, of the year 1772, and a paper, on which were inscribed the names of our ships, and the date of our discovery. In the mean time, the ships were got under sail, in order to proceed down the river. The wind still blew fresh, easterly; but a calm ensued not long after we were under way; and the flood-tide meeting us off the point where Mr. King landed (and which thence got the name of Point Possession), we were obliged to drop anchor in six fathoms water, with the point bearing south, two miles distant. When Mr. King returned, he informed me, that as he approached the shore about twenty of the natives made their appearance, with their arms extended; probably to express thus their peaceable disposition, and to show that they were without weapons. On Mr. King's and the gentlemen with him landing with muskets in their hands, they seemed alarmed, and made signs expressive of their request to lay them down. This was accordingly done; and then they suffered the gentlemen to walk up to them, and appeared to be cheerful and sociable. They had with them a few pieces of fresh salmon, and several dogs. Mr. Law, surgeon of the Discovery, who was one of the party, having bought one of the latter, took it down toward the boat and shot it dead in their sight. This seemed to surprise them exceedingly; and, as if they did not think themselves safe in such company, they walked away; but it was soon after discovered that their spears and other weapons were hid in the bushes close behind them. Mr. King also informed me that the ground was swampy, and the soil poor, light, and black. It produced a few trees and shrubs; such as pines, elders, birch, and willows; rose and currant bushes; and a little grass; but they saw not a single plant in flower.

We weighed anchor, as soon as it was high water, and, with a faint breeze southerly, stood over to the west shore, where the return of the flood obliged us to anchor early next morning. Soon after, several large and some small canoes with natives came off, who bartered their skins; after which they sold their garments, till many of them were quite naked. Amongst others, they brought a number of white hare or rabbit skins, and very beautiful reddish ones of foxes; but there were only two or three skins of otters. They also sold us some pieces of salmon and halibut. They preferred iron to everything else offered to them in exchange. The lip-ornaments did not seem so frequent amongst them as at Prince William's Sound; but they had more of those which pass through the nose, and, in general, these were also much longer. They had, however, a greater quantity of a kind of white and red embroidered work on some parts of their garments, and on other things, such as their quivers and knife-cases.

At half-past ten we weighed with the first of the ebb, and having a gentle breeze at south, plied down the river; in doing of which, by the inattention and neglect of the man at the lead, the Resolution struck, and stuck fast on the bank, that lies nearly in the middle of the river, and about two miles above the two projecting bluff points before mentioned. This bank was, no doubt, the occasion of that very strong rippling, or agitation of the stream, which we had observed when turning up the river. There was not less than twelve feet depth of water about the ship, at the lowest of the ebb; but other parts of the bank were dry. As soon as the ship came aground, I made a signal for the Discovery to anchor. She, as I afterward understood, had been near ashore on the west side of the bank. As the flood-

tide came in, the ship floated off, soon after five o'clock in the afternoon, without receiving the least damage, or giving us any trouble; and, after standing over to the west shore, into deep water, we anchored to wait for the ebb, as the wind was still contrary. We weighed again with the ebb, at ten o'clock at night; and, between four and five next morning, when the tide was finished, once more cast anchor about two miles below the bluff point, on the west shore, in nineteen fathoms water. A good many of the natives came off, when we were in this station, and attended upon us all the morning. Their company was very acceptable; for they brought with them a large quantity of very fine salmon, which they exchanged for such trifles as we had to give them. Most of it was split ready for drying; and several hundred weight of it was procured for the two ships.

In the afternoon the mountains, for the first time since our entering the river, were clear of clouds; and we discovered a volcano in one of those on the west side. It is in the latitude of 63° 23′, and is the first high mountain to the north of Mount St. Augustin. The volcano is on that side of it that is next the river, and not far from the summit. It did not now make any striking appearance, emitting only a white smoke, but no fire. The wind remaining southerly, we continued to tide it down the river; and, on the 5th in the morning, coming to the place where we had lost our kedge-anchor, made an attempt to recover it, but without success. Before we had left this place, six canoes came off from the east shore; some conducted by one, and others by two men. They remained at a little distance from the ships, viewing them with a kind of silent surprise, at least half an hour, without exchanging a single word with us or with one another. At length they took courage and came alongside, began to barter with our people, and did not leave us till they had parted with everything they brought with them, consisting of a few skins and some salmon. And here it may not be improper to remark, that all the people we had met with in this river seemed, by every striking instance of resemblance, to be of the same nation with those who inhabit Prince William's Sound, but differing essentially from those of Nootka, or King George's Sound, both in their persons and language. The language of these is rather more guttural; but, like the others, they speak strongly and distinct, in words which seem sentences.

I have before observed that they are in possession of iron, that is, they have the points of their spears and knives of this metal; and some of the former are also made of copper. Their spears are like our spontoons; and their knives, which they keep in sheaths, are of a considerable length. These, with a few glass beads, are the only things we saw amongst them that were not of their own manufacture. I have already offered my conjectures from whence they derive their foreign articles; and shall only add here, that, if it were probable that they found their way to them from such of their neighbours with whom the Russians may have established a trade, I will be bold to say, the Russians themselves have never been amongst them; for, if that had been the case, we should hardly have found them clothed in such valuable skins as those of the sea-otter. There is not the least doubt, that a very beneficial fur-trade might be carried on with the inhabitants of this vast coast. But unless a northern passage should be found practicable, it seems rather too remote for Great Britain to receive any emolument from it. It must, however, be observed, that the most valuable, or rather the only valuable skins, I saw on this west side of America, were those of the sea-otter. All their other skins seemed to be of an inferior quality; particularly those of their foxes and martens. It must also be observed, that most of the skins which we purchased were made up into garments. However, some of these were in good condition, but others were old and ragged enough; and all of them very lousy. But as these poor people make no other use of skins but for clothing themselves, it cannot be supposed that they are at the trouble of dressing more of them than are necessary for this purpose. And, perhaps, this is the chief use for which they kill the animals; for the sea and the rivers seem to supply them with their principal articles of food. It would, probably, be much otherwise, were they once habituated to a constant trade with foreigners. This intercourse would increase their wants, by introducing them to an acquaintance with new luxuries; and in order to be enabled to purchase these, they would be more assiduous in procuring skins, which they would soon discover to be the commodity most sought for; and a plentiful supply of which, I make no doubt, would be had in the country.

It will appear, from what has been said occasionally of the tide, that it is considerable in this river, and contributes very much to facilitate the navigation of it. It is high-water in the stream on the days of the new and full moon, between two and three o'clock, and the tide rises, upon a perpendicular, between three and four fathoms. The reason of the tide's being greater here than at other parts of this coast is easily accounted for. The mouth of the river being situated in a corner of the coast, the flood that comes from the ocean is forced into it by both shores, and by that means swells the tide to a great height.

The variation of the compass was 25° 40′ E.

CHAPTER VII.—DISCOVERIES AFTER LEAVING COOK'S RIVER.—ISLAND OF ST. HERMOGENES.—CAPE WHITSUNDAY.—CAPE GREVILLE.—CAPE BARNABAS.—TWO-HEADED POINT.—TRINITY ISLAND.—BEERING'S FOGGY ISLAND.—A BEAUTIFUL BIRD DESCRIBED.—KODIAK AND THE SCHUMAGIN ISLANDS.—A RUSSIAN LETTER BROUGHT ON BOARD BY A NATIVE.—CONJECTURES ABOUT IT.—ROCK POINT.—HALIBUT ISLAND.—A VOLCANO MOUNTAIN.—PROVIDENTIAL ESCAPE.—ARRIVAL OF THE SHIPS AT OONALASCHKA.—INTERCOURSE WITH THE NATIVES THERE.—ANOTHER RUSSIAN LETTER.—SAMGANOODHA HARBOUR DESCRIBED.

As soon as the ebb tide made in our favour we weighed, and, with a light breeze between west south-west and south south-west, plied down the river till the flood obliged us to anchor again. At length, about one o'clock next morning, a fresh breeze sprung up at west, with which we got under sail, and at eight passed the Barren Isles, and stretched away for Cape St. Hermogenes. At noon this cape bore south south-east, eight leagues distant; and the passage between the island of that name and the main land, bore south. For this passage I steered, intending to go through it; but soon after the wind failed us, and we had baffling light airs from the eastward, so that I gave up my design of carrying the ships between the island and the main. At this time we saw several columns of smoke on the coast of the continent, to the northward of the passage; and, most probably, they were meant as signals to attract us thither. Here the land forms a bay, or perhaps a harbour, off the north-west point of which lies a low rocky island. There are also some other islands of the same appearance scattered along the coast, between this place and Point Banks.

At eight in the evening, the island of St. Hermogenes extended from south half east to south south-east, a quarter east; and the rocks that lie on the north side of it bore south-east, three miles distant. In this situation, we had forty fathoms water over a bottom of sand and shells. Soon after, on putting over hooks and lines, we caught several halibut. At midnight, being past the rocks, we bore up to the southward; and, at noon, St. Hermogenes bore north, four leagues distant. At this time, the southernmost point of the main land, within or to the westward of St. Hermogenes, lay north half west, distant five leagues. This promontory, which is situated in the latitude of 58° 15′, and in the longitude of 207° 24′ was named, after the day, Cape Whitsunday. A large bay, which lies to the west of it, obtained the name of Whitsuntide Bay. The land on the east side of this bay, of which Cape Whitsunday is the southern point, and Point Banks the northern one, is in all respects like the island of St. Hermogenes; seemingly destitute of wood, and partly free from snow. It was supposed to be covered with a mossy substance, that gave it a brownish cast. There were some reasons to think it was an island. If this be so, the last-mentioned bay is only the straight or passage that separates it from the main land.

Between one and two in the afternoon, the wind, which had been at north-east, shifted at once to the southward. It was unsettled till six, when it fixed at south, which was the very direction of our course; so that we were obliged to ply up the coast. The weather was gloomy, and the air dry, but cold. We stood to the eastward till midnight; then tacked, and stood in for the land; and, between seven and eight in the morning of the 8th, we were within four miles of it, and not more than half a league from some sunken rocks, which bore west south-west. In this situation, we tacked in thirty-five fathoms water, the island of

St. Hermogenes bearing north, 20° E., and the southernmost land in sight, south. In standing in for this coast, we crossed the mouth of Whitsuntide Bay, and saw land all round the bottom of it; so that either the land is connected, or else the points lock in, one behind another. I am more inclined to think that the former is the case; and that the land, east of the bay, is a part of the continent. Some small islands lie on the west of the bay. The sea-coast to the southward of it is rather low, with projecting rocky points, between which are small bays or inlets. There was no wood and but little snow upon the coast; but the mountains, which lie at some distance inland, were wholly covered with the latter. We stood off till noon; then tacked, and stood in for the land. The latitude, at this time, was 57° 52½′; Cape St. Hermogenes bore north, 30° W. eight leagues distant, and the southernmost part of the coast in sight, the same that was seen before, bore south-west, ten leagues distant. The land here forms a point, which was named Cape Greville. It lies in the latitude of 57° 33′, and in the longitude of 207° 15′; and is distant fifteen leagues from Cape St. Hermogenes, in the direction of south, 17° W.

The three following days, we had almost constant misty weather, with drizzling rain; so that we seldom had a sight of the coast. The wind was south-east by south, and south south-east, a gentle breeze, and the air raw and cold. With this wind and weather, we continued to ply up the coast, making boards of six or eight leagues each. The depth of water was from thirty to fifty-five fathoms, over a coarse, black sandy bottom. The fog clearing up, with the change of the wind to south-west, in the evening of the 12th, we had a sight of the land bearing west, twelve leagues distant. We stood in for it early next morning. At noon we were not above three miles from it; an elevated point, which obtained the name of Cape Barnabas, lying in the latitude of 57° 13′, bore north-east half east, ten miles distant; and the coast extended from north, 42° E. to west south-west. The north-east extreme was lost in a haze; but the point to the south-west, whose elevated summit terminated in two round hills, on that account was called Two-headed Point. This part of the coast, in which are several small bays, is composed of high hills and deep valleys; and in some places we could see the tops of other hills, beyond those that form the coast; which was but little incumbered with snow, but had a very barren appearance. Not a tree or bush was to be seen upon it: and, in general, it had a brownish hue, probably the effect of a mossy covering. I continued to ply to the south-west by west, as the coast trended; and at six in the evening, being midway between Cape Barnabas and Two-headed Point, and two leagues from the shore, the depth of water was sixty-two fathoms. From this station, a low point of land made its appearance beyond Two-headed Point, bearing south, 69° W.; and without it other land, that had the appearance of an island, bore south, 59° W.

At noon, on the 13th, being in latitude 56° 49′, Cape St. Barnabas bore north, 52° E.; Two-headed Point north, 14° W. seven or eight miles distant; and the coast of the continent extended as far as south, 72½° W.; and the land seen the preceding evening, and supposed to be an island, now appeared like two islands. From whatever quarter Two-headed Point was viewed, it had the appearance of being an island; or else it is a peninsula, on each side of which the shore forms a bay. The wind still continued westerly, a gentle breeze, the weather rather dull and cloudy, and the air sharp and dry.

We were well up with the southernmost land next morning, and found it to be an island, which was named Trinity Island. Its greatest extent is six leagues in the direction of east and west. Each end is elevated naked land, and in the middle it is low; so that, at a distance, from some points of view, it assumes the appearance of two islands. It lies in the latitude of 56° 36′, and in the longitude of 205°; and between two and three leagues from the continent; which space is interspersed with small islands and rocks; but there seemed to be good passage enough, and also safe anchorage. At first, we were inclined to think that this was Beering's Foggy Island*; but its situation so near the main does not suit his chart.

At eight in the evening, we stood in for the land, till we were within a league of the above-mentioned small islands; the westernmost part of the continent now in sight being

* *Tamannoi-ostrow*, c'est-à-dire, L'isle Nebuleuse. Muller, p. 261.

a low point facing Trinity Island, and which we called Cape Trinity, now bore west north-west. In this situation, having tacked in fifty-four fathoms water, over a bottom of black sand, we stood over for the island, intending to work up between it and the main. The land to the westward of Two-headed Point is not so mountainous as it is to the north-east of it, nor does the snow lie upon it. There are, however, a good many hills considerably elevated; but they are disjoined by large tracts of flat land that appeared to be perfectly destitute of wood, and very barren. As we were standing over toward the island, we met two men in a small canoe, paddling from it to the main. Far from approaching us, they seemed rather to avoid it. The wind now began to incline to the south; and we had reason to expect that it would soon be at south-east. Experience having taught us that a south-easterly wind was generally, if not always, accompanied by a thick fog, I was afraid to venture through between the island and the continent, lest the passage should not be accomplished before night, or before the thick weather came on, when we should be obliged to anchor, and by that means lose the advantage of a fair wind. These reasons induced me to stretch out to sea; and we passed two or three rocky islets that lie near the east end of Trinity Island. At four in the afternoon, having weathered the island, we tacked, and steered west, southerly, with a fresh gale at south south-east; which, before midnight, veered to the south-east; and was, as usual, attended with misty, drizzling, rainy weather.

By the course we steered all night, I was in hopes of falling in with the continent in the morning. And, doubtless, we should have seen it, had the weather been in the least clear; but the fog prevented. Seeing no land at noon, and the gale increasing, with a thick fog and rain, I steered west north-west, under such sail as we could easily haul the wind with; being fully sensible of the danger of running before a strong gale in a thick fog, in the vicinity of an unknown coast. It was, however, necessary to run some risk when the wind favoured us; for clear weather, we had found, was generally accompanied with winds from the west. Between two and three in the afternoon, land was seen through the fog, bearing north-west, not more than three or four miles distant. Upon this we immediately hauled up south, close to the wind. Soon after the two courses were split, so that we had others to bring to the yards; and several others of our sails received considerable damage. At nine the gale abated; the weather cleared up; and we got sight of the coast again, extending from west by south to north-west, about four or five leagues distant. On sounding, we found a hundred fathoms water, over a muddy bottom. Soon after, the fog returned, and we saw no more of the land all night.

At four next morning, the fog being now dispersed, we found ourselves in a manner surrounded by land; the continent, or what was supposed to be the continent, extending from west south-west to north-east by north; and some elevated land, bearing south-east half south; by estimation eight or nine leagues distant. The north-east extreme of the main was the same point of land that we had fallen in with during the fog; and we named it Foggy Cape. It lies in latitude 56° 31′. At this time, having but little wind all night, a breeze sprung up at north-west. With this we stood to the southward, to make the land, seen in that direction, plainer. At nine o'clock, we found it to be an island of about nine leagues in compass; lying in the latitude of 56° 10′, and in the longitude of 220° 45′; and it is distinguished in our chart by the name of Foggy Island; having reason to believe, from its situation, that it is the same which had that name given to it by Beering. At the same time, three or four islands, lying before a bay, formed by the coast of the main land, bore north by west; a point, with three or four pinnacle rocks upon it, which was called Pinnacle Point, bore north-west by west; and a cluster of small islets, or rocks, lying about nine leagues from the coast south south-east. At noon, when our latitude was 56° 9′, and our longitude 201° 45′, these rocks bore south, 58° E., ten miles distant; Pinnacle Point, north north-west, distant seven leagues; the nearest part of the main land north-west by west, six leagues distant; and the most advanced land to the south-west, which had the appearance of being an island, bore west, a little southerly. In the afternoon, we had little or no wind, so that our progress was inconsiderable. At eight in the evening, the coast extended from south-west to north north-east; the nearest part about eight leagues distant.

On the 17th, the wind was between west and north-west, a gentle breeze, and sometimes

almost calm. The weather was clear, and the air sharp and dry. At noon, the continent extended from south-west to north by east; the nearest part seven leagues distant. A large group of islands lying about the same distance from the continent, extended from south 26° W., to south 52° W. It was calm great part of the 18th; and the weather was clear and pleasant. We availed ourselves of this, by making observations for the longitude and variation. The latter was found to be 21° 27′ E. There can be no doubt that there is a continuation of the continent between Trinity Island and Foggy Cape, which the thick weather prevented us from seeing. For some distance to the south-west of that cape, this country is more broken or rugged than any part we had yet seen, both with respect to the hills themselves and to the coast, which seemed full of creeks, or small inlets, none of which appeared to be of any great depth. Perhaps, upon a closer examination, some of the projecting points between these inlets will be found to be islands. Every part had a very barren aspect; and was covered with snow, from the summits of the highest hills, down to a very small distance from the sea-coast.

Having occasion to send a boat on board the Discovery, one of the people in her shot a very beautiful bird of the hawk kind. It is somewhat less than a duck, and of a black colour, except the fore part of the head, which is white; and from above and behind each eye arises an elegant yellowish-white crest, revolving backward as a ram's horn. The bill and feet are red. It is, perhaps, the *Alca monochora* of Steller, mentioned in the history of Kamtschatka*. I think the first of these birds was seen by us a little to the southward of Cape St. Hermogenes. From that time we generally saw some of them every day, and sometimes in large flocks. Besides these, we daily saw most of the other sea-birds that are commonly found in other northern oceans; such as gulls, shags, puffins, sheerwaters, and sometimes ducks, geese, and swans. And seldom a day passed without seeing seals, whales, and other large fish.

In the afternoon we got a light breeze of wind southerly, which enabled us to steer west for the channel that appeared between the islands and the continent; and at daybreak next morning we were at no great distance from it, and found several other islands within those already seen by us, of various extent, both in height and circuit. But between these last islands and those before seen there seemed to be a clear channel, for which I steered, being afraid to keep the coast of the continent aboard, lest we should mistake some point of it for an island, and by that means be drawn into some inlet, and lose the advantage of a fair wind which at this time blew. I therefore kept along the southernmost chain of islands; and at noon we were in the latitude of 55° 18′, and in the narrowest part of the channel formed by them and those which lie along the continent, where it is about a league and a half or two leagues over. The largest island in this group was now on our left, and is distinguished by the name of Kodiak†, according to the information we afterward received. I left the rest of them without names. I believe them to be the same that Beering calls Schumagin's Islands‡; or those islands which he called by that name to be a part of them, for this group is pretty extensive. We saw islands as far to the southward as an island could be seen. They commence in the longitude of 200° 15′ E., and extend a degree and a half or two degrees to the westward. I cannot be particular, as we could not distinguish all the islands from the coast of the continent. Most of these islands are of a good height, very barren and rugged, abounding with rocks and steep cliffs, and exhibiting other romantic appearances. There are several snug bays and coves about them; streams of fresh water run from their elevated parts; some drift-wood was floating around, but not a tree or bush was to be seen growing on the land. A good deal of snow still lay on many of them; and the parts of the continent which showed themselves between the innermost islands were quite covered with it. At four in the afternoon we had passed all the islands that lay to the southward of us; the southernmost at this time bearing S. 3° E., and the westernmost point of land now in sight, S. 82° W. For this point we steered, and passed between it and two or three elevated rocks that lie about a league to the east of it.

* P. 153, Eng. Trans.

† See an account of Kodiak in Stæhlin's New Northern Archipelago, pp. 30. 39.

‡ See Muller's "Découvertes des Russes," pp. 262. 277.

Some time after we had got through this channel, in which we found forty fathoms water, the Discovery, now two miles astern, fired three guns and brought to, and made the signal to speak with us. This alarmed me not a little; and as no apparent danger had been remarked in the passage through the channel, it was apprehended that some accident, such as springing a leak, must have happened. A boat was immediately sent to her, and in a short time returned with Captain Clerke. I now learned from him that some natives, in three or four canoes, who had been following the ship for some time, at length got under his stern. One of them then made many signs, taking off his cap and bowing, after the manner of Europeans. A rope being handed down from the ship, to this he fastened a small thin wooden case or box; and having delivered this safe, and spoken something, and made some signs, the canoes dropped astern and left the Discovery. No one on board her had any suspicion that the box contained anything till after the departure of the canoes, when it was accidentally opened, and a piece of paper was found folded up carefully, upon which something was written in the Russian language, as was supposed. The date 1778 was prefixed to it; and in the body of the written note there was a reference to the year 1776. Not learned enough to decipher the alphabet of the writer, his numerals marked sufficiently that others had preceded us in visiting this dreary part of the globe, who were united to us by other ties besides those of our common nature; and the hopes of soon meeting with some of the Russian traders, could not but give a sensible satisfaction to those who had, for such a length of time, been conversant with the savages of the Pacific Ocean, and of the continent of North America. Captain Clerke was at first of opinion that some Russians had been shipwrecked here; and that these unfortunate persons, seeing our ships pass, had taken this method to inform us of their situation. Impressed with humane sentiments on such an occasion, he was desirous of our stopping till they might have time to join us. But no such idea occurred to me. It seemed obvious that if this had been the case, it would have been the first step taken by such shipwrecked persons, in order to secure to themselves and to their companions the relief they could not but be solicitous about, to send some of their body off to the ships in the canoes. For this reason, I rather thought that the paper contained a note of information left by some Russian trader who had lately been amongst these islands, to be delivered to the next of their countrymen who should arrive; and that the natives, seeing our ships pass, and supposing us to be Russians, had resolved to bring off the note, thinking it might induce us to stop. Fully convinced of this, I did not stay to inquire any farther into the matter, but made sail and stood away to the westward, along the coast; perhaps I should say along the islands, for we could not pronounce with certainty whether the nearest land within us was continent or islands. If not the latter, the coast here forms some tolerably large and deep bays.

We continued to run all night with a gentle breeze at north-east; and at two o'clock next morning, some breakers were seen within us, at the distance of two miles. Two hours after, others were seen ahead; and, on our larboard bow, and between us and the land, they were innumerable. We did but just clear them by holding a south course. These breakers were occasioned by rocks; some of which were above water. They extend several leagues from the land; and are very dangerous, especially in thick weather, to which this coast seems much subject. At noon we had just got on their outside; and by observation, we were in the latitude of 54° 44′, and in the longitude of 198°. The nearest land being an elevated bluff point, which was called Rock Point, bore north, seven or eight leagues distant; the westernmost part of the main, or what was supposed to be the main, bore N. 80° W.; and a round hill, without which was found to be an island, and was called Halibut-head, bore S. 65° W., thirteen leagues distant. On the 21st at noon, having made but little progress, on account of faint winds and calms, Halibut-head, which lies in the latitude of 54° 27′, and in the longitude of 197°, bore N. 24° W.; and the island on which it is, and called Halibut Island, extended from N. by E., to N. W. by W., two leagues distant. This island is seven or eight leagues in circuit; and except the head, the land of it is low and very barren. There are several small islands near it, all of the same appearance; but there seemed to be a passage between them and the main, two or three leagues broad.

The rocks and breakers before mentioned forced us so far from the continent, that we had

but a distant view of the coast between Rock Point and Halibut Island. Over this and the adjoining islands, we could see the mainland covered with snow; but particularly some hills, whose elevated tops were seen towering above the clouds to a most stupendous height. The most south-westerly of these hills was discovered to have a volcano, which continually threw up vast columns of black smoke. It stands not far from the coast; and in the latitude of 54° 48′, and the longitude of 195° 45′. It is also remarkable from its figure, which is a complete cone; and the volcano is at the very summit. We seldom saw this (or indeed any other of these mountains) wholly clear of clouds. At times both base and summit would be clear; when a narrow cloud, sometimes two or three, one above another, would embrace the middle like a girdle; which, with the column of smoke, rising perpendicularly to a great height out of its top, and spreading before the wind into a tail of vast length, made a very picturesque appearance. It may be worth remarking, that the wind, at the height to which the smoke of this volcano reached, moved sometimes in a direction contrary to what it did at sea, even when it blew a fresh gale.

In the afternoon, having three hours' calm, our people caught upward of a hundred halibuts, some of which weighed a hundred pounds, and none less than twenty pounds. This was a very seasonable refreshment to us. In the height of our fishing, which was in thirty-five fathoms water, and three or four miles from the shore, a small canoe, conducted by one man, came to us from the large island. On approaching the ship, he took off his cap, and bowed, as the other had done who visited the Discovery the preceding day. It was evident that the Russians must have a communication and traffic with these people, not only from their acquired politeness, but from the note above mentioned. But we had now a fresh proof of it, for our present visitor wore a pair of green cloth breeches, and a jacket of black cloth, or stuff, under the gut shirt or frock of his own country. He had nothing to barter, except a grey fox skin, and some fishing implements or harpoons, the heads of the shafts of which, for the length of a foot or more, were neatly made of bone, as thick as a walking-cane, and carved. He had with him a bladder full of something, which we supposed to be oil, for he opened it, took a mouthful, and then fastened it again. His canoe was of the same make with those we had seen before, but rather smaller. He used the double-bladed paddle, as did also those who had visited the Discovery. In his size and features, he exactly resembled those we saw in Prince William's Sound, and in the Great River; but he was quite free from paint of any kind, and had the perforation of his lip made in an oblique direction, without any ornament in it. He did not seem to understand any of the words commonly used by our visitors in the Sound, when repeated to him. But perhaps our faulty pronunciation, rather than his ignorance of the dialect, may be inferred from this.

The weather was cloudy and hazy, with now and then sunshine, till the afternoon of the 22d, when the wind came round to the S. E., and, as usual, brought thick rainy weather. Before the fog came on, no part of the mainland was in sight, except the volcano, and another mountain close by it. I continued to steer W. till seven in the evening, when being apprehensive of falling in with the land in thick weather, we hauled the wind to the southward, till two o'clock next morning, and then bore away again W. We made but little progress, having the wind variable and but little of it, till at last it fixed in the western board, and at five in the afternoon, having a gleam of sunshine, we saw land bearing N. 59° W., appearing in hillocks like islands. At six in the morning of the 24th, we got a sight of the continent, and at nine it was seen extending from N. E. by E., to S. W. by W. half W., the nearest part about four leagues distant. The land to the S. W. proved to be islands, the same that had been seen the preceding evening; but the other was a continuation of the continent, without any islands to obstruct our view of it. In the evening, being about four leagues from the shore, in forty-two fathoms water, having little or no wind, we had recourse to our hooks and lines, but only two or three small cod were caught.

The next morning, we got a breeze easterly, and, what was uncommon with this wind, clear weather, so that we not only saw the volcano, but other mountains both to the E. and W. of it, and all the coast of the mainland under them, much plainer than at any time before. It extended from N. E. by N., to N. W. half W., where it seemed to terminate. Between this point and the islands without it, there appeared a large opening, for which I steered, till we

raised land beyond it. This land, although we did not perceive that it joined the continent, made a passage through the opening very doubtful. It also made it doubtful whether the land which we saw to the S. W. was insular or continental; and if the latter, it was obvious that the opening would be a deep bay or inlet, from which, if once we entered it with a easterly wind, it would not be so easy to get out. Not caring, therefore, to trust too much to appearances, I steered to the southward. Having thus got without all the land in sight, I then steered W., in which direction the islands lay, for such we found this land to be. By eight o'clock we had passed three of them, all of a good height. More of them were now seen to the westward, the south-westernmost part of them bearing W. N. W. The weather in the afternoon became gloomy, and at length turned to a mist, and the wind blew fresh at E. I therefore, at ten at night, hauled the wind to the southward till daybreak, when we resumed our course to the W. Daylight availed us little, for the weather was so thick that we could not see a hundred yards before us; but as the wind was now moderate, I ventured to run. At half-past four, we were alarmed at hearing the sound of breakers on our larboard bow. On heaving the lead, we found twenty-eight fathoms water, and the next cast twenty-five. I immediately brought the ship to, with her head to the northward, and anchored in this last depth, over a bottom of coarse sand, calling the Discovery, she being close to us, to anchor also.

A few hours after, the fog having cleared away a little, it appeared that we had escaped very imminent danger. We found ourselves three quarters of a mile from the N.E. side of an island, which extended from S. by W. half W. to N. by E. half E., each extreme about a league distant. Two elevated rocks, the one bearing S. by E., and the other E. by S., were about half a league each from us, and about the same distance from each other. There were several breakers about them, and yet Providence had, in the dark, conducted the ships through between these rocks, which I should not have ventured in a clear day, and to such an anchoring-place, that I could not have chosen a better. Finding ourselves so near land, I sent a boat to examine what it produced. In the afternoon she returned, and the officer who commanded her reported, that it produced some tolerably good grass and several other small plants, one of which was like purslane, and ate very well, either in soups or as a salad. There was no appearance of shrubs or trees, but on the beach were a few pieces of drift-wood. It was judged to be low water between ten and eleven o'clock; and we found, where we lay at anchor, that the flood-tide came from the E. or S.E.

In the night, the wind blew fresh at S., but was more moderate toward the morning, and the fog partly dispersed. Having weighed at seven o'clock, we steered to the northward, between the island under which we had anchored, and another small one near it. The channel is not above a mile broad; and before we were through it, the wind failed, and we were obliged to anchor in thirty-four fathoms water. We had now land in every direction; that to the S. extended to the S.W., in a ridge of mountains, but our sight could not determine whether it composed one or more islands. We afterward found it to be only one island, and known by the name of Oonalashka. Between it and the land to the N., which had the appearance of being a group of islands, there seemed to be a channel in the direction of N.W. by N. On a point which bore W. from the ship, three quarters of a mile distant, were several natives and their habitations. To this place we saw them tow in two whales, which we supposed they had just killed. A few of them now and then came off to the ships, and bartered a few trifling things with our people; but never remained above a quarter of an hour at a time. On the contrary, they rather seemed shy, and yet we could judge that they were no strangers to vessels, in some degree, like ours. They behaved with a degree of politeness uncommon to savage tribes. At one o'clock in the afternoon, having a light breeze at N.E., and the tide of flood in our favour, we weighed and steered for the channel above-mentioned, in hopes, after we were through, of finding the land trend away to the northward, or, at least, a passage out to sea to the W. For we supposed ourselves, as it really happened, to be amongst islands, and not in an inlet of the continent. We had not been long under sail before the wind veered to the N., which obliged us to ply. The soundings were from forty to twenty-seven fathoms, over a bottom of sand and mud. In the evening, the ebb making against us, we anchored about three leagues from our last

station, with the passage bearing N.W. At daybreak the next morning, we weighed with a light breeze at S., which carried us up the passage, when it was succeeded by variable light airs from all directions; but as there ran a rapid tide in our favour, the Resolution got through before the ebb made. The Discovery was not so fortunate; she was carried back, got into the race, and had some trouble to get clear of it. As soon as we were through, the land on one side was found to trend W. and S.W., and that on the other side to trend N. This gave us great reason to hope that the continent had there taken a new direction, which was much in our favour. Being in want of water, and perceiving that we ran some risk of driving about in a rapid tide, without wind to govern the ship, I stood for a harbour lying on the south side of the passage; but we were very soon driven past it; and to prevent being forced back through the passage, came to an anchor in twenty-eight fathoms water, pretty near the southern shore, out of the reach of the strong tide; and yet, even here, we found it run full five knots and a half in the hour.

While we lay here, several of the natives came off to us, each in a canoe, and bartered a few fishing implements for tobacco. One of them, a young man, overset his canoe, while alongside one of our boats. Our people caught hold of him; but the canoe went adrift, and being picked up by another, was carried ashore. The youth, by this accident, was obliged to come into the ship, and he went down into my cabin upon the first invitation, without expressing the least reluctance or uneasiness. His dress was an upper garment like a shirt, made of the large gut of some sea animal, probably the whale, and an under garment of the same shape, made of the skins of birds dressed with the feathers on, and neatly sewed together, the feathered side being worn next his skin. It was mended or patched with pieces of silk stuff, and his cap was ornamented with two or three sorts of glass beads. His own clothes being wet, I gave him others, in which he dressed himself with as much ease as I could have done. From his behaviour, and that of some others, we were convinced that these people were no strangers to Europeans, and to some of their customs. But there was something in our ships that greatly excited their curiosity; for such as could not come off in canoes, assembled on the neighbouring hills to look at them.

At low water, having weighed and towed the ship into the harbour, we anchored there in nine fathoms water, over a bottom of sand and mud: the Discovery got in soon after. A launch was now sent for water, and a boat to draw the seine, but we caught only four trout and a few other small fish. Soon after we anchored, a native of the island brought on board such another note as had been given to Captain Clerke. He presented it to me; but it was written in the Russian language, which, as already observed, none of us could read. As it could be of no use to me, and might be of consequence to others, I returned it to the bearer, and dismissed him with a few presents, for which he expressed his thanks, by making several low bows as he retired. In walking next day along the shore, I met with a group of natives of both sexes, seated on the grass at a repast consisting of raw fish, which they seemed to eat with as much relish as we should a turbot, served up with the richest sauce. By the evening we had completed our water, and made such observations as the time and weather would permit. I have taken notice of the rapidity of the tide without the harbour, but it was inconsiderable within. It was low water at noon, and high water at half-past six in the evening; and the water rose, upon a perpendicular, three feet four inches; but there were marks of its sometimes rising a foot higher.

Thick fogs and a contrary wind detained us till the 2d of July, which afforded an opportunity of acquiring some knowledge of the country and of its inhabitants. The result of our observations will be mentioned in another place. At present I shall only describe the harbour. It is called by the natives Samganoodha, and is situated on the north side of Oonalashka, in the latitude of 53° 55′, in the longitude of 193° 30′; and in the strait or passage that separates this island from those that lie to the north of it, and whose position before the harbour shelters it from the winds that blow from that quarter. It runs in S. by W., about four miles, and is about a mile broad at the entrance, narrowing toward the head, where its breadth is not above a quarter of a mile, and where ships can lie land-locked, in seven, six, and four fathoms water. Great plenty of good water may be easily got, but not a single stick of wood of any size.

CHAPTER VIII.—PROGRESS NORTHWARD AFTER LEAVING OONALASHKA.—THE ISLANDS OONELLA AND ACOOTAN.—OONEEMAK.—SHALLOWNESS OF THE WATER ALONG THE COAST.—BRISTOL BAY.—ROUND ISLAND.—CALM POINT.—CAPE NEWENHAM.—LIEUTENANT WILLIAMSON LANDS, AND HIS REPORT.—BRISTOL BAY, AND ITS EXTENT.—THE SHIPS OBLIGED TO RETURN, ON ACCOUNT OF SHOALS.—NATIVES COME OFF TO THE SHIPS.—DEATH OF MR. ANDERSON; HIS CHARACTER; AND ISLAND NAMED AFTER HIM.—POINT RODNEY.—SLEDGE ISLAND, AND REMARKS ON LANDING THERE.—KING'S ISLAND.—CAPE PRINCE OF WALES, THE WESTERN EXTREME OF AMERICA.—COURSE WESTWARD.—ANCHOR IN A BAY ON THE COAST OF ASIA.

HAVING put to sea with a light breeze, at south south-east, we steered to the north, meeting with nothing to obstruct us in this course; for, as I observed before, the island of Oonalashka, on the one side, trended south-west, and on the other no land was to be seen in a direction more northerly than north-east; the whole of which land was a continuation of the same group of islands which we had fallen in with on the 25th of June. That which lies before Samganoodha, and forms the north-east side of the passage through which we came, is called Oonella, and is about seven leagues in circumference. Another island, to the north-east of it, is called Acootan, which is considerably larger than Oonella, and hath in it some very high mountains, which were covered with snow. It appeared, that we might have gone very safely between these two islands and the continent, the south-west point of which opened off the north-east point of Acootan, in the direction of north, 60° east; and which proved to be the same point of land we had seen when we quitted the coast of the continent, on the 25th of June, to go without the islands. It is called by the people of these parts Ooneemak, and lies in the latitude of 54° 30′, and in the longitude of 192° 30′. Over the cape, which, of itself, is high land, is a round elevated mountain, at this time entirely covered with snow.

At six in the evening, this mountain bore east 2° north, and at eight we had no land in sight. Concluding, therefore, that the coast of the continent had now taken a north-easterly direction, I ventured to steer the same course, till one o'clock next morning, when the watch on deck thought they saw land ahead. Upon this we wore, and stood to the south-west for two hours, and then resumed our course to the east north-east. At six o'clock land was seen ahead, bearing south-east, about five leagues distant. As we advanced, we raised more and more land, all connected, and seemingly in the direction of our course. At noon, it extended from south south-west to east; the nearest part five or six leagues distant. Our latitude at this time was 55° 21′, and our longitude 195° 18′. This coast is on the north-west side of the volcano mountain; so that we must have seen it, if the weather had been tolerably clear. At six in the evening, after having run eight leagues upon an east by north course from noon, we sounded, and found forty-eight fathoms over a bottom of black sand. Being at this time four leagues from the land, the eastern part in sight bore east south-east, and appeared as a high round hummock, seemingly detached from the main.

Having continued to steer east north-east all night, at eight in the morning of the 4th the coast was seen from south south-west, and east by south, and at times we could see high land, covered with snow, behind it. Soon after, it fell calm, and being in thirty fathoms water, we put over hooks and lines, and caught a good number of fine cod-fish. At noon, having now a breeze from the east, and the weather being clear, we found ourselves six leagues from the land, which extended from south by west to east by south. The hummock, seen the preceding evening, bore south-west by south, ten leagues distant. Our latitude was now 55° 50′, and our longitude 197° 3′. A great hollow swell from west south-west assured us that there was no main land near in that direction. I stood to the north till six in the afternoon, when the wind having veered to the south-east, enabled us to steer east north-east. The coast lay in this direction, and at noon the next day was about four leagues distant.

On the 6th and 7th, the wind being northerly, we made but little progress. At eight in the evening of the latter, we were in nineteen fathoms water, and about three or four leagues from the coast, which on the 8th extended from south south-west to east by north, and was

all low land, with a ridge of mountains behind it, covered with snow. It is probable that this low coast extends some distance to the south-west, and that such places as we sometimes took for inlets or bays are only valleys between the mountains. On the morning of the 9th, with a breeze at north-west, we steered east by north, to get nearer the coast. At noon, we were in the latitude of 57° 49′, and in the longitude of 201° 33′, and about two leagues from the land, which extended from south by east to east north-east; being all a low coast, with points shooting out in some places, which, from the deck, appeared like islands; but from the mast-head, low land was seen to connect them. In this situation the depth of water was fifteen fathoms, the bottom a fine black sand.

As we had advanced to the north-east, we had found the depth of water gradually decreasing, and the coast trending more and more northerly. But the ridge of mountains behind it continued to lie in the same direction as those more westerly; so that the extent of the low land between the foot of the mountains and the sea-coast insensibly increased. Both high and low grounds were perfectly destitute of wood, but seemed to be covered with green turf, except the mountains, which were covered with snow. Continuing to steer along the coast with a gentle breeze westerly, the water gradually shoaled from fifteen to ten fathoms, though we were at the distance of eight or ten miles from the shore. At eight in the evening, an elevated mountain, which had been in sight for some time, bore south-east by east, twenty-one leagues distant. Some other mountains, belonging to the same chain, and much farther distant, bore east 3° north. The coast extended as far as north-east half north, where it seemed to terminate in a point, beyond which we hoped and expected that it would take a more easterly direction. But soon after, we discovered low land extending from behind this point, as far as north-west by west, where it was lost in the horizon; and behind it was high land, that appeared in detached hills. Thus the fine prospect we had of getting to the north, vanished in a moment. I stood on till nine o'clock, for so long it was light, and then the point above mentioned bore north-east half east, about three miles distant. Behind this point is a river, the entrance of which seemed to be a mile broad; but I can say nothing as to its depth. The water appeared discoloured, as upon shoals; but a calm would have given it the same aspect. It seemed to have a winding direction, through the great flat that lies between the chain of mountains to the south-east and the hills to the north-west. It must abound with salmon, as we saw many leaping in the sea before the entrance; and some were found in the maws of cod which we had caught. The entrance of this river, distinguished by the name of Bristol River, lies in the latitude of 58° 27′, and in the longitude of 201° 55′.

Having spent the night in making short boards, at daybreak on the morning of the 10th we made sail to the west south-west, with a gentle breeze at north-east. At eleven o'clock we thought the coast to the north-west terminated in a point, bearing north-west by west; and as we had now deepened the water from nine to fourteen fathoms, I steered for the point, ordering the Discovery to keep ahead. But before she had run a mile, she made a signal for shoal water. At that instant we had the depth of seven fathoms; and before we could get the ship's head the other way, had less than five; but the Discovery had less than four. We stood back to the north-east, three or four miles; but finding there was a strong tide or current setting to the west south-west, that is, toward the shoal, we anchored in ten fathoms, over a bottom of fine sand. Two hours after we had anchored, the water had fallen two feet and upward, which proved that it was the tide of ebb that came from the river above-mentioned. We also examined some of the water which we had taken up, and found that it was not half so salt as common sea water. This furnished another proof that we were before a large river.

At four in the afternoon, the wind shifting to south-west, we weighed and stood to the southward, with boats ahead sounding, and passed over the south end of the shoal in six fathoms water. We then got into thirteen and fifteen; in which last depth we anchored at half-past eight; some part of the chain of mountains on the south-east shore, in sight, bearing south-east half south; and the westernmost land on the other shore, north-west. We had, in the course of the day, seen high land, bearing north 60° west, by estimation twelve leagues distant. Having weighed next morning, at two o'clock, with a light breeze

at south-west by west, we plied to windward till nine; when judging the flood-tide to be now made against us, we came to an anchor in twenty-four fathoms. We lay here till one, when the fog, which had prevailed this morning, dispersing, and the tide making in our favour, we weighed and plied to the south-west. In the evening the wind was very variable, and we had some thunder. We had heard none before since our arrival upon the coast; and this was at a great distance. The wind having settled again in the south-west quarter in the morning of the 12th, we stood to the north-west, and at ten saw the continent. At noon it extended from north-east by north, to north north-west, a quarter west; and an elevated hill bore north north-west, ten leagues distant. This proved to be an island, which from its figure obtained the name of Round Island. It lies in the latitude of 58° 37′, and in the longitude of 200° 6′, and seven miles from the continent. In the evening, at nine, having stood to the northward to within three leagues of the shore, we tacked in fourteen fathoms water, the extremities of the coast bearing east south-east half east and west. The wind veering to the north-west enabled us to make a good stretch along-shore, till two o'clock in the morning, when we got all at once into six fathoms water, being at this time two leagues from the shore. After edging off a little, our depth gradually increased, and at noon we had twenty fathoms, when the latitude was 58° 13′, and the longitude 199°. Round Island bore north, 5° east; and the west extreme of the coast north, 16° west, seven leagues distant. It is an elevated point, which obtained the name of Calm Point, from our having calm weather when off it. To the north-west of Round Island are two or three hillocks, that appeared like islands; and it is possible they may be such; for we had but a distant view of the coast in this place.

During the 14th and 15th, our progress was slow, having little wind, and sometimes so thick a fog, that we could not see the length of the ship. The soundings were from fourteen to twenty-six fathoms; and we had tolerable success in fishing, catching cod, and now and then a few flat fish. At five in the morning of the 16th, the fog having cleared up, we found ourselves nearer the land than we expected. Calm Point bore north, 72° east, and a point eight leagues from it, in the direction of west, bore north, 3° east, three miles distant. Between these two points, the coast forms a bay, in some parts of which the land was hardly visible from the mast-head. There is also a bay on the north-west side of this last point, between it and an elevated promontory, which, at this time, bore north, 36° west, sixteen miles distant. At nine, I sent Lieutenant Williamson to this promontory, with orders to land, and see what direction the coast took beyond it, and what the country produced, for from the ships it had but a barren appearance. We found here the flood-tide setting strongly to the north-west along the coast. At noon it was high-water, and we anchored in twenty-four fathoms, four leagues distant from the shore. At five in the afternoon, the tide making in our favour, we weighed, and drove with it; for there was no wind.

Soon after, Mr. Williamson returned, and reported that he had landed on the point, and having climbed the highest hill, found that the farthest part of the coast in sight bore nearly north. He took possession of the country in his Majesty's name, and left on the hill a bottle, in which were inscribed, on a piece of paper, the names of the ships, and the date of the discovery. The promontory, to which he gave the name of Cape Newenham, is a rocky point of tolerable height, situated in the latitude of 58° 42′, and in the longitude of 197° 36′. Over, or within it, are two elevated hills, rising one behind the other. The innermost, or easternmost, is the highest. The country, as far as Mr. Williamson could see, produces neither tree nor shrub; the hills are naked; but on the lower grounds grew grass and other plants, very few of which were in flower. He saw no other animal but a doe and her fawn, and a dead sea-horse, or cow, upon the beach. Of these animals we had lately seen a great many. As the coast takes a northerly direction from Cape Newenham, that Cape fixes the northern limit of the great bay and gulf, lying before the river Bristol, which, in honour of the admiral Earl of Bristol, was named Bristol Bay. Cape Ooneemak is the south limit of this bay, and is distant eighty-two leagues from Cape Newenham, in the direction of south south-west.

About eight in the evening, a light breeze springing up, which fixed at S. S. E., we steered

N. W., and N. N. W., round Cape Newenham, which at noon next day bore S. by E., distant four leagues. At this time the most advanced land to the northward bore N., 30° E.; our depth of water was seventeen fathoms; and the nearest shore 3½ leagues distant. We had but little wind all the afternoon; so that, at ten at night, we had only made three leagues upon a north course. We steered N. by W. till eight the next morning, when, our depth of water decreasing suddenly to five and seven fathoms, we brought to, till a boat from each ship was sent ahead to sound, and then steered north-east after them; and at noon we had deepened the water to seventeen fathoms. At this time Cape Newenham bore S. 9° E., distant eleven or twelve leagues, the north-east extreme of the land in sight N. 66' E., and the nearest shore about four or five leagues distant. Our latitude, by observation, was 59° 16′.

Between this latitude and Cape Newenham the coast is composed of hills and low land, and appeared to form several bays. A little before one o'clock the boats ahead made the signal for meeting with shoal water. It seems they had only two fathoms, and at the same time the ships were in six fathoms. By hauling a little more to the northward, we continued in much the same depth till between five and six o'clock, when the boats meeting with less and less water, I made the signal to the Discovery, she being then ahead, to anchor, which we did soon after. In bringing our ship up, the cable parted at the clinch, which obliged us to come-to with the other anchor. We rode in six fathoms water, a sandy bottom, and about four or five leagues from the main land; Cape Newenham bearing south, seventeen leagues distant. The farthest hills we could see to the north, bore N. E. by E.; but there was low land stretching out from the high land, as far as north by east. Without this was a shoal of sand and stones, that was dry at half ebb.

I had sent the two masters, each in a boat, to sound between this shoal and the coast. On their return, they reported that there was a channel in which they found six and seven fathoms water; but that it was narrow and intricate. At low water we made an attempt to get a hawser round the lost anchor, but did not succeed then. However, being determined not to leave it behind me as long as there was a probability of recovering it, I persevered in my endeavours, and at last succeeded in the evening of the 20th. While we were thus employed, I ordered Captain Clerke to send his master in a boat to look for a passage in the south-west quarter. He did so; but no channel was to be found in that direction; nor did there appear to be any way to get clear of these shoals, but to return by the track which had brought us in. For, although by following the channel we were in, we might probably have got farther down the coast, and though possibly this channel might have led us at last to the north, clear of the shoals, still the attempt would have been attended with vast risk; and if we should not have succeeded, there would have been a considerable loss of time that could ill be spared. These reasons induced me to return by the way in which we came, and so get without the shoals.

A number of lunar observations made by Mr. King and myself, on this and the four preceding days, and all reduced to the ship's present station, gave the longitude		197°	45′	48″
By the time-keeper it was		197	26	48
Our latitude was		59	37	30
Variation by the mean of three compasses	A.M. 23° 34′ 3″			
	P.M. 22 19 40	mean 22° 56′ 51″ east.		

The northernmost part of the coast that we could see from this station I judged to lie in the latitude of 60°. It seemed to form a low point, which obtained the name of Shoal Ness. The tide of flood sets to the north, and the ebb to the south. It rises and falls, upon a perpendicular, five or six feet; and I reckon it to be high water, on the full and change days, at eight o'clock.

Having weighed at three in the morning on the 21st, with a light breeze at N. N. W., we steered back to the southward, having three boats ahead to direct us. But, notwithstanding this precaution, we found more difficulty in returning than we had in advancing; and at last were obliged to anchor, to avoid running upon a shoal, which had only a depth of five feet. While we lay here, twenty-seven men of the country, each in a canoe, came off to the ships, which they approached with great caution; hollowing and opening their arms

as they advanced. This we understood was to express their pacific intentions. At length some approached near enough to receive a few trifles that were thrown to them: this encouraged the rest to venture alongside; and a traffic presently commenced between them and our people, who got dresses of skins, bows, arrows, darts, wooden vessels, &c.; our visitors taking in exchange for these whatever was offered them. They seemed to be the same sort of people that we had of late met with all along this coast; wore the same kind of ornaments in their lips and noses; but were far more dirty, and not so well clothed. They appeared to be wholly unacquainted with people like us: they knew not the use of tobacco; nor was any foreign article seen in their possession, unless a knife may be looked upon as such. This, indeed, was only a piece of common iron fitted in a wooden handle, so as to answer the purpose of a knife. They, however, knew the value and use of this instrument so well, that it seemed to be the only article they wished for. Most of them had their hair shaved, or cut short off, leaving only a few locks behind, or on one side. For a covering for the head they wore a hood of skins, and a bonnet which appeared to be of wood. One part of their dress, which we got from them, was a kind of girdle, very neatly made of skin, with trappings depending from it, and passing between the legs, so as to conceal the adjoining parts. By the use of such a girdle, it should seem that they sometimes go naked, even in this high latitude; for they hardly wear it under their other clothing. The canoes were made of skins, like all the others we had lately seen; only with this difference, that these were broader, and the hole in which the man sits was wider than in any I had before met with. Our boats returning from sounding seemed to alarm them; so that they all left us sooner than probably they would otherwise have done.

It was the 22nd, in the evening, before we got clear of these shoals, and then I durst not venture to steer to the westward in the night, but spent it off Cape Newenham, and at daybreak next morning steered to the north-west, ordering the Discovery to lead. Before we had run two leagues, our depth of water decreased to six fathoms. Fearing, if we continued this course, that we should find less and less water, I hauled to the southward, the wind being at east, a fresh breeze. This course brought us gradually into eighteen fathoms; and having that depth, I ventured to steer a little westerly, and afterward west, when we at last found twenty-six fathoms water. On the 24th at noon we were, by observation, in the latitude of 58° 7′, and in the longitude of 194° 22. Three leagues to the westward of this station we had twenty-eight fathoms water, and then steered west north-west, the water gradually deepening to thirty-four fathoms. I would have steered more northerly, but the wind having veered in that direction, I could not. The 25th in the evening, having a very thick fog, and but little wind, we dropped anchor in thirty fathoms water. Our latitude was now 58° 29′, and our longitude 191½° 27′. At six the next morning the weather clearing up a little, we weighed, and, with a small breeze at east, steered north; our soundings being from twenty-eight to twenty-five fathoms. After running nine leagues upon this course, the wind returned back to the north, which obliged us to steer more westerly.

The weather continued, for the most part, foggy, till toward noon on the 28th, when we had a few hours' clear sunshine; during which we made several lunar observations. The mean result of them, reduced to noon, when the latitude was 59° 55′, gave 190° 6′ longitude; and the time-keeper gave 189° 59′. The variation of the compass was 18° 40′ east. Continuing our westerly course, the water having now deepened to thirty-six fathoms, at four o'clock next morning we discovered land, bearing north-west by west, six leagues distant. We stood toward it till half-past ten, when we tacked in twenty-four fathoms water; being at this time a league from the land, which bore north north-west. It was the south-east extremity, and formed a perpendicular cliff of considerable height; on which account it was called Point Upright, and lies in the latitude of 60° 17′, and in the longitude of 187° 30′. More land was seen to the westward of the point; and, at a clear interval, we saw another elevated portion of land in the direction of west by south; and this seemed to be entirely separated from the other. Here we met with an incredible number of birds, all as the hawk kind before described. We had baffling light winds all the afternoon, so that we made but little progress; and the weather was not clear enough to enable us to determine the extent of the land before us. We supposed it to be one of the many islands laid down by

Mr. Stæhlin in his map of the New Northern Archipelago; and we expected every moment to see more of them.

At four in the afternoon of the 30th, Point Upright bore north-west by north, six leagues distant. About this time a light breeze springing up at north north-west, we stood to the north-east till four o'clock next morning, when the wind veering to the eastward, we tacked and steered to the north-west. Soon after the wind came to the south-east, and we steered north-east by north; which course we continued, with soundings from thirty-five to twenty fathoms, till next day at noon. At this time we were in the latitude of 60° 58′, and in the longitude of 191°. The wind now veering to north-east, I first made a stretch of ten leagues to the north-west; and then, seeing no land in that direction, I stood back to the eastward about fifteen leagues, and met with nothing but pieces of drift-wood. The soundings were from twenty-two to nineteen fathoms. Variable light winds, with showers of rain, prevailed all the 2nd; but fixing in the south-east quarter, in the morning of the 3rd, we resumed our course to the northward. At noon we were, by observation, in the latitude of 62° 34′; our longitude was 192°, and our depth of water sixteen fathoms.

Mr. Anderson, my surgeon, who had been lingering under a consumption for more than twelve months, expired between three and four this afternoon. He was a sensible young man, and an agreeable companion, well skilled in his own profession, and had acquired considerable knowledge of other branches of science. The reader of this Journal will have observed how useful an assistant I had found him in the course of the voyage; and had it pleased God to have spared his life, the public, I make no doubt, might have received from him such communications, on various parts of the natural history of the several places we visited, as would have abundantly shown that he was not unworthy of this commendation*. Soon after he had breathed his last, land was seen to the westward, twelve leagues distant. It was supposed to be an island; and, to perpetuate the memory of the deceased, for whom I had a very great regard, I named it Anderson's Island. The next day I removed Mr. Law, the surgeon of the Discovery, into the Resolution, and appointed Mr. Samuel, the surgeon's first mate of the Resolution, to be surgeon of the Discovery.

On the 4th, at three in the afternoon, land was seen extending from north north-east to north-west. We stood on toward it till four o'clock, when, being four or five miles from it, we tacked; and soon after, the wind falling, we anchored in thirteen fathoms water, over a sandy bottom, being about two leagues from the land, and, by our reckoning, in the latitude of 64° 27′, and in the longitude of 194° 18′. At intervals we could see the coast extending from east to north-west, and a pretty high island, bearing west by north, three leagues distant. The land before us, which we supposed to be the continent of America, appeared low next the sea; but inland it swelled into hills, which rise one behind another to a considerable height. It had a greenish hue, but seemed destitute of wood, and free from snow. While we lay at anchor, we found that the flood-tide came from the east and set to the west, till between ten and eleven o'clock. From that time till two the next morning the stream set to the eastward, and the water fell three feet. The flood ran both stronger and longer than the ebb; from which I concluded, that, besides the tide, there was a westerly current.

At ten in the morning of the 5th, with the wind at south-west, we ran down and anchored between the island and the continent, in seven fathoms water. Soon after, I landed upon the island, and, accompanied by Mr. King and some others of the officers, I hoped to have had from it a view of the coast and sea to the westward; but the fog was so thick in that direction, that the prospect was not more extensive than from the ship. The coast of the continent seemed to take a turn to the northward, at a low point named Point Rodney, which bore from the island north-west half west, three or four leagues distant; but the high land, which took a more northerly direction, was seen a great way farther. This island, which was named Sledge Island, and lies in the latitude of 64° 30′, and in the longitude of 193° 57′, is about four leagues in circuit. The surface of the ground is composed chiefly of large loose stones, that are in many places covered with moss and other vegetables, of

* Mr. Anderson's Journal seems to have been discontinued for about two months before his death; the last date in his MS. being of the 3rd of June.

which there were above twenty or thirty different sorts, and most of them in flower. But I saw neither shrub nor tree, either upon the island or on the continent. On a small low spot near the beach where we landed, was a good deal of wild purslane, peas, long-wort, &c.; some of which we took on board for the pot. We saw one fox, a few plovers and some other small birds; and we met with some decayed huts that were partly built below ground. People had lately been on the island; and it is pretty clear that they frequently visit it for some purpose or other. We found, a little way from the shore where we landed, a sledge, which occasioned this name being given to the island. It seemed to be such a one as the Russians in Kamtschatka make use of to convey goods from place to place, over the ice or snow. It was ten feet long, twenty inches broad, and had a kind of rail-work on each side, and was shod with bone. The construction of it was admirable, and all the parts neatly put together; some with wooden pins, but mostly with thongs or lashings of whale-bone, which made me think it was entirely the workmanship of the natives.

At three o'clock the next morning we weighed, and proceeded to the north-westward, with a light southerly breeze. We had an opportunity to observe the sun's meridian altitude for the latitude; and to get altitude, both in the forenoon and afternoon, to obtain the longitude by the time-keeper. As we had but little wind, and variable withal, we advanced but slowly; and, at eight in the evening, finding the ships settle fast toward the land into shoal water, I anchored in seven fathoms, about two leagues from the coast. Sledge Island bore south, 51° east, ten leagues distant; and was seen over the south point of the main land. Soon after we had anchored, the weather, which had been misty, clearing up, we saw high land extending from north, 40° east, to north, 30° west, apparently disjoined from the coast, under which we were at anchor, and seemed to trend away north-east. At the same time an island was seen bearing north 81° west, eight or nine leagues distant. It appeared to have no great extent, and was named King's Island. We rode here till eight o'clock next morning, when we weighed, and stood to the north-west. The weather clearing up toward the evening, we got sight of the north-west land, extending from north by west, to north-west by north, distant about three leagues. We spent the night making short boards, the weather being misty and rainy, with little wind; and between four and five in the morning of the 8th, we had again a sight of the north-west land; and, soon after, on account of a calm, and a current driving us toward the shore, we found it necessary to anchor in twelve fathoms water, about two miles from the coast. Over the western extreme is an elevated peaked hill, situated in latitude 65° 36′, and in longitude 192° 18′. A breeze at north-east springing up at eight o'clock, we weighed, and stood to the south-east, in hopes of finding a passage between the coast on which we had anchored on the 6th in the evening, and this north-west land; but we soon got into seven fathoms water, and discovered low land connecting the two coasts, and the high land behind it. Being now satisfied that the whole was a continued coast, I tacked, and stood away for its north-west part, and came to an anchor under it in seventeen fathoms water. The weather, at this time, was very thick with rain; but, at four next morning, it cleared up, so that we could see the land about us. A high steep rock or island bore west by south; another island to the north of it, and much larger, bore west by north; the peaked hill above mentioned, south-east by east; and the point under it, south, 32° east. Under this hill lies some low land, stretching out toward the north-west, the extreme point of which bore north-east by east, about three miles distant. Over, and beyond it, some high land was seen, supposed to be a continuation of the continent. This point of land, which I named Cape Prince of Wales, is the more remarkable, by being the western extremity of all America hitherto known. It is situated in the latitude of 65° 46′, and in the longitude of 191° 45′. The observations by which both were determined, though made in sight of it, were liable to some small error, on account of the haziness of the weather. We thought we saw some people upon the coast; and probably we were not mistaken, as some elevations, like stages, and others, like huts, were seen at the same place. We saw the same things on the continent within Sledge Island, and on some other parts of the coast.

It was calm till eight o'clock in the morning, when a faint breeze at north springing up,

we weighed; but we had scarcely got our sails set, when it began to blow and rain very hard, with misty weather. The wind and current, being in contrary directions, raised such a sea, that it frequently broke into the ship. We had a few minutes' sunshine at noon; and from the observations then obtained, we fixed the above-mentioned latitude. Having plied to windward till two in the afternoon, with little effect, I bore up for the island we had seen to the westward, proposing to come to an anchor under it till the gale should cease. But on getting to this land, we found it composed of two small islands each not above three or four leagues in circuit; and consequently they could afford us little shelter. Instead of anchoring, therefore, we continued to stretch to the westward; and at eight o'clock, land was seen in that direction, extending from north north-west, to west by south, the nearest part six leagues distant. I stood on till ten, and then made a board to the eastward, in order to spend the night.

At daybreak in the morning of the 10th, we resumed our course to the west for the land we had seen the preceding evening. At eleven minutes after seven, when the longitude by the time-keeper was 189° 24′, it extended from south, 72° west, to north, 41° east. Between the south-west extreme, and a point which bore west, two leagues distant, the shore forms a large bay, in which we anchored at ten o'clock in the forenoon, about two miles from the north shore, in ten fathoms water, over a gravelly bottom. The south point of the bay bore south, 58° west; the north point north, 43° east; the bottom of the bay north, 60° west, two or three leagues distant; and the two islands we had passed the preceding day, north, 72° east, distant fourteen leagues.

CHAPTER IX.—BEHAVIOUR OF THE NATIVES, THE TSCHUTSKI, ON SEEING THE SHIPS.—INTERVIEW WITH SOME OF THEM.—THEIR WEAPONS.—PERSONS.—ORNAMENTS.—CLOTHING.—WINTER AND SUMMER HABITATIONS.—THE SHIPS CROSS THE STRAIT, TO THE COAST OF AMERICA.—PROGRESS NORTHWARD.—CAPE MULGRAVE.—APPEARANCE OF FIELDS OF ICE.—SITUATION OF ICY CAPE.—THE SEA BLOCKED UP WITH ICE.—SEA-HORSES KILLED, AND USED AS PROVISIONS.—THESE ANIMALS DESCRIBED.—DIMENSIONS OF ONE OF THEM.—CAPE LISBURNE.—FRUITLESS ATTEMPTS TO GET THROUGH THE ICE AT A DISTANCE FROM THE COAST.—OBSERVATIONS ON THE FORMATION OF THIS ICE.—ARRIVAL ON THE COAST OF ASIA.—CAPE NORTH.—THE PROSECUTION OF THE VOYAGE DEFERRED TO THE ENSUING YEAR.

As we were standing into this bay, we perceived on the north shore a village, and some people, whom the sight of the ships seemed to have thrown into confusion or fear. We could plainly see persons running up the country with burdens upon their backs. At these habitations, I proposed to land; and accordingly went with three armed boats, accompanied by some of the officers. About thirty or forty men, each armed with a spontoon, a bow, and arrows, stood drawn up on a rising ground close by the village. As we drew near, three of them came down toward the shore, and were so polite as to take off their caps, and to make us low bows. We returned the civility: but this did not inspire them with sufficient confidence to wait for our landing; for the moment we put the boats ashore, they retired. I followed them alone without anything in my hand; and by signs and gestures prevailed on them to stop, and receive some trifling presents. In return for these, they gave me two fox-skins, and a couple of sea-horse teeth. I cannot say whether they or I made the first present; for it appeared to me, that they had brought down with them these things for this very purpose; and that they would have given them to me, even though I had made no return. They seemed very fearful and cautious; expressing their desire by signs that no more of our people should be permitted to come up. On my laying my hand on the shoulder of one of them, he started back several paces. In proportion as I advanced, they retreated backward; always in the attitude of being ready to make use of their spears; while those on the rising ground stood ready to support them with their arrows. Insensibly, myself, and two or three of my companions, got in amongst them. A few beads, distributed to those about us, soon created a kind of confidence; so that

they were not alarmed when a few more of our people joined us; and, by degrees, a sort of traffic between us commenced. In exchange for knives, beads, tobacco, and other articles, they gave us some of their clothing, and a few arrows. But nothing that we had to offer could induce them to part with a spear, or a bow. These they had in constant readiness, never once quitting them, except at one time, when four or five persons laid theirs down, while they gave us a song and a dance. And even then, they placed them in such a manner, that they could lay hold of them in an instant; and for their security, they desired us to sit down.

The arrows were pointed either with bone or stone, but very few of them had barbs; and some had a round blunt point. What use these may be applied to I cannot say; unless it be to kill small animals without damaging the skin. The bows were such as we had seen on the American coast, and like those used by the Esquimaux. The spears, or spontoons, were of iron or steel, and of European or Asiatic workmanship; in which no little pains had been taken to ornament them with carving, and inlayings of brass and of a white metal. Those who stood ready with bows and arrows in their hands, had a spear slung over their shoulder by a leathern strap. A leathern quiver, slung over their left shoulder, contained arrows; and some of these quivers were extremely beautiful; being made of red leather, on which was very neat embroidery, and other ornaments. Several other things, and in particular their clothing, showed that they were possessed of a degree of ingenuity, far surpassing what one could expect to find amongst so northern a people. All the Americans we had seen since our arrival on that coast, were rather low of stature, with round, chubby faces, and high cheek-bones. The people we now were amongst, far from resembling them, had long visages, and were stout and well made. In short, they appeared to be a quite different nation. We saw neither women nor children of either sex; nor any aged, except one man, who was bald-headed; and he was the only one who carried no arms. The others seemed to be picked men, and rather under than above the middle age. The old man had a black mark across his face, which I did not see in any others. All of them had their ears bored; and some had glass beads hanging to them. These were the only fixed ornaments we saw about them; for they wear none to their lips. This is another thing in which they differ from the Americans we had lately seen.

THE TSCHUTSKI.

Their clothing consisted of a cap, a frock, a pair of breeches, a pair of boots, and a pair of gloves, all made of leather, or the skins of deer, dogs, seals, &c., and extremely well dressed; some with the hair or fur on, but others without it. The caps were made to fit the head

very close; and besides these caps, which most of them wore, we got from them some hoods, made of the skins of dogs, that were large enough to cover both head and shoulders. Their hair seemed to be black; but their heads were either shaved, or the hair cut close off; and none of them wore any beard. Of the few articles which they got from us, knives and tobacco were what they valued most.

We found the village composed both of their summer and their winter habitations. The latter are exactly like a vault, the floor of which is sunk a little below the surface of the earth. One of them which I examined was of an oval form, about twenty feet long, and twelve or more high. The framing was composed of wood, and the ribs of whales, disposed in a judicious manner, and bound together with smaller materials of the same sort. Over this framing is laid a covering of strong coarse grass; and that again is covered with earth; so that, on the outside, the house looks like a little hillock, supported by a wall of stone, three or four feet high, which is built round the two sides, and one end. At the other end the earth is raised sloping, to walk up to the entrance, which is by a hole in the top of the roof over that end. The floor was boarded, and under it a kind of cellar, in which I saw nothing but water. And at the end of each house was a vaulted room, which I took to be a store-room. These store-rooms communicated with the house by a dark passage; and with the open air, by a hole in the roof, which was even with the ground one walked upon; but they cannot be said to be wholly under ground; for one end reached to the edge of the hill, along which they were made, and which was built up with stone. Over it stood a kind of sentry-box, or tower, composed of the large bones of large fish. The summer huts were pretty large and circular, being brought to a point at the top. The framing was of slight poles and bones, covered with the skins of sea-animals. I examined the inside of one. There was a fire-place just within the door, where lay a few wooden vessels, all very dirty. Their bed-places were close to the side, and took up about half the circuit. Some privacy seemed to be observed; for there were several partitions made with skins. The bed and bedding were of deer-skins; and most of them were dry and clean. About the habitations were erected several stages, ten or twelve feet high; such as we had observed on some parts of the American coast. They were wholly composed of bones; and seemed intended for drying their fish and skins, which were thus placed beyond the reach of their dogs, of which they had a great many. These dogs are of the fox kind, rather large, and of different colours, with long soft hair like wool. They are, probably, used in drawing their sledges in winter. For sledges they have, as I saw a good many laid up in one of the winter huts. It is also not improbable that dogs may constitute a part of their food. Several lay dead that had been killed that morning.

The canoes of these people are of the same sort with those of the northern Americans; some, both of the large and of the small ones, being seen lying in a creek under the village. By the large fish-bones, and of their sea-animals, it appeared that the sea supplied them with the greatest part of their subsistence. The country appeared to be exceedingly barren; yielding neither tree nor shrub, that we could see. At some distance westward, we observed a ridge of mountains covered with snow that had lately fallen.

At first we supposed this land to be a part of the island of Alaschka, laid down in Mr. Stæhlin's map, before mentioned. But from the figure of the coast, the situation of the opposite shore of America, and from the longitude, we soon began to think that it was, more probably, the country of the Tschutski, or the eastern extremity of Asia, explored by Beering in 1728. But to have admitted this without farther examination, I must have pronounced Mr. Stæhlin's map, and his account of the New Northern Archipelago, to be either exceeding erroneous, even in latitude, or else to be a mere fiction: a judgment which I had no right to pass upon a publication so respectably vouched, without producing the clearest proofs.

After a stay of between two and three hours with these people, we returned to our ships; and soon after, the wind veering to the south, we weighed anchor, stood out of the bay, and steered to the north-east, between the coast and the two islands. The next day, at noon, the former extended from S. 80° W., to N. 84° W.; the latter bore 43° W.; and the peaked mountain, over Cape Prince of Wales, bore S. 36° E.; with land extending from it as far as S. 75° E. The latitude of the ship was 66° 5¼′; the longitude 191° 19′; our depth of water

twenty-eight fathoms; and our position nearly in the middle of the channel between the two coasts, each being seven leagues distant. From this station we steered east, in order to get nearer the American coast. In this course the water shoaled gradually, and there being little wind, and all our endeavours to increase our depth failing, I was obliged at last to drop anchor in six fathoms; the only remedy we had left to prevent the ships driving into less. The nearest part of the western land bore W., twelve leagues distant; the peaked hill over Cape Prince of Wales, S. 16° W.; and the northernmost part of the American continent in sight E. S. E., the nearest part about four leagues distant. After we had anchored, I sent a boat to sound, and the water was found to shoal gradually toward the land. While we lay at anchor, which was from six to nine in the evening, we found little or no current; nor could we perceive that the water either rose or fell.

A breeze of wind springing up north, we weighed and stood to the westward, which course soon brought us into deep water; and, during the 12th, we plied to the north, both coasts being in sight; but we kept nearest to that of America. At four in the afternoon of the 13th, a breeze springing up at south, I steered N. E. by N., till four o'clock next morning, when, seeing no land, we directed our course E. by N.; and between nine and ten, land, supposed to be a continuation of the continent, appeared. It extended from east by south to 14
east by north; and, soon after, we saw more land, bearing N. by E. Coming pretty suddenly into thirteen fathoms water, at two in the afternoon we made a trip off till four, when we stood in again for the land; which was seen, soon after, extending from north to south-east; the nearest part three or four leagues distant. The coast here forms a point, named Point Mulgrave, which lies in the latitude of 67° 45′; and in the longitude of 194° 51′. The land appeared very low next the sea; but, a little back, it rises into hills of a moderate height. The whole was free from snow; and to appearance destitute of wood. I now tacked, and bore away N. W. by W.; but soon after, thick weather with rain coming on, and the wind increasing, I hauled more to the west.

Next morning, at two o'clock, the wind veered to S. W. by S., and blew a strong gale, 15
which abated at noon; and the sun shining out, we found ourselves, by observation, in the latitude of 68° 18′. I now steered N. E. till six o'clock the next morning, when I steered two points more easterly. In this run we met with several sea-horses, and flights of birds; some like land-larks, and others seen no bigger than hedge-sparrows. Some shags were also seen; so that we judged ourselves to be not far from the land. But as we had a thick fog, we could not expect to see any; and as the wind blew strong, it was not prudent to continue a course which was most likely to bring us to it. From the noon of this day to six o'clock in the morning of the following, I steered E. by N.; which course brought us into sixteen 16
fathoms water. I now steered N. E. by E., thinking by this course to deepen our water. But, in the space of six leagues, it shoaled to eleven fathoms; which made me think it proper to haul close to the wind, that now blew at west. Toward noon, both sun and moon were seen clearly at intervals, and we got some flying observations for the longitude; which, reduced to noon, when the latitude was 70° 33′, gave 197° 41′. The time-keeper, for the same time, gave 198°; and the variation was 35° 1′ 22″ E. We had afterward reason to believe that the observed longitude was within a very few miles of the truth.

Some time before noon we perceived a brightness in the northern horizon, like that reflected from ice, commonly called the blink. It was little noticed, from a supposition that it was improbable we should meet with ice so soon. And yet the sharpness of the air, and gloomi- 17
ness of the weather, for two or three days past, seemed to indicate some sudden change. About an hour after, the sight of a large field of ice left us no longer in doubt about the cause of the brightness of the horizon. At half past two, we tacked, close to the edge of the ice, in twenty-two fathoms water, being then in the latitude of 70° 41′; not being able to stand on any farther. For the ice was quite impenetrable, and extended from west by south to east by north, as far as the eye could reach. Here were abundance of sea-horses; some in the water, but far more upon the ice. I had the thoughts of hoisting out the boats to kill some; but the wind freshening, I gave up the design, and continued to ply to the southward, or rather to the westward; for the wind came from that quarter. We gained nothing; for on the 18th at noon our latitude was 70° 44′; and we were near five leagues farther to the

eastward. We were, at this time, close to the edge of the ice, which was as compact as a wall, and seemed to be ten or twelve feet high at least. But farther north, it appeared much higher. Its surface was extremely rugged, and here and there we saw upon it pools of water.

We now stood to the southward, and, after running six leagues, shoaled the water to seven fathoms; but it soon deepened to nine fathoms. At this time the weather, which had been hazy, clearing up a little, we saw land extending from south to south-east by east, about three or four miles distant. The eastern extreme forms a point, which was much encumbered with ice; for which reason it obtained the name of Icy Cape. Its latitude is 79° 29′, and its longitude 198° 20′. The other extreme of the land was lost in the horizon; so that there can be no doubt of its being a continuation of the American continent. The Discovery being about a mile astern, and to leeward, found less water than we did, and tacking on that account, I was obliged to tack also, to prevent separation. Our situation was now more and more critical. We were in shoal water upon a lee shore; and the main body of the ice to windward, driving down upon us. It was evident that if we remained much longer between it and the land, it would force us ashore, unless it should happen to take the ground before us. It seemed nearly to join the land to leeward; and the only direction that was open was to the south-west. After making a short board to the northward, I made the signal for the Discovery to tack, and tacked myself at the same time. The wind proved rather favourable, so that we lay up south-west, and south-west by west.

At eight in the morning of the 19th, the wind veering back to west, I tacked to the northward; and at noon the latitude was 70° 6′, and the longitude 196° 42′. In this situation we had a good deal of drift-ice about us; and the main ice was about two leagues to the north. At half past one we got in with the edge of it. It was not so compact as that which we had seen to the northward; but it was too close, and in too large pieces, to attempt forcing the ships through it. On the ice lay a prodigious number of sea-horses; and as we were in want of fresh provisions, the boats from each ship were sent to get some. By seven o'clock in the evening, we had received on board the Resolution nine of these animals, which, till now, we had supposed to be sea-cows, so that we were not a little disappointed, especially some of the seamen, who, for the novelty of the thing, had been feasting their eyes for some days past. Nor would they have been disappointed now, nor have known the difference, if we had not happened to have one or two on board, who had been in Greenland, and declared what animals these were, and that no one ever ate of them. But notwithstanding this, we lived upon them as long as they lasted; and there were few on board who did not prefer them to our salt meat.

The fat at first is as sweet as marrow; but in a few days it grows rancid, unless it be salted, in which state it will keep much longer. The lean flesh is coarse, black, and has rather a strong taste, and the heart is nearly as well tasted as that of a bullock. The fat when melted yields a good deal of oil, which burns very well in lamps, and their hides, which are very thick, were very useful about our rigging. The teeth, or tusks, of most of them were at this time very small, even some of the largest and oldest of these animals had them not exceeding six inches in length. From this we concluded that they had lately shed their old teeth. They lie in herds of many hundreds upon the ice, huddling one over the other like swine, and roar or bray very loud; so that in the night, or in foggy weather, they gave us notice of the vicinity of the ice, before we could see it. We never found the whole herd asleep, some being always upon the watch. These, on the approach of the boat, would wake those next to them, and the alarm being thus gradually communicated, the whole herd would be awake presently. But they were seldom in a hurry to get away, till after they had been once fired at. Then they would tumble one over the other into the sea, in the utmost confusion. And if we did not, at the first discharge, kill those we fired at, we generally lost them, though mortally wounded. They did not appear to us to be that dangerous animal some authors have described, not even when attacked. They are rather more so to appearance than in reality. Vast numbers of them would follow, and come close up to the boats; but the flash of a musket in the pan, or even the bare pointing of one

at them, would send them down in an instant. The female will defend the young one to the very last, and at the expense of her own life, whether in the water or upon the ice. Nor will the young one quit the dam, though she be dead, so that, if you kill one, you are sure of the other. The dam, when in the water, holds the young one between her fore-fins.

Mr. Pennant, in his "Synopsis Quadr.," p. 335, has given a very good description of this animal, under the name of Arctic Walrus; but I have nowhere seen a good drawing of one. Why they should be called sea-horses is hard to say, unless the word be a corruption of the Russian name Morse; for they have not the least resemblance of a horse. This is, without doubt, the same animal that is found in the Gulf of St. Laurence, and there called sea-cow. It is certainly more like a cow than a horse, but this likeness consists in nothing but the snout. In short, it is an animal like a seal, but incomparably larger. The dimensions and weight of one, which was none of the largest, were as follow:

		Ft.	In.
Length from the snout to the tail		9	4
Length of the neck, from the snout to the shoulder-bone		2	6
Height of the shoulder		5	0
Length of the fins.	Fore	2	4
	Hind	2	6
Breadth of the fins.	Fore	1	2½
	Hind	2	0
Snout.	Breadth	0	5½
	Depth	1	3
Circumference of the neck close to the ears		2	7
Circumference of the body at the shoulder		7	10
Circumference near the hind fins		5	6
From the snout to the eyes		0	7
Weight of the carcase, without the head, skin, or entrails	354 lbs.		
Head	41½		
Skin	205		

I could not find out what these animals feed upon. There was nothing in the maws of those we killed*.

It is worth observing, that, for some days before this date, we had frequently seen flocks of ducks flying to the southward. They were of two sorts, the one much larger than the other. The largest were of a brown colour; and, of the small sort, either the duck or drake was black and white, and the other brown. Some said they saw geese also. Does not this indicate that there must be land to the north, where these birds find shelter in the proper season, to breed, and from whence they were now returning to a warmer climate?

By the time we had got our sea-horses on board we were, in a manner, surrounded with the ice, and had no way left to clear it but by standing to the southward, which was done till three o'clock next morning, with a gentle breeze westerly, and for the most part thick, foggy, weather. The soundings were from twelve to fifteen fathoms. We then tacked and stood to the N. till ten o'clock, when the wind veering to the northward, we directed our course to the W.S.W. and W. At two in the afternoon we fell in with the main ice, along the edge of which we kept, being partly directed by the roaring of the sea-horses; for we had a very thick fog. Thus we continued sailing till near midnight, when we got in amongst the loose ice, and heard the surge of the sea upon the main ice.

The fog being very thick, and the wind easterly, I now hauled to the southward; and at ten o'clock the next morning, the fog clearing away, we saw the continent of America, extending from S. by E. to E. by S.; and at noon from S. W. half S. to E., the nearest part five leagues distant. At this time we were in the latitude of 69° 32′, and in the longitude of 195° 48′; and as the main ice was at no great distance from us, it is evident, that it now covered a part of the sea which, but a few days before, had been clear; and that it extended farther to the S. than where we first fell in with it. It must not be understood

* In Griffiths' "Animal Kingdom, by Cuvier," we are told that, "Some say these animals eat the shell-fish at the bottom of the sea. Others assert that they only eat a sea-weed, with large leaves, and are not carnivorous. The form of the molar teeth would indicate the morse to be omnivorous; but its stomach, like that of the seal, simple and membranous, would show that it lived in the same way as these animals." The seal feeds on fish, which, after an imperfect mastication, it swallows entire.—Ed.

that I supposed any part of this ice which we had seen to be fixed; on the contrary, I am well asssured that the whole was a moveable mass. Having but little wind, in the afternoon I sent the master in a boat to try if there was any current; but he found none. I continued to steer in for the American land, until eight o'clock, in order to get a nearer view of it, and to look for a harbour, but seeing nothing like one, I stood again to the N., with a light breeze westerly. At this time the coast extended from S.W. to E., the nearest part four or five leagues distant. The southern extreme seemed to form a point, which was named Cape Lisburne. It lies in the latitude of 69° 5′, and in the longitude of 194° 42′, and appeared to be pretty high land, even down to the sea. But there may be low land under it, which we might not see, being not less than ten leagues from it. Everywhere else, as we advanced northward, we had found a low coast, from which the land rises to a middle height. The coast now before us was without snow, except in one or two places, and had a greenish hue. But we could not perceive any wood upon it.

On the 22nd, the wind was southerly, and the weather mostly foggy, with some intervals of sunshine. At eight in the evening it fell calm, which continued till midnight, when we heard the surge of the sea against the ice, and had several loose pieces about us. A light breeze now sprang up at N.E., and as the fog was very thick I steered to the southward, to clear the ice. At eight o'clock next morning the fog dispersed, and I hauled to the westward. For finding that I could not get to the N. near the coast, on account of the ice, I resolved to try what could be done at a distance from it; and as the wind seemed to be settled at N., I thought it a good opportunity. As we advanced to the W., the water deepened gradually to twenty-eight fathoms, which was the most we had. With the northerly wind the air was raw, sharp and cold; and we had fogs, sunshine, showers of snow and sleet, by turns. At ten in the morning of the 26th, we fell in with the ice. At noon it extended from N.W. to E. by N., and appeared to be thick and compact. At this time, we were, by observation, in the latitude of 69° 36′, and in the longitude of 184°, so that it now appeared we had no better prospect of getting to the N. here, than nearer the shore.

I continued to stand to the westward, till five in the afternoon, when we were in a manner embayed by the ice, which appeared high and very close in the N.W. and N.E. quarters, with a great deal of loose ice about the edge of the main field. At this time we had baffling light winds, but it soon fixed at S., and increased to a fresh gale, with showers of rain. We got the tack aboard, and stretched to the eastward; this being the only direction in which the sea was clear of ice. At four in the morning of the 27th, we tacked and stood to the W., and at seven in the evening we were close in with the edge of the ice, which lay E.N.E. and W.S.W., as far each way as the eye could reach. Having but little wind, I went with the boats to examine the state of the ice. I found it consisting of loose pieces of various extent, and so close together, that I could hardly enter the outer edge with a boat; and it was as impossible for the ships to enter it, as if it had been so many rocks. I took particular notice that it was all pure transparent ice, except the upper surface, which was a little porous. It appeared to be entirely composed of frozen snow, and to have been all formed at sea. For setting aside the improbability, or rather impossibility, of such huge masses floating out of rivers, in which there is hardly water for a boat, none of the productions of the land were found incorporated or fixed in it; which must have unavoidably been the case, had it been formed in rivers, either great or small. The pieces of ice that formed the outer edge of the field, were from forty to fifty yards in extent to four or five; and I judged that the larger pieces reached thirty feet or more under the surface of the water. It also appeared to me very improbable that this ice could have been the production of the preceding winter alone; I should suppose it rather to have been the production of a great many winters. Nor was it less improbable, according to my judgment, that the little that remained of the summer could destroy the tenth part of what now subsisted of this mass, for the sun had already exerted upon it the full influence of his rays. Indeed I am of opinion that the sun contributes very little toward reducing these great masses. For although that luminary is a considerable while above the horizon, it seldom shines out for more than a few hours at a time, and is not seen for several days in succession. It is the wind, or rather the waves raised by the wind, that bring

down the bulk of these enormous masses, by grinding one piece against another, and by undermining and washing away those parts that lie exposed to the surge of the sea. This was evident from our observing that the upper surface of many pieces had been partly washed away, while the base or under part remained firm for several fathoms round that which appeared above water, exactly like a shoal round an elevated rock. We measured the depth of water upon one, and found it to be fifteen feet, so that the ships might have sailed over it. If I had not measured this depth, I should not have believed that there was a sufficient weight of ice above the surface, to have sunk the other so much below it. Thus it may happen, that more ice is destroyed in one stormy season than is formed in several winters, and an endless accumulation is prevented. But that there is always a remaining store every one who has been upon the spot will conclude, and none but closet-studying philosophers will dispute.

A thick fog, which came on while I was thus employed with the boats, hastened me aboard rather sooner than I could have wished, with one sea-horse to each ship. We had killed more, but could not wait to bring them with us. The number of these animals on all the ice that we had seen is almost incredible. We spent the night standing off and on, amongst the drift ice; and at nine o'clock the next morning, the fog having partly dispersed, boats from each ship were sent for sea-horses. For, by this time, our people began to relish them, and those we had procured before were all consumed. At noon, our latitude was 69° 17′, our longitude 183°; the variation, by the morning azimuths, 25° 56′ E.; and the depth of water twenty-five fathoms. At two o'clock, having got on board as much marine beef as was thought necessary, and the wind freshening at S.S.E., we took on board the boats, and stretched to the S.W.; but not being able to weather the ice upon this tack, or to go through it, we made a board to the E., till eight o'clock, then resumed our course to the S.W., and before midnight were obliged to tack again, on account of the ice. Soon after, the wind shifted to the N.W., blowing a stiff gale, and we stretched to the S.W., close hauled.

In the morning of the 29th, we saw the main ice to the northward, and not long after, land bearing south-west by west. Presently after this, more land showed itself, bearing west. It showed itself in two hills like islands, but afterward the whole appeared connected. As we approached the land, the depth of water decreased very fast; so that at noon, when we tacked, we had only eight fathoms; being three miles from the coast, which extended from south, 30° east, to north, 60° west. This last extreme terminated in a bluff point, being one of the hills above mentioned. The weather at this time was very hazy, with drizzling rain; but soon after, it cleared; especially to the southward, westward, and northward. This enabled us to have a pretty good view of the coast; which, in every respect, is like the opposite one of America; that is, low land next the sea, with elevated land farther back. It was perfectly destitute of wood, and even snow; but was, probably, covered with a mossy substance, that gave it a brownish cast. In the low ground lying between the high land and the sea, was a lake, extending to the south-east, farther than we could see. As we stood off, the westernmost of the two hills before mentioned came open off the bluff point, in the direction of north-west. It had the appearance of being an island; but it might be joined to the other by low land, though we did not see it. And if so, there is a two-fold point, with a bay between them. This point, which is steep and rocky, was named Cape North. Its situation is nearly in the latitude of 68° 56′, and in the longitude of 180° 51′. The coast beyond it must take a very westerly direction; for we could see no land to the northward of it, though the horizon was there pretty clear. Being desirous of seeing more of the coast to the westward, we tacked again, at two o'clock in the afternoon, thinking we could weather Cape North. But finding we could not, the wind freshening, a thick fog coming on, with much snow, and being fearful of the ice coming down upon us, I gave up the design I had formed of plying to the westward, and stood off shore again.

The season was now so far advanced, and the time when the frost is expected to set in so near at hand, that I did not think it consistent with prudence, to make any farther attempts to find a passage into the Atlantic this year, in any direction; so little was the prospect of succeeding. My attention was now directed toward finding out some place where we might

supply ourselves with wood and water; and the object uppermost in my thoughts was, how I should spend the winter, so as to make some improvements in geography and navigation, and, at the same time, be in a condition to return to the north, in farther search of a passage, the ensuing summer.

CHAPTER X.—RETURN FROM CAPE NORTH, ALONG THE COAST OF ASIA.—VIEWS OF THE COUNTRY.—BURNEY'S ISLAND.—CAPE SERDZE KAMEN, THE NORTHERN LIMIT OF BEERING'S VOYAGE.—PASS THE EAST CAPE OF ASIA.—DESCRIPTION AND SITUATION OF IT.—OBSERVATIONS ON MULLER.—THE TSCHUTSKI.—BAY OF ST. LAURENCE.—TWO OTHER BAYS, AND HABITATIONS OF THE NATIVES.—BEERING'S CAPE TSCHUKOTSKOI.—BEERING'S POSITION OF THIS COAST ACCURATE.—ISLAND OF ST. LAURENCE.—PASS TO THE AMERICAN COAST.—CAPE DARBY.—BALD HEAD.—CAPE DENBIGH ON A PENINSULA.—BESBOROUGH ISLAND.—WOOD AND WATER PROCURED.—VISITS FROM THE NATIVES.—THEIR PERSONS AND HABITATIONS.—PRODUCE OF THE COUNTRY.—MARKS THAT THE PENINSULA HAD FORMERLY BEEN SURROUNDED BY THE SEA.—LIEUTENANT KING'S REPORT.—NORTON SOUND.—LUNAR OBSERVATIONS THERE.—STÆHLIN'S MAP PROVED TO BE ERRONEOUS.—PLAN OF FUTURE OPERATIONS.

After having stood off till we got into eighteen fathoms water, I bore up to the eastward, along the coast, which, by this time, it was pretty certain, could only be the continent of Asia. As the wind blew fresh, with a very heavy fall of snow, and a thick mist, it was necessary to proceed with great caution. I therefore brought-to for a few hours in the night. At daybreak on the 30th we made sail, and steered such a course as I thought would bring us in with the land; being in a great measure guided by the lead; for the weather was as thick as ever, and it snowed incessantly. At ten we got sight of the coast, bearing south-west, four miles distant; and presently after, having shoaled the water to seven fathoms, we hauled off. At this time, a very low point, or spit, bore south-south-west, four miles distant; to the east of which there appeared to be a narrow channel, leading into some water that we saw over the point. Probably, the lake before mentioned communicates here with the sea. At noon, the mist dispersing for a short interval, we had a tolerably good view of the coast, which extended from south-east to north-west by west. Some parts appeared higher than others; but in general it was very low, with high land farther up the country. The whole was now covered with snow, which had lately fallen, quite down to the sea. I continued to range along the coast, at two leagues distance, till ten at night, when we hauled off; but we resumed our course next morning soon after daybreak, when we got sight of the coast again, extending from west to south-east by south. At eight, the eastern part bore south, and proved to be an island; which at noon bore south-west half south, four or five miles distant. It is about four or five miles in circuit, of a middling height, with a steep rocky coast, situated about three leagues from the main, in the latitude of 67° 45′, and distinguished in the chart by the name of Burney's Island.

The inland country hereabout is full of hills; some of which are of a considerable height. The land was covered with snow, except a few spots upon the sea-coast, which still continued low, but less so than farther westward. For the two preceding days, the main height of the mercury in the thermometer had been very little above the freezing point, and often below it; so that the water in the vessels upon the deck was frequently covered with a sheet of ice. I continued to steer south-south-east, nearly in the direction of the coast, till five in the afternoon, when land was seen bearing south, 50° east, which we presently found to be a continuation of the coast, and hauled up for it. Being abreast of the eastern land, at ten at night, and in doubts of weathering it, we tacked and made a board to the westward, till past one the next morning, when we stood again to the east, and found that it was as much as we could do to keep our distance from the coast, the wind being exceedingly unsettled, varying continually from north to north-east. At half an hour past eight, the eastern extreme above mentioned bore south by east, six or seven miles distant. At the same time, a head-land appeared in sight, bearing east by south, half south; and, soon

after, we could trace the whole coast lying between them, and a small island at some distance from it.

The coast seemed to form several rocky points, connected by a low shore, without the least appearance of a harbour. At some distance from the sea, the low land appeared to swell into a number of hills. The highest of these were covered with snow; and, in other respects, the whole country seemed naked. At seven in the evening, two points of land, at some distance beyond the eastern head, opened off it in the direction of south, 37° east. I was now well assured of what I had believed before, that this was the country of the Tschutski, or the north-east coast of Asia; and that thus far Beering proceeded in 1728; that is, to this head which Muller says is called Serdze Kamen, on account of a rock upon it, shaped like a heart. But I conceive, that Mr. Muller's knowledge of the geography of these parts is very imperfect. There are many elevated rocks upon this cape, and possibly some one or other of them may have the shape of a heart. It is a pretty lofty promontory, with a steep rocky cliff facing the sea; and lies in the latitude of 67° 3′, and in the longitude of 188° 11′. To the eastward of it the coast is high and bold; but to the westward it is low, and trends north-north-west, and north-west by west; which is nearly its direction all the way to Cape North. The soundings are everywhere the same at the same distance from the shore, which is also the case on the opposite shore of America. The greatest depth we found in ranging along it was twenty-three fathoms. And, in the night, or in foggy weather, the soundings are no bad guide in sailing along either of these shores.

At eight o'clock in the morning of the 2nd, the most advanced land to the south-east, bore south, 25° east; and from this point of view had the appearance of being an island. But the thick snow-showers, which succeeded one another pretty fast, and settled upon the land, hid great part of the coast at this time from our sight. Soon after, the sun, whose face we had not seen for near five days, broke out at the intervals between the showers; and, in some measure, freed the coast from the fog, so that we had a sight of it, and found the whole to be connected. The wind still continued at north, the air was cold, and the mercury in the thermometer never rose above 35°, and was sometimes as low as 30°. At noon, the observed latitude was 66° 37′. Cape Serdze Kamen bore north, 52° west, thirteen leagues distant; the southernmost point of land in sight south, 41° east; the nearest part of the coast two leagues distant, and our depth of water twenty-two fathoms. We had now fair weather and sunshine; and as we ranged along the coast, at the distance of four miles, we saw several of the inhabitants, and some of their habitations, which looked like little hillocks of earth. In the evening we passed the Eastern Cape, or the point above mentioned; from which the coast changes its direction, and trends south-west. It is the same point of land which we had passed on the 11th of August. They who believed implicitly in Mr. Stæhlin's map, then thought it the east point of his island Alaschka; but we had by this time satisfied ourselves, that it is no other than the eastern promontory of Asia; and probably the proper Tschukotskoi Noss, though the promontory to which Beering gave that name, is farther to the south-west.

Though Mr. Muller, in his map of the Russian Discoveries, places the Tschukotskoi Noss nearly in 75° of latitude, and extends it somewhat to the eastward of this cape, it appears to me, that he had no good authority for so doing. Indeed his own accounts, or rather Deshneff's*, of the distance between the Noss and the river Anadir cannot be reconciled with this very northerly position. But as I hope to visit these parts again, I shall leave the discussion of this point till then. In the mean time, I must conclude, as Beering did before me, that this is the most eastern point of Asia. It is a peninsula of considerable height, joined to the continent by a very low, and, to appearance, narrow neck of land. It shows a steep rocky cliff next the sea; and off the very point are some rocks like spires. It is situated in the latitude of 66° 6′, and in the longitude of 190° 22′; and is distant from Cape Prince of Wales, on the American coast, thirteen leagues, in the direction of north, 53° west. The land about this promontory is composed of hills and valleys. The former

* "Avec le vent le plus favorable, on peut aller par mer de cette pointe (des Tschuktschis) jusqu'à l'Anadir en trois fois 24 heures; et par terre le chemin ne peut guère être plus long." Muller, p. 13.

terminate at the sea in steep rocky points, and the latter in low shores. The hills seemed to be naked rocks; but the valleys had a greenish hue, but destitute of tree or shrub.

After passing the cape, I steered south-west half west, for the northern point of St. Laurence Bay, in which we had anchored on the 10th of last month. We reached it by eight o'clock next morning, and saw some of the inhabitants at the place where I had seen them before, as well as several others on the opposite side of the bay. None of them however, attempted to come off to us; which seemed a little extraordinary, as the weather was favourable enough; and those whom we had lately visited had no reason that I know of to dislike our company. These people must be the Tschutski; a nation that, at the time Mr. Muller wrote, the Russians had not been able to conquer. And, from the whole of their conduct with us, it appears that they have not, as yet, brought them under subjection; though it is obvious that they must have a trade with the Russians, either directly, or by means of some neighbouring nation; as we cannot otherwise account for their being in possession of the spontoons, in particular, of which we took notice.

This Bay of St. Laurence* is, at least, five leagues broad at the entrance, and four leagues deep, narrowing toward the bottom, where it appeared to be tolerably well sheltered from the sea-winds, provided there be sufficient depth of water for ships. I did not wait to examine it, although I was very desirous of finding a harbour in those parts, to which I might resort next spring. But I wanted one where wood might be got, and I knew that none was to be found here. From the south point of this bay, which lies in the latitude of 65° 30′, the coast trends west by south, for about nine leagues, and there forms a deep bay, or river; or else the land there is so low that we could not see it.

At one in the afternoon, in the direction of our course, we saw what was first taken for a rock; but it proved to be a dead whale, which some natives of the Asiatic coast had killed, and were towing ashore. They seemed to conceal themselves behind the fish, to avoid being seen by us. This was unnecessary; for we pursued our course without taking any notice of them. At day-break on the 4th, I hauled to the north-west, in order to get a nearer view of the inlet seen the preceding day; but the wind soon after veering to that direction, I gave up the design; and, steering to the southward along the coast, passed two bays, each about two leagues deep. The northernmost lies before a hill, which is remarkable by being rounder than any other upon the coast. And there is an island lying before the other. It may be doubted, whether there be a sufficient depth for ships in either of these bays, as we always met with shoal water when we edged in for the shore. The country here is exceedingly hilly and naked. In several places on the low ground, next the sea, were the dwellings of the natives; and near all of them were erected stages of bones, such as before described. These may be seen at a great distance, on account of their whiteness.

At noon the latitude was 64° 38′, and the longitude 188° 15′; the southernmost point of the main in sight bore south 48° W., and the nearest shore about three or four leagues distant. By this time the wind had veered again to the north, and blew a gentle breeze. The weather was clear, and the air cold. I did not follow the direction of the coast, as I found that it took a westerly direction toward the Gulf of Anadir, into which I had no inducement to go, but steered to the southward, in order to get a sight of the island of St. Laurence, discovered by Beering, which accordingly showed itself; and at eight o'clock in the evening, it bore south 20° E., by estimation eleven leagues distant. At the same time the southernmost point of the main land bore south 83° W., distant twelve leagues. I take this point to be the point which Beering calls the east point of Suchotski, or Cape Tschukotskoi; a name which he gave it, and with propriety, because it was from this part of the coast that the natives came off to him, who called themselves of the nation of the Tschutski. I make its latitude to be 64° 13′, and its longitude 186° 36′. In justice to the memory of Beering, I must say that he has delineated the coast very well, and fixed the latitude and longitude of the points better than could be expected from the methods he had to go by. This judgment is not formed from Mr. Muller's account of the voyage, or the chart prefixed to

* Captain Cook gives it this name, having anchored in it on St. Laurence's day, August 10. It is remarkable, that Beering sailed past this very place on the 10th of August, 1728; on which account, the neighbouring island was named by him after the same Saint.

his book, but from Dr. Campbell's account of it in his edition of Harris's Collection*, and a map thereto annexed, which is both more circumstantial and accurate than that of Mr. Muller.

The more I was convinced of my being now upon the coast of Asia, the more I was at a loss to reconcile Mr. Stæhlin's map of the New Northern Archipelago with my observations; and I had no way to account for the great difference, but by supposing that I had mistaken some part of what he calls the island of Alaschka for the American continent, and had missed the channel that separates them. Admitting even this, there would still have been a considerable difference. It was with me a matter of some consequence to clear up this point the present season, that I might have but one object in view the next. And, as these northern isles are represented by him as abounding with wood, I was in hopes, if I should find them, of getting a supply of that article, which we now began to be in great want of on board. With these views, I steered over for the American coast; and at five in the afternoon the next day, saw land bearing three quarters east, which we took to be Anderson's Island, or some other land near it, and therefore did not wait to examine it. On the 6th, at four in the morning, we got sight of the American coast near Sledge Island; and at six the same evening this island bore north 6° E., ten leagues distant; and the easternmost land in sight N. 49° E. If any part of what I had supposed to be American coast could possibly be the island of Alaschka, it was that now before us; and in that case, I must have missed the channel between it and the main, by steering to the west instead of the east after we first fell in with it. I was not, therefore, at a loss where to go, in order to clear up these doubts.

At eight in the evening of the 7th, we had got close in with the land, Sledge Island bearing N. 85° W., eight or nine leagues distant; and the eastern part of the coast N. 70° E., with high land in the direction of east by north, seemingly at a great distance beyond the point. At this time we saw a light ashore, and two canoes filled with people coming off toward us. I brought-to, that they might have time to come up. But it was to no purpose, for, resisting all the signs of friendship we could exhibit, they kept at the distance of a quarter of a mile; so that we left them, and pursued our course along the coast. At one in the morning of the 8th, finding the water shoal pretty fast, we dropped anchor in ten fathoms, where we lay until daylight, and then resumed our course along the coast, which we found to trend east, and east half south. At seven in the evening we were abreast of a point lying in the latitude of 64° 21′, and in the longitude of 197°; beyond which the coast takes a more northerly direction. At eight, this point, which obtained the name of Cape Darby, bore S. 62° W.; the northernmost land in sight, N. 32° E.; and the nearest shore three miles distant. In this situation we anchored, in thirteen fathoms' water, over a muddy bottom.

Next morning, at daybreak, we weighed and sailed along the coast. Two islands, as we supposed them to be, were at this time seen; the one bearing S. 70° E., and the other E. Soon after, we found ourselves upon a coast covered with wood; an agreeable sight, to which of late we had not been accustomed. As we advanced to the north, we raised land in the direction of north-east half north; which proved to be a continuation of the coast we were upon. We also saw high land over the islands, seemingly at a good distance beyond them. This was thought to be the continent, and the other land the island of Alaschka. But it was already doubtful whether we should find a passage between them, for the water shoaled insensibly as we advanced farther to the north. In this situation two boats were sent to sound before the ships; and I ordered the Discovery to lead, keeping nearly in the mid-channel, between the coast on our larboard and the northernmost island on our starboard. Thus we proceeded till three in the afternoon; when, having passed the island, we had not more than three fathoms and a half of water, and the Resolution at one time brought the mud up from the bottom. More water was not to be found in any part of the channel; for, with the ships and boats, we had tried it from side to side. I therefore thought it high time to return, especially as the wind was in such a quarter that we must ply back. But

* Vol. ii. p. 1016, &c.

what I dreaded most was the wind increasing and raising the sea into waves, so as to put the ships in danger of striking. At this time a headland on the west shore, which is distinguished by the name of Bald Head, bore north by west, one league distant. The coast beyond it extended as far north-east by north, where it seemed to end in a point, behind which the coast of the high land, seen over the islands, stretched itself; and some thought they could trace where it joined. On the west side of Bald Head the shore forms a bay, in the bottom of which is a low beach, where we saw a number of huts or habitations of the natives.

Having continued to ply back all night, by daybreak the next morning we had got into six fathoms' water. At nine o'clock, being about a league from the west shore, I took two boats and landed attended by Mr. King, to seek wood and water. We landed where the coast projects out into a bluff head, composed of perpendicular strata of a rock of a dark blue colour, mixed with quartz and glimmer. There joins to the beach a narrow border of land, now covered with long grass, and where we met with some angelica. Beyond this the ground rises abruptly. At the top of this elevation we found a heath, abounding with a variety of berries; and further on the country was level, and thinly covered with small spruce trees, and birch and willows no bigger than broom stuff. We observed tracks of deer and foxes on the beach, on which also lay a great quantity of drift-wood; and there was no want of fresh water. I returned on board with an intention to bring the ships to an anchor here; but the wind then veering to north-east, which blew rather on this shore, I stretched over to the opposite one, in the expectation of finding wood there also, and anchored at eight o'clock in the evening, under the south end of the northernmost island, so we then supposed it to be; but, next morning we found it to be a peninsula, united to the continent by a low neck of land, on each side of which the coast forms a bay. We plied into the southernmost, and about noon anchored in five fathoms' water, over a bottom of mud; the point of the peninsula, which obtained the name of Cape Denbigh, bearing N. 68° W., three miles distant.

Several people were seen upon the peninsula; and one man came off in a small canoe. I gave him a knife and a few beads, with which he seemed well pleased. Having made signs to him to bring us something to eat, he immediately left us, and paddled toward the shore. But meeting another man coming off, who happened to have two dried salmon, he got them from him; and on returning to the ship, would give them to nobody but me. Some of our people thought that he asked for me under the name of *Capitane;* but in this they were probably mistaken. He knew who had given him the knife and beads, but I do not see how he could know that I was the captain. Others of the natives soon after came off, and exchanged a few dry fish for such trifles as they could get, or we had to give them. They were most desirous of knives; and they had no dislike to tobacco.

After dinner Lieutenant Gore was sent to the peninsula, to see if wood and water were there to be got; or rather water, for the whole beach round the bay seemed to be covered with drift-wood. At the same time a boat was sent from each ship, to sound round the bay; and at three in the afternoon, the wind freshening at north-east, we weighed, in order to work farther in. But it was soon found to be impossible, on account of the shoals, which extended quite round the bay, to the distance of two or three miles from the shore; as the officers who had been sent to sound reported. We therefore kept standing off and on with the ships, waiting for Mr. Gore, who returned about eight o'clock, with the launch laden with wood. He reported that there was but little fresh water, and that wood was difficult to be got at, by reason of the boats grounding at some distance from the beach. This being the case, I stood back to the other shore; and at eight o'clock the next morning, sent all the boats, and a party of men with an officer, to get wood from the place where I had landed two days before. We continued, for a while, to stand on and off with the ships; but at length came to an anchor in one-fourth less than five fathoms, half a league from the coast, the south point of which bore south, 26° W.; and Bald Head north, 60° E., nine leagues distant. Cape Denbigh bore south 72° E., twenty-six miles distant; and the island under the east shore, to the southward of Cape Denbigh, named Besborough Island, south 52° E., fifteen leagues distant.

As this was a very open road, and consequently not a safe station, I resolved not to wait to complete water, as that would require some time, but only to supply the ships with wood, and then to go in search of a more convenient place for the other article. We took off the drift-wood that lay upon the beach; and as the wind blew along-shore, the boats could sail both ways, which enabled us to make great despatch. In the afternoon I went ashore, and walked a little into the country; which, where there was no wood, was covered with heath and other plants, some of which produce berries in abundance. All the berries were ripe; the hurtle-berries too much so; and hardly a single plant was in flower. The under-wood, such as birch, willows, and alders, rendered it very troublesome walking among the trees, which were all spruce, and none of them above six or eight inches in diameter. But we found some lying upon the beach more than twice this size. All the drift-wood in these northern parts was fir. I saw not a stick of any other sort.

Next day a family of the natives came near to the place where we were taking off wood. I know not how many there were at first; but I saw only the husband, the wife, and their child; and a fourth person, who bore the human shape, and that was all, for he was the most deformed cripple I had ever seen or heard of. The other man was almost blind; and neither he nor his wife were such good-looking people as we have sometimes seen amongst the natives of this coast. The under lips of both were bored; and they had in their possession some such glass beads as I had met with before amongst their neighbours. But iron was their beloved article; for four knives, which we had made out of an old iron hoop, I got from them near four hundred pounds weight of fish, which they had caught on this or the preceding day. Some were trout, and the rest were, in size and taste, somewhat between a mullet and a herring. I gave the child, who was a girl, a few beads; on which the mother burst into tears, then the father, then the cripple, and at last, to complete the concert, the girl herself. But this music continued not long.* Before night we had got the ships amply supplied with wood, and had carried on board about twelve tons of water to each.

On the 14th, a party of men were sent on shore to cut brooms, which we were in want of, and the branches of spruce-trees for brewing beer. Toward noon everybody was taken on board; for the wind freshening, had raised such a surf on the beach, that the boats could not continue to land without great difficulty. Some doubts being still entertained whether the coast we were now upon belonged to an island, or the American continent, and the shallowness of the water putting it out of our power to determine this with our ships, I sent Lieutenant King, with two boats under his command, to make such searches as might leave no room for a variety of opinions on the subject †. Next day the ships removed over

* Captain King has communicated the following account of his interview with the same family. "On the 12th, while I attended the wooding party, a canoe full of natives approached us; and, beckoning them to land, an elderly man and woman came on shore. I gave this woman a small knife, making her understand that I would give her a much larger one for some fish. She made signs to me to follow her. I had proceeded with them about a mile, when the man, in crossing a stony beach, fell down and cut his foot very much. This made me stop; upon which the woman pointed to the man's eyes, which I observed were covered with a thick white film. He afterward kept close to his wife, who apprised him of the obstacles in his way. The woman had a little child on her back, covered with the hood of her jacket; and which I took for a bundle, till I heard it cry. At about two miles' distance we came to their open skin-boat, which was turned on its side, the convex part toward the wind, and served for their house. I was now made to perform a singular operation on the man's eyes. First, I was directed to hold my breath; afterward, to breathe on the diseased eyes; and next, to spit on them. The woman then took both my hands, and pressing them to his stomach, held them there for some time, while she related some calamitous history of her family, pointing sometimes to her husband, sometimes to a frightful cripple belonging to the family, and sometimes to her child. I purchased all the fish they had, consisting of a very fine salmon, salmon-trout, and mullet; which were delivered most faithfully to the man I sent for them. The man was about five feet two inches high, and well made; his colour of a light copper; his hair black and short, and with little beard. He had two holes in his under lip, but no ornaments in them. The woman was short and squat, with a plump round face; wore a deer-skin jacket, with a large hood; and had on wide boots. The teeth of both were black, and seemed as if they had been filed down level with the gums. The woman was punctured from the lip to the chin."

† Captain King has been so good as to communicate his instructions on this occasion, and the particulars of the fatigue he underwent in carrying them into execution:

"You are to proceed to the northward as far as the extreme point we saw on Wednesday last, or a little further, if you think it necessary; land there, and endeavour, from the heights, to discover whether the land you are then upon, supposed to be the island of Alaschka, is really an island, or joins to the land on the east, supposed to be the continent of America. If the former, you are to satisfy yourself with the depth of water in

to the bay, which is on the south-east side of Cape Denbigh, where we anchored in the afternoon. Soon after, a few of the natives came off in their small canoes, and bartered some dried salmon for such trifles as our people had to give them.

At daybreak, on the 16th, nine men, each in his canoe, paid us a visit. They approached the ship with some caution; and evidently came with no other view than to gratify their curiosity. They drew up abreast of each other, under our stern, and gave us a song; while one of their number beat upon a kind of drum, and another made a thousand antic motions with his hands and body. There was, however, nothing savage, either in the song or in the gestures that accompanied it. None of us could perceive any difference between these people, either as to their size or features, and those whom we had met with on every other part of the coast, King George's Sound excepted. Their clothing, which consisted principally of deer-skins, was made after the same fashion; and they observed the custom of boring their under lips, and fixing ornaments to them. The dwellings of these people were seated close to the beach. They consist simply of a sloping roof, without any side-walls, composed of logs, and covered with grass and earth. The floor is also laid with logs; the entrance is at one end; the fire-place just within it; and a small hole is made near the door to let out the smoke.

After breakfast, a party of men were sent to the peninsula for brooms and spruce. At the same time half the remainder of the people in each ship had leave to go and pick berries. These returned on board at noon, when the other half went on the same errand. The berries to be got here were wild currant-berries, hurtle-berries, partridge-berries, and heath-berries. I also went ashore myself, and walked over part of the peninsula. In several places there was very good grass; and I hardly saw a spot on which some vegetable was not growing. The low land which connects this peninsula with the continent is full of narrow creeks, and abounds with ponds of water, some of which were already frozen over. There were a great many geese and bustards, but so shy that it was not possible to get within musket-shot of them. We also met with some snipes; and on the high ground were partridges of two sorts. Where there was any wood, mosquitoes were in plenty. Some of the officers, who travelled farther than I did, met with a few of the natives of both sexes, who treated them with civility. It appeared to me that this peninsula must have been an island in remote times; for there were marks of the sea having flowed over the isthmus. And, even now, it appeared to be kept out by a bank of sand, stones, and

the channel between them, and which way the flood-tide comes. But if you find the two lands connected, lose no time in sounding; but make the best of your way back to the ship, which you will find at anchor near the point of land we anchored under on Friday last. If you perceive any likelihood of a change of weather for the worse, you are, in that case, to return to the ship, although you have not performed the service you are sent upon. And, at any rate, you are not to remain longer upon it than four or five days; but the sooner it is done the better. If any unforeseen or unavoidable accident should force the ships off the coast, so that they cannot return at a reasonable time, the rendezvous is at the harbour of Samganoodha; that is, the place where we last completed our water.

"To Lieutenant King." "James Cook."

"Our cutter being hoisted out, and the signal made for the Discovery's, at eight at night, on the 14th, we set out. It was a little unlucky that the boats' crews had been much fatigued during the whole day in bringing things from the shore. They pulled stoutly, without rest or intermission, toward the land, till one o'clock in the morning of the 15th. I wanted much to have got close to it, to have had the advantage of the wind, which had very regularly, in the evening, blown from the land, and in the day-time down the sound, from the N.N.E., and was contrary to our course; but the men were, at this time, too much fatigued to press them farther. We therefore set our sails, and stood across the bay, which the coast forms to the west of Bald Head, and steered for it. But, as I expected, by three o'clock, the wind headed us; and as it was in vain to endeavour to fetch Bald Head with our sails, we again took to the oars. The Discovery's boat (being a heavy king's-built cutter, while ours was one from Deal) had, in the night-time, detained us very much, and now we soon pulled out of sight of her; nor would I wait, being in great hopes to reach the extreme point that was in sight, time enough to ascend the heights before dark, as the weather was at this time remarkably clear and fine; and we could see to a great distance. By two o'clock we had got within two miles of Bald Head, under the lee of the high land, and in smooth water; but at the moment our object was nearly attained, all the men, but two, were so overcome with fatigue and sleep, that my utmost endeavours to make them put on were ineffectual. They, at length, dropped their oars, quite exhausted, and fell asleep in the bottom of the boat. Indeed, considering that they had set out fatigued, and had now been sixteen hours, out of the eighteen since they left the ship, pulling in a poppling sea, it was no wonder that their strength and spirits should be worn out for want of sleep and refreshments. The two gentlemen who were with me, and myself, were now obliged to lay hold of the oars, and by a little after three, we landed between the Bald Head and a projecting point to the eastward."

wood, thrown up by the waves. By this bank it was evident that the land was here encroaching upon the sea, and it was easy to trace its gradual formation.

About seven in the evening, Mr. King returned from his expedition, and reported that he proceeded with the boats about three or four leagues farther than the ships had been able to go; that he then landed on the west side; that from the heights, he could see the two coasts join, and the inlet to terminate in a small river or creek, before which were banks of sand or mud, and everywhere shoal water. The land too was low and swampy for some distance to the northward; then it swelled into hills, and the complete junction of those on each side of the inlet was easily traced. From the elevated spot on which Mr. King surveyed the Sound, he could distinguish many extensive valleys, with rivers running through them, well wooded, and bounded by hills of a gentle ascent and moderate height. One of these rivers to the north-west appeared to be considerable; and, from its direction, he was inclined to think that it emptied itself into the sea at the head of the bay. Some of his people, who penetrated beyond this into the country, found the trees larger, the farther they advanced.

In honour of Sir Fletcher Norton*, Speaker of the House of Commons, and Mr. King's near relation, I named this inlet Norton's Sound. It extends to the northward as far as latitude of 64° 55′. The bay, in which we were now at anchor, lies on the south-east side of it, and is called by the natives Chacktoole. It is but an indifferent station, being exposed to the south and south-west winds. Nor is there a harbour in all this Sound. But we were so fortunate as to have the wind from the north and north-east all the time, with remarkably fine weather. This gave us an opportunity to make no less than seventy-seven sets of lunar observations, between the 6th and 17th inclusive. The mean result of these made the longitude of the anchoring-place, on the west side of the Sound, to be

	197° 13′
Latitude	64 31
Variation of the compass . . .	25 45 east.
Dip of the needle	76 25

Of the tides it was observed, that the night-flood rose about two or three feet, and that the day-flood was hardly perceivable.

Having now fully satisfied myself that Mr. Stæhlin's map must be erroneous, and having restored the American continent to that space which he had occupied with his imaginary island of Alaschka, it was high time to think of leaving these northern regions, and to retire to some place during the winter, where I might procure refreshments for my people, and a small supply of provisions. Petropaulowska, or the harbour of St. Peter and St. Paul, in Kamtschatka, did not appear likely to furnish either the one or the other, for so large a number of men. I had, besides, other reasons for not repairing thither at this time. The first, and on which all the others depended, was the great dislike I had to lie inactive for six or seven months; which would have been the necessary consequence of wintering in any of these northern parts. No place was so conveniently within our reach, where we could expect to have our wants supplied, as the Sandwich Islands. To them, therefore, I determined to proceed. But before this could be carried into execution, a supply of water was necessary. With this view, I resolved to search the American coast for a harbour, by proceeding along it to the southward, and thus endeavour to connect the survey of this part of it with that lying immediately to the north of Cape Newenham. If I failed in finding a harbour there, my plan was then to proceed to Samganoodha, which was fixed upon as our place of rendezvous, in case of separation.

* Afterwards Lord Grantley.

CHAPTER XI.—DISCOVERIES AFTER LEAVING NORTON SOUND.—STUART'S ISLAND.—CAPE STEPHENS.—POINT SHALLOW-WATER.—SHOALS ON THE AMERICAN COAST.—CLERKE'S ISLAND.—GORE'S ISLAND.—PINNACLE ISLAND.—ARRIVAL AT OONALASHKA.—INTERCOURSE WITH THE NATIVES AND RUSSIAN TRADERS.—CHARTS OF THE RUSSIAN DISCOVERIES, COMMUNICATED BY MR. ISMYLOFF.—THEIR ERRORS POINTED OUT.—SITUATION OF THE ISLANDS VISITED BY THE RUSSIANS.—ACCOUNT OF THEIR SETTLEMENT AT OONALASHKA.—OF THE NATIVES OF THE ISLAND.—THEIR PERSONS.—DRESS.—ORNAMENTS.—FOOD.—HOUSES, AND DOMESTIC UTENSILS.—MANUFACTURES.—MANNER OF PRODUCING FIRE.—CANOES.—FISHING AND HUNTING IMPLEMENTS.—FISHES AND SEA ANIMALS.—SEA AND WATER FOWLS, AND LAND BIRDS.—LAND ANIMALS AND VEGETABLES.—MANNER OF BURYING THEIR DEAD.—RESEMBLANCE OF THE NATIVES ON THIS SIDE OF AMERICA TO THE GREENLANDERS AND ESQUIMAUX.—TIDES.—OBSERVATIONS FOR DETERMINING THE LONGITUDE OF OONALASHKA.

HAVING weighed, on the 17th, in the morning, with a light breeze at east, we steered to the southward, and attempted to pass within Besborough Island; but though it lies six or seven miles from the continent, were prevented by meeting with shoal water. As we had but little wind all the day, it was dark before we passed the island; and the night was spent under an easy sail. We resumed our course, at daybreak on the 18th, along the coast. At noon we had no more than five fathoms' water. At this time the latitude was 63° 37′. Besborough Island now bore N. 42° E.; the southernmost land in sight, which proved also to be an island, S. 66° W.; the passage between it and the main S. 40° W.; and the nearest land about two miles distant. I continued to steer for this passage, until the boats, which were ahead, made the signal for having no more than three fathoms' water. On this we hauled without the island, and made the signal for the Resolution's boat to keep between the ships and the shore.

This island, which obtained the name of Stuart's Island, lies in the latitude of 63° 35′, and seventeen leagues from Cape Denbigh, in the direction of S., 27° W. It is six or seven leagues in circuit. Some parts of it are of a middling height, but in general it is low, with some rocks lying off the western part. The coast of the continent is, for the most part, low land; but we saw high land up the country. It forms a point opposite the island, which was named Cape Stephens, and lies in latitude 63° 33′, and in longitude 197° 41′. Some drift-wood was seen upon the shores, both of the island and of the continent; but not a tree was perceived growing upon either. One might anchor, upon occasion, between the N. E. side of this island and the continent, in the depth of five fathoms, sheltered from westerly, southerly, and easterly winds. But this station would be wholly exposed to the northerly winds, the land, in that direction, being at too great a distance to afford any security. Before we reached Stuart's Island, we passed two small islands, lying between us and the main; and as we ranged along the coast, several people appeared upon the shore, and, by signs, seemed to invite us to approach them.

As soon as we were without the island, we steered S. by W., for the southernmost point of the continent in sight, till eight o'clock in the evening, when, having shoaled the water from six fathoms to less than four, I tacked, and stood to the northward, into five fathoms, and then spent the night lying off and on. At the time we tacked, the southernmost point of land, the same which is mentioned above, and was named Point Shallow Water, bore S. ½ E., seven leagues distant. We resumed our course to the southward at daybreak next morning; but shoal water obliged us to haul more to the westward. At length we got so far advanced upon the bank that we could not hold a N. N. W. course, meeting sometimes with only four fathoms. The wind blowing fresh at E. N. E., it was high time to look for deep water, and to quit a coast upon which we could no longer navigate with any degree of safety. I therefore hauled the wind to the northward, and gradually deepened the water to eight fathoms. At the time we hauled the wind, we were at least twelve leagues from the continent, and nine to the westward of Stuart's Island. No land was seen to the southward of Point Shallow Water, which I judge to lie in the latitude of 63°. So that between this latitude and Shoal Ness, in latitude 60°, the coast is entirely unexplored. Probably it is

accessible only to boats or very small vessels; or, at least, if there be channels for larger vessels, it would require some time to find them; and I am of opinion that they must be looked for near the coast. From the mast-head, the sea within us appeared to be checkered with shoals; the water was very much discoloured and muddy, and considerably fresher than at any of the places where we had lately anchored. From this I inferred that a considerable river runs into the sea in this unknown part.

As soon as we got into eight fathoms' water, I steered to the westward, and afterward more southerly, for the land discovered on the 5th, which, at noon the next day, bore S. W. by W., ten or eleven leagues distant. At this time we had a fresh gale at N., with showers of hail and snow at intervals, and a pretty high sea, so that we got clear of the shoals but just in time. As I now found that the land before us lay too far to the westward to be Anderson's Island, I named it Clerke's Island. It lies in the latitude of 63° 15′, and in the longitude of 190° 30′. It seemed to be a pretty large island, in which are four or more hills, all connected by low ground; so that at a distance it looks like a group of islands. Near its east part lies a small island, remarkable by having upon it three elevated rocks. Not only the greater island, but this small spot was inhabited. We got up to the northern point of Clerke's Island about six o'clock, and having ranged along its coast till dark, brought-to during the night. At daybreak, next morning, we stood in again for the coast, and continued to range along it, in search of a harbour, till noon; when, seeing no likelihood of succeeding, I left it, and steered S. S. W., for the land which we had discovered on the 29th of July, having a fresh gale at N., with showers of sleet and snow. I remarked that as soon as we opened the channel which separates the two continents, cloudy weather, with snow showers, immediately commenced; whereas all the time that we were in Norton Sound, we had, with the same wind, clear weather. Might not this be occasioned by the mountains to the north of that place attracting the vapours, and hindering them to proceed any further?

At daybreak in the morning of the 23d, the land above-mentioned appeared in sight, bearing S. W., six or seven leagues distant. From this point of view, it resembled a group of islands, but it proved to be but one, of thirty miles in extent, in the direction of N. W. and S. E.; the S. E. end being Cape Upright, already taken notice of. The island is but narrow, especially at the low necks of land that connect the hills. I afterward found that it was wholly unknown to the Russians; and therefore considering it as a discovery of our own, I named it Gore's Island. It appeared to be barren, and without inhabitants; at least we saw none; nor did we see so many birds about it as when we first discovered it. But we saw some sea-otters, an animal which we had not met with to the north of this latitude. Four leagues from Cape Upright, in the direction of S., 72° W., lies a small island, whose elevated summit terminates in several pinnacle rocks. On this account it was named Pinnacle Island. At two in the afternoon, after passing Cape Upright, I steered S. E. by S., for Samganoodha, with a gentle breeze at N. N. W., being resolved to spend no more time in searching for a harbour amongst islands, which I now began to suspect had no existence; at least not in the latitude and longitude where modern map-makers have thought proper to place them. In the evening of the 24th, the wind veered to S. W. and S., and increased to a fresh gale. We continued to stretch to the eastward till eight o'clock in the morning of the 25th, when, in the latitude of 58° 32′, and in the longitude of 191° 10′, we tacked and stood to the west; and soon after, the gale increasing, we were reduced to two courses, and close-reefed main top-sails. Not long after, the Resolution sprung a leak, under the starboard futtock, which filled the spirit-room with water, before it was discovered; and it was so considerable as to keep one pump constantly employed. We durst not put the ship upon the other tack, for fear of getting upon the shoals that lie to the north-west of Cape Newenham; but continued standing to the west till six in the evening of the 26th, when we wore and stood to the eastward, and then the leak no longer troubled us. This proved that it was above the water-line, which was no small satisfaction. The gale was now over; but the wind remained at S. and S. W. for some days longer.

At length, on the 2nd of October at daybreak, we saw the island of Oonalashka, bearing S. E. But as this was to us a new point of view, and the land was obscured by a thick

haze, we were not sure of our situation till noon, when the observed latitude determined it. As all the harbours were alike to me, provided they were equally safe and convenient, I hauled into a bay that lies ten miles to the westward of Samganoodha, known by the name of Egoochshac; but we found very deep water, so that we were glad to get out again. The natives, many of whom lived here, visited us at different times, bringing with them dried salmon and other fish, which they exchange with the seamen for tobacco. But a few days before, every ounce of tobacco that was in the ship had been distributed among them; and the quantity was not half sufficient to answer their demands. Notwithstanding this, so improvident a creature is an English sailor, that they were as profuse in making their bargains, as if we had now arrived at a port in Virginia; by which means, in less than eight-and-forty hours, the value of this article of barter was lowered above a thousand per cent.

At one o'clock in the afternoon of the 3rd, we anchored in Samganoodha Harbour; and the next morning the carpenters of both ships were set to work to rip off the sheathing of and under the wale, on the starboard side abaft. Many of the seams were found quite open, so that it was no wonder that so much water had found its way into the ship. While we lay here, we cleared the fish and spirit rooms, and the after-hold; disposing things in such a manner that, in case we should happen to have any more leaks of the same nature, the water might find its way to the pumps. And besides this work, and completing our water, we cleared the fore-hold to the very bottom, and took in a quantity of ballast.

The vegetables which we had met with when we were here before, were now mostly in a state of decay; so that we were not a little benefited by the great quantities of berries everywhere found ashore. In order to avail ourselves as much as possible of this useful refreshment, one-third of the people, by turns, had leave to go and pick them. Considerable quantities of them were also procured from the natives. If there were any seeds of the scurvy in either ship, these berries, and the use of spruce-beer, which they had to drink every other day, effectually eradicated them. We also got plenty of fish, at first mostly salmon, both fresh and dried, which the natives brought us. Some of the fresh salmon was in high perfection, but there was one sort, which we called hook-nosed, from the figure of its head, that was but indifferent. We drew the seine several times, at the head of the bay, and caught a good many salmon trout, and once a halibut that weighed two hundred and fifty-four pounds. The fishery failing, we had recourse to hooks and lines. A boat was sent out every morning, and seldom returned without eight or ten halibut, which was more than sufficient to serve all our people; the halibut were excellent, and there were few who did prefer them to salmon. Thus we not only procured a supply of fish for present consumption, but had some to carry with us to sea. This enabled us to make considerable saving of our provisions, which was an object of no small importance.

On the 8th, I received, by the hands of an Oonalashka man named Derramoushk, a very singular present, considering the place. It was a rye loaf, or rather a pie made in the form of a loaf, for it enclosed some salmon, highly seasoned with pepper. This man had the like present for Captain Clerke, and a note for each of us, written in a character which none of us could read. It was natural to suppose that this present was from some Russians now in our neighbourhood, and therefore we sent, by the same hand, to these our unknown friends, a few bottles of rum, wine, and porter, which we thought would be as acceptable as anything we had besides; and we soon knew that in this we were not mistaken. I also sent, along with Derramoushk, Corporal Lediard* of the marines, an intelligent

* This Lediard, or Ledyard, as the name is properly spelt, is the same who afterwards distinguished himself by a most adventurous journey across Siberia, with the intention of passing Beering's Straits, and afterwards making his way over the continent of America. His main object in attempting this arduous expedition was the establishment of a fur trade between the western coast of America and China. He had nearly succeeded in traversing Siberia, when he was seized by order of the Empress, and rapidly conveyed into Poland, where he was turned adrift, with orders never to set foot again in Russia. Jealousy on the part of the Russian Fur Company caused the Empress to treat in this harsh manner a traveller on whom she had at first bestowed favour and assistance. Ledyard fought his way to London, where he met a kind friend in Sir Joseph Banks, at whose recommendation he was engaged by the

man, in order to gain some farther information, with orders, that if he met with any Russians he should endeavour to make them understand that we were English, the friends and allies of their nation.

On the 10th Lediard returned with three Russian seamen, or furriers, who, with some others, resided at Egoochshac, where they had a dwelling-house, some store-houses, and a sloop of about thirty tons burthen. One of these men was either master or mate of this vessel, another of them wrote a very good hand and understood figures, and they were all three well behaved, intelligent men, and very ready to give me all the information I could desire; but for want of an interpreter we had some difficulty to understand each other. They appeared to have a thorough knowledge of the attempts that had been made by their countrymen to navigate the Frozen Ocean, and of the discoveries which had been made from Kamtschatka, by Beering, Tscherikoff, and Spangenberg; but they seemed to know no more of Lieutenant Syndo*, or Synd, than his name. Nor had they the least idea what part of the world Mr. Stæhlin's map referred to, when it was laid before them. When I pointed out Kamtschatka, and some other known places upon that map, they asked whether I had seen the islands there laid down, and on my answering in the negative, one of them put his finger upon a part of this map where a number of islands was represented, and said, that he had cruised there for land, but never could find any. I then laid before them my own chart, and found that they were strangers to every part of the American coast, except what lies opposite this island. One of these men said that he had been with Beering in his American voyage, but must then have been very young, for he had not now, at the distance of thirty-seven years, the appearance of being aged. Never was there greater respect paid to the memory of any distinguished person, than by these men to that of Beering. The trade in which they are engaged is very beneficial, and its being undertaken and extended to the eastward of Kamtschatka, was the immediate consequence of the second voyage of that able navigator, whose misfortunes proved to be the source of much private advantage to individuals, and of public utility to the Russian nation. And yet, if his distresses had not accidentally carried him to die in the island which bears his name, and from whence the miserable remnant of his ship's crew brought back sufficient specimens of its valuable furs, probably the Russians never would have undertaken any future voyages which could lead them to make discoveries in this sea, toward the coast of America. Indeed, after his time government seems to have paid less attention to this, and we owe what discoveries have been since made principally to the enterprising spirit of private traders, encouraged, however, by the superintending care of the court of Petersburg. The three Russians having remained with me all night, visited Captain Clerke next morning, and then left us, very well satisfied with the reception they had met with, promising to return in a few days, and to bring with them a chart of the islands lying between Oonalashka and Kamtschatka.

On the 15th, in the evening, while Mr. Webber and I were at a village at a small distance from Samganoodha, a Russian landed there, who, I found, was the principal person amongst his countrymen in this and the neighbouring islands. His name was Erasim Gregorioff Sin Ismyloff. He arrived in a canoe carrying three persons, attended by twenty or thirty other canoes, each conducted by one man. I took notice, that the first thing they did after landing, was to make a small tent for Ismyloff, of materials which they brought with them; and then they made others for themselves of their canoes and paddles, which they covered with grass, so that the people of the village were at no trouble to find them lodging. Ismyloff having invited us into his tent, set before us some dried salmon and

African Association to make researches in Africa, but his career was cut short by death, which overtook him at Cairo, just as he was about to set out for Sennaar. Ledyard was an American by birth, and was originally destined for the ministry, for which function he studied at Hartford College, on its first establishment by Dr. Whelock. But his adventurous spirit kept him ever restless, and led him into strange vicissitudes. He kept a journal during his voyage with Cook, to which we shall have occasion to refer in noticing the melancholy catastrophe which took place at the Sandwich Islands. His memoirs have been written by his countryman, Mr. Jared Sparks, and present the picture of a mind of great originality, and the most unthing energy.—Ed.

* See the little that is known of Synd's voyage, accompanied with a chart, in Mr. Coxe's Russian Discoveries, p. 300.

berries, which, I was satisfied, was the best cheer he had. He appeared to be a sensible intelligent man, and I felt no small mortification in not being able to converse with him, unless by signs, assisted by figures, and other characters, which, however, were a very great help. I desired to see him on board the next day, and accordingly he came, with all his attendants. Indeed, he had moved into our neighbourhood for the express purpose of waiting upon us. I was in hopes to have had by him the chart which his three countrymen had promised; but I was disappointed. However, he assured me I should have it; and he kept his word. I found that he was very well acquainted with the geography of these parts, and with all the discoveries that had been made in them by the Russians. On seeing the modern maps, he at once pointed out their errors. He told me he had accompanied Lieutenant Syndo, or Synd as he called him, in his expedition to the north; and, according to his account, they did not proceed farther than the Tschukotskoi Nos, or rather than the bay of St. Laurence, for he pointed on our chart to the very place where I landed. From thence, he said, they went to an island in latitude 63°, upon which they did not land, nor could he tell me its name. But I should guess it to be the same to which I gave the name of Clerke's Island. To what place Synd went after that, or in what manner he spent the two years, during which, as Ismyloff said, his researches lasted, he either could not or would not inform us. Perhaps he did not comprehend our inquiries about this, and yet, in almost every other thing, we could make him understand us. This created a suspicion that he had not really been in that expedition, notwithstanding his assertion.

Both Ismyloff and the others affirmed, that they knew nothing of the continent of America to the northward; and that neither Lieutenant Synd, nor any other Russian had ever seen it of late. They call it by the same name which Mr. Stæhlin gives to his great island, that is, Alaschka. Stachtan Nitada, as it is called in the modern maps, is a name quite unknown to these people, natives of the islands as well as Russians; but both of them know it by the name of America. From what we could gather from Ismyloff and his countrymen, the Russians have made several attempts to get a footing upon that part of this continent that lies contiguous to Oonalashka and the adjoining islands, but have always been repulsed by the natives, whom they describe as a very treacherous people. They mentioned two or three captains, or chief men, who had been murdered by them; and some of the Russians showed us wounds which they said they had received there.

Some other information, which we got from Ismyloff, is worth recording, whether true or false. He told us, that in the year 1773, an expedition had been made into the Frozen Sea in sledges, over the ice, to three large islands that lie opposite the mouth of the river Kovyma. We were in some doubt whether he did not mean the same expedition of which Muller gives an account*, and yet he wrote down the year, and marked the islands on the chart. But a voyage which he himself had performed engaged our attention more than any other. He said, that on the 12th of May, 1771, he sailed from Bolscheretzk, in a Russian vessel, to one of the Kurile islands, named Mareekan, in the latitude of 47°, where there is a harbour and a Russian settlement. From this island he proceeded to Japan, where he seems to have made but a short stay. For when the Japanese came to know that he and his companions were Christians, they made signs for them to be gone, but did not, so far as we could understand him, offer any insult or force. From Japan he got to Canton, and from thence to France, in a French ship. From France, he travelled to Petersburg; and was afterward sent out again to Kamtschatka. What became of the vessel in which he first embarked, we could not learn, nor what was the principal object of the voyage. His not being able to speak one word of French, made this story a little suspicious. He did not even know the name of any one of the most common things that must have been in use every day, while he was on board the ship and in France. And yet

* The latest expedition of this kind, taken notice of by Muller, was in 1724. But in justice to Mr. Ismyloff, it may be proper to mention, which is done on the authority of a MS., communicated by Mr. Pennant, and the substance of which has been published by Mr. Coxe, that, so late as 1768, the governor of Siberia sent three young officers over the ice in sledges, to the islands opposite the mouth of the Kovyma. There seems no reason for not supposing, that a subsequent expedition of this sort might also be undertaken in 1773. Mr. Coxe, p. 324, places the expedition on sledges in 1764; but Mr. Pennant's MS. may be depended upon.

he seemed clear as to the times of his arriving at the different places, and of his leaving them, which he put down in writing.

The next morning he would fain have made me a present of a sea-otter skin, which he said was worth eighty roubles at Kamtschatka. However, I thought proper to decline it; but I accepted of some dried fish, and several baskets of the lily or saranne root, which is described at large in the History of Kamtschatka*. In the afternoon, Mr. Ismyloff, after dining with Captain Clerke, left us with all his retinue, promising to return in a few days. Accordingly, on the 19th, he made us another visit, and brought with him the charts before mentioned, which he allowed me to copy; and the contents of which furnish matter for the following observations.

There were two of them, both manuscripts, and bearing every mark of authenticity. The first comprehended the Penshinskian Sea; the coast of Tartary, as low as the latitude of 41°; the Kurile Islands; and the peninsula of Kamtschatka. Since this map had been made, Wawseelee Irkechoff, Captain of the fleet, explored, in 1758, the coast of Tartary from Okotsk, and the river Amur, to Japan, or 41° of latitude. Mr. Ismyloff also informed us, that great part of the sea-coast of the peninsula of Kamtschatka had been corrected by himself; and described the instrument he made use of, which must have been a theodolite. He also informed us, that there were only two harbours fit for shipping on all the east coast of Kamtschatka, viz., the bay of Awatska and the river Olutora, in the bottom of the gulf of the same name; that there was not a single harbour upon its west coast; and that Yamsk was the only one on all the west side of the Penshinskian Sea, except Okotsk, till we come to the river Amur. The Kurile islands afford only one harbour; and that is on the north-east side of Mareekan, in the latitude of 47½°; where, as I have before observed, the Russians have a settlement.

The second chart was to me the most interesting, for it comprehended all the discoveries made by the Russians to the eastward of Kamtschatka, toward America, which, if we exclude the voyage of Beering and Tscherikoff, will amount to little or nothing. The part of the American coast with which the latter fell in is marked in this chart, between the latitude of 58° and 58½°, and 75° of longitude from Okotsk, or 218½° from Greenwich; and the place where the former anchored in 59½° of latitude, and 63½° of longitude from Okotsk, or 207° from Greenwich. To say nothing of the longitude, which may be erroneous from many causes, the latitude of the coast discovered by these two navigators, especially the part of it discovered by Tscherikoff, differs considerably from the account published by Mr. Muller, and his chart. Indeed, whether Muller's chart, or this now produced by Mr. Ismyloff, be most erroneous in this respect, it may be hard to determine, though it is not now a point worth discussing. But the islands that lie dispersed between 52° and 55° of latitude, in the space between Kamtschatka and America, deserve some notice. According to Mr. Ismyloff's account, neither the number nor the situation of these islands is well ascertained. He struck out about one-third of them, assuring me they had no existence; and he altered the situation of others considerably, which, he said, was necessary, from his own observations. And there was no reason to doubt about this. As these islands lie all nearly under the same parallel, different navigators, being misled by their different reckonings, might easily mistake one island, or group of islands, for another; and fancy they had made a new discovery, when they had only found old ones in a different position from that assigned to them by their former visitors.

The islands of St. Macarius, St. Stephen, St. Theodore, St. Abraham, Seduction Island, and some others, which are to be found in Mr. Muller's chart, had no place in this now produced to us; nay, both Mr. Ismyloff, and the others assured me, that they had been several times sought for in vain. And yet it is difficult to believe, how Mr. Muller, from whom subsequent map-makers have adopted them, could place them in his chart without some authority. Relying, however, on the testimony of these people, whom I thought competent witnesses, I have left them out of my chart; and made such corrections amongst the other islands as I was told was necessary. I found there was wanting another correction; for the

* English translation, p. 83, 84.

difference of longitude, between the Bay of Awatska, and the harbour of Samganoodha, according to astronomical observations made at these two places, is greater, by five degrees and a half, than it is by the chart. This error I have supposed to be infused throughout the whole, though it may not be so in reality. There was also an error in the latitude of some places; but this hardly exceeded a quarter of a degree.

I shall now give some account of the islands; beginning with those that lie nearest to Kamtschatka, and reckoning the longitude from the harbour of Petropaulowska, in the Bay of Awatska. The first is Beering's Island, in 55° of latitude, and 6° of longitude. Ten leagues from the south end of this, in the direction of east by south, or east south-east, lies Maidenoi Ostroff or the Copper Island. The next island is, Atakou, laid down in 52° 45′ of latitude, and in 15° or 16° of longitude. This island is about eighteen leagues in extent, in the direction of east and west; and seems to be the same land which Beering fell in with, and named Mount St. John. But there are no islands about it, except two inconsiderable ones, lying three or four leagues from the east end, in the direction of east north-east. We next come to a group, consisting of six or more islands; two of which, Atghka and Amluk are tolerably large; and in each of them is a good harbour. The middle of this group lies in the latitude of 52° 30′, and 28° of longitude from Awatska; and its extent, east and west, is four degrees. These are the isles that Mr. Ismyloff said were to be removed four degrees to the east, which is here done. And in the situation they have in my chart, was a group, consisting of ten small islands, which, I was told, were wholly to be struck out; and also two islands lying between them and the group to which Oonalashka belongs. In the place of these two, an island called Amoghta (which in the chart was situated in the latitude of 51° 45′, and 4° of longitude to the west) was brought.

Nothing more need be said to show how erroneous the situation of many of these islands may be; and for which I am in nowise accountable. But the position of the largest group, of which Oonalashka is one of the principal islands, and the only one in which there is a harbour, is not liable to any such errors. Most of these islands were seen by us; and consequently their latitude and longitude were pretty exactly determined; particularly the harbour of Samganoodha in Oonalashka, which must be looked upon as a fixed point. This group of islands may be said to extend as far as Halibut Isles, which are forty leagues from Oonalashka toward the east north-east. Within these isles, a passage was marked in Ismyloff's chart, communicating with Bristol Bay; which converts about fifteen leagues of the coast, that I had supposed to belong to the continent, into an island, distinguished by the name of Ooneemak. This passage might easily escape us, as we were informed that it is very narrow, shallow, and only to be navigated through with boats, or very small vessels.

It appeared by the chart, as well as by the testimony of Ismyloff and the other Russians, that this is as far as their countrymen have made any discoveries, or have extended themselves, since Beering's time. They all said, that no Russians had settled themselves so far to the east as the place where the natives gave the note to Captain Clerke; which Mr. Ismyloff, to whom I delivered it, on perusing it, said, had been written at Oomanak. It was, however, from him that we got the name of Kodiak*, the largest of Schumagin's Islands; for it had no name upon the chart produced by him. The names of all the other islands were taken from it, and we wrote them down as pronounced by him. He said, they were all such as the natives themselves called their islands by; but if so, some of the names seem to have been strangely altered. It is worth observing, that no names were put to the islands which Ismyloff told us were to be struck out of the chart; and I considered this as some confirmation that they have not existence. I have already observed, that the American continent is here called, by the Russians, as well as by the islanders, Alaschka; which name, though it properly belong only to the country adjoining to Ooneemak, is used by them when speaking of the American continent in general, which they know perfectly well to be a great land.

This is all the information I got from these people, relating to the geography of this part of the world; and I have reason to believe that this was all the information they were able

* A Russian ship had been at Kodiack, in 1776; as appears from a MS. obligingly communicated by Mr. Pennant.

to give. For they assured me, over and over again, that they knew of no other islands, besides those which were laid down upon this chart; and that no Russian had ever seen any part of the continent of America to the northward, except that which lies opposite the country of the Tschutskis. If Mr. Stæhlin was not grossly imposed upon, what could induce him to publish a map, so singularly erroneous; and in which many of these islands are jumbled together in regular confusion, without the least regard to truth? And yet, he is pleased to call it "a very accurate map"*. Indeed, it is a map to which the most illiterate of his illiterate sea-faring countrymen would have been ashamed to have set his name.

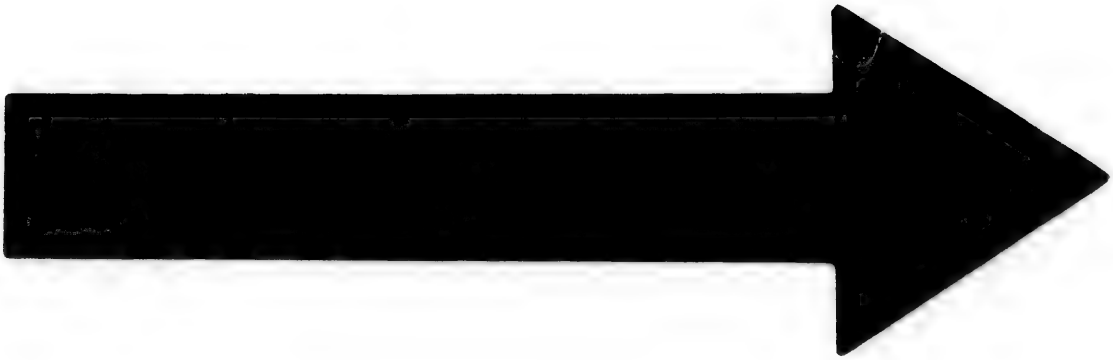
Mr. Ismyloff remained with us till the 21st, in the evening, when he took his final leave. To his care I entrusted a letter to the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty; in which was inclosed a chart of all the northern coasts I had visited. He said there would be an opportunity of sending it to Kamtschatka, or Okotsk, the ensuing spring; and that it would be at Petersburg the following winter. He gave me a letter to Major Behm, Governor of Kamtschatka, who resides at Bolscheretsk; and another to the commanding officer at Petropaulowska. Mr. Ismyloff seemed to have abilities that might entitle him to a higher station in life, than that in which we found him. He was tolerably well versed in astronomy, and in the most useful branches of the mathematics. I made him a present of a Hadley's octant; and though, probably, it was the first he had ever seen, he made himself acquainted, in a very short time, with most of the uses to which that instrument can be applied.

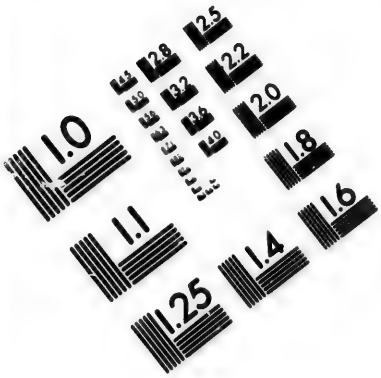
In the morning of the 22nd, we made an attempt to get to sea, with the wind at south-east, which miscarried. The following afternoon, we were visited by one Jacob Ivanhovitch Soposnicoff, a Russian, who commanded a boat, or small vessel, at Oomanak. This man had a great share of modesty; and would drink no strong liquor, of which the rest of his countrymen, whom we had met with here, were immoderately fond. He seemed to know more accurately what supplies could be got at the harbour of Petropaulowska, and the price of the different articles, than Mr. Ismyloff. But, by all accounts, everything we should want at that place was very scarce, and bore a high price. Flour, for instance, was from three to five roubles the pood †; and deer, from three to five roubles each. This man told us that he was to be at Petropaulowska in May next; and, as I understood, was to have the charge of my letter. He seemed to be exceedingly desirous of having some token from me to carry to Major Behm; and, to gratify him, I sent a small spying-glass.

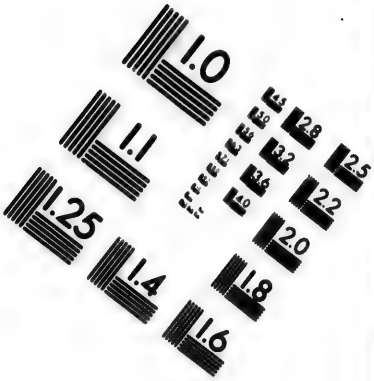
After we became acquainted with these Russians, some of our gentlemen, at different times, visited their settlement on the island; where they always met with a hearty welcome. This settlement consisted of a dwelling-house, and two store-houses. And, besides the Russians, there was a number of the Kamtschadales, and of the natives, as servants, or slaves, to the former. Some others of the natives, who seemed independent of the Russians, lived at the same place. Such of them as belonged to the Russians were all males; and they are taken, or perhaps purchased, from their parents when young. There were, at this time, about twenty of these, who could be looked upon in no other light than as children. They all live in the same house; the Russians at the upper end, the Kamtschadales in the middle; and the natives at the lower end; where is fixed a large boiler for preparing their food, which consists chiefly of what the sea produces, with the addition of wild roots and berries. There is little difference between the first and last table, besides what is produced by cookery, in which the Russians have the art to make indifferent things palatable. I have eat whale's flesh of their dressing, which I thought very good; and they made a kind of pan-pudding of salmon roe, beaten up fine, and fried, that is no bad succedaneum for bread. They may, now and then, taste real bread, or have a dish in which flour is an ingredient; but this can only be an occasional luxury. If we except the juice of berries, which they sip at their meals, they have no other liquor besides pure water; and it seems to be very happy for them that they have nothing stronger.

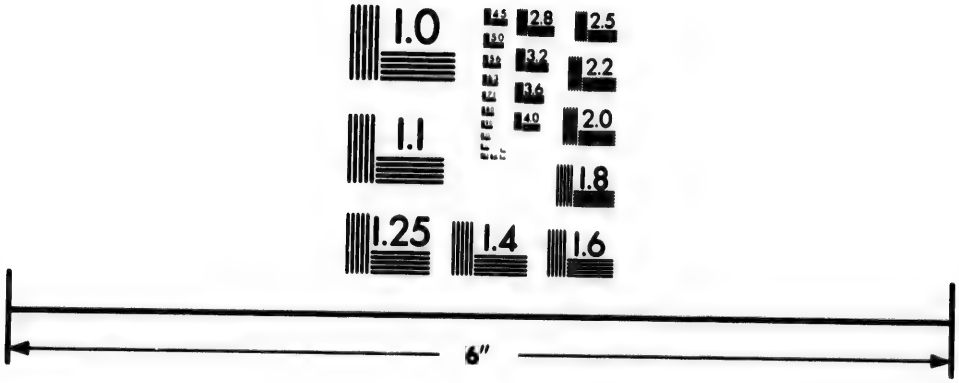
As the island supplies them with food, so it does, in a great measure, with clothing. This consists chiefly of skins, and is, perhaps, the best they could have. The upper garment is made like our waggoner's frock, and reaches as low as the knee. Besides this, they wear a

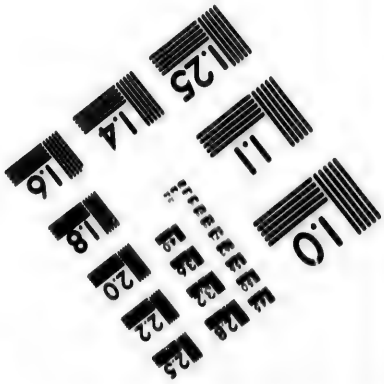
* Stæhlin's New Northern Archipelago, p. 15. † 36lb.











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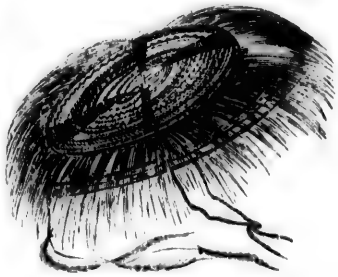
waistcoat or two, a pair of breeches; a fur cap; and a pair of boots, the soles and upper leathers of which are of Russian leather; but the legs are made of some kind of strong gut. Their two chiefs, Ismyloff and Ivanovitch, wore each a calico frock; and they, as well as some others, had shirts, which were of silk. These, perhaps, were the only part of their dress not made amongst themselves. There are Russians settled upon all the principal islands between Oonalashka and Kamtschatka, for the sole purpose of collecting furs. Their great object is the sea beaver or otter. I never heard them inquire after any other animal; though those, whose skins are of inferior value, are also made part of their cargoes. I never thought to ask how long they have had a settlement upon Oonalashka, and the neighbouring isles; but, to judge from the great subjection the natives are under, this cannot be of a very late date*. All these furriers are relieved, from time to time, by others. Those we met with arrived here from Okotsk, in 1776, and are to return in 1781; so that their stay at the island will be four years at least.

It is now time to give some account of the native inhabitants. To all appearance, they are the most peaceable, inoffensive people, I ever met with. And, as to honesty, they might serve as a pattern to the most civilized nation upon earth. But from what I saw of their neighbours, with whom the Russians have no connexion, I doubt whether this was their original disposition; and rather think that it has been the consequence of their present state of subjection. Indeed, if some of our gentlemen did not misunderstand the Russians, they had been obliged to make some severe examples†, before they could bring the islanders into any order. If there were severities inflicted at first, the best apology for them is, that they have produced the happiest consequences; and, at present, the greatest harmony subsists between the two nations. The natives have their own chiefs in each island, and seem to enjoy liberty and property unmolested. But whether or no they are tributaries to the Russians, we could never find out. There was some reason to think that they are. These people are rather low of stature, but plump and well shaped; with rather short necks; swarthy chubby faces; black eyes; small beards; and long, straight, black hair; which the men wear loose behind, and cut before, but the women tie up in a bunch. Their dress has been occasionally mentioned. Both sexes wear the same in fashion; the only difference is in the materials. The women's frock is made of seal-skin; and that of the men, of the skins of birds; both reaching below the knee. This is the whole dress of the women. But, over the frock, the men wear another made of gut, which resists water; and has a hood to it, which draws over the head. Some of them wear boots; and all of them have a kind of oval-snouted cap, made of wood, with a rim to admit the head. These caps are dyed with green and other colours; and round the upper part of the rim, are stuck the long bristles of some sea-animal, on which are strung glass beads; and on the front is a small image or two made of bone.



CAP OF THE NATIVES.

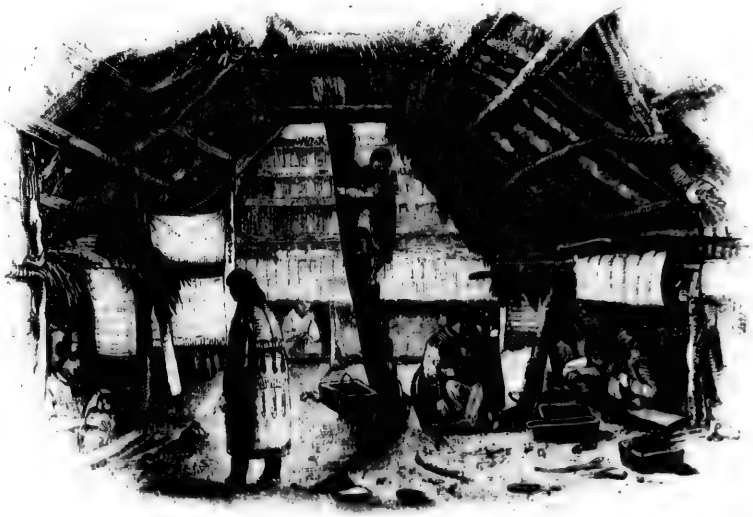
They make use of no paint; but the women puncture their faces slightly; and both men and women bore the under lip, to which they fix pieces of bone. But it is as uncommon at Oonalashka to see a man with this ornament, as to see a woman without it. Some fix beads to the upper lip, under the nostrils, and all of them hang ornaments in their ears. Their food consists of fish, sea-animals, birds, roots, and berries; and even of sea-weed. They dry large quantities of fish in summer, which they lay up in small huts for winter use; and, probably, they preserve roots and berries for the same time of scarcity. They eat almost every thing raw. Boiling and broiling were the only methods of cookery that I saw them make use of; and the first was probably learnt from the Russians. Some have got little

* The Russians began to frequent Oonalashka in 1762. See Coxe's Russian Discoveries, ch. viii. p. 80.
† See the particulars of hostilities between the Russians and natives, in Coxe, as cited above.

brass kettles; and those who have not, make one of a flat stone, with sides of clay, not unlike a standing pye.

I was once present when the chief of Oonalashka made his dinner of the raw head of a large halibut just caught. Before any was given to the chief, two of his servants ate the gills, without any other dressing, besides squeezing out the slime. This done, one of them cut off the head of the fish, took it to the sea and washed it; then came with it, and sat down by the chief; first pulling up some grass, upon a part of which the head was laid, and the rest was strewed before the chief. He then cut large pieces off the cheeks, and laid these within the reach of the great man, who swallowed them with as much satisfaction as we should do raw oysters. When he had done, the remains of the head were cut in pieces, and given to the attendants, who tore off the meat with their teeth, and gnawed the bones like so many dogs.

As these people use no paint, they are not so dirty in their persons as the savages who thus besmear themselves; but they are full as lousy and filthy in their houses. Their method of building is as follows: They dig in the ground an oblong square pit, the length of which seldom exceeds fifty feet, and the breadth twenty; but in general the dimensions are smaller. Over this excavation, they form the roof of wood which the sea throws ashore. This roof is covered first with grass, and then with earth; so that the outward appearance is like a dunghill. In the middle of the roof, toward each end, is left a square opening, by which the light is admitted; one of these openings being for this purpose only, and the other being



INTERIOR OF A HUT OF OONALASHKA.

also used to go in and out by, with the help of a ladder, or rather a post, with steps cut in it*. In some houses there is another entrance below; but this is not common. Round the sides and ends of the huts, the families (for several are lodged together) have their separate apartments, where they sleep, and sit at work; not upon benches, but in a kind of concave trench, which is dug all round the inside of the house, and covered with mats; so

* Mr. Coxe's description of the habitations of the natives of Oonalashka, and the other Fox Islands, in general, agrees with Captain Cook's. See Russian Discoveries, p. 149. See also Histoire des différents Peuples soumis à la Domination des Russes, par M. Levesque, tom. i. p. 41.

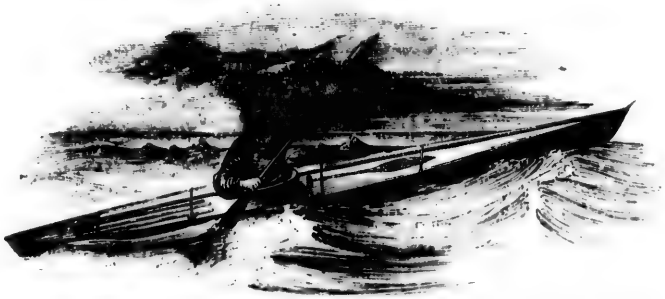
that this part is kept tolerably decent. But the middle of the house, which is common to all the families, is far otherwise. For, although it be covered with dry grass, it is a receptacle for dirt of every kind, and the place for the urine trough; the stench of which is not mended by raw hides, or leather, being almost continually steeped in it. Behind and over the trench are placed the few effects they are possessed of; such as their clothing, mats, and skins.

Their household furniture consists of bowls, spoons, buckets, piggins, or cans, matted baskets, and perhaps a Russian kettle or pot. All these utensils are very neatly made, and well formed; and yet we saw no other tools among them but the knife and the hatchet; that is, a small flat piece of iron, made like an adze, by fitting it into a crooked wooden handle. These were the only instruments we met with there, made of iron. For although the Russians live amongst them, we found much less of this metal in their possession than we had met with in the possession of other tribes on the American continent, who had never seen, nor perhaps had any intercourse with the Russians. Probably a few beads, a little tobacco and snuff, purchase all they have to spare. There are few, if any of them, that do not both smoke and chew tobacco, and take snuff; a luxury that bids fair to keep them always poor. They do not seem to wish for more iron, or to want any other instruments, except sewing needles, their own being made of bone. With these they not only sew their canoes, and make their clothes, but also very curious embroidery. Instead of thread, they use the fibres of sinews, which they split to the thickness which each sort of work requires. All sewing is performed by the women. They are tailors, shoemakers, and boat-builders, or boat-coverers; for the men, most probably, construct the frame of wood over which the skins are sewed. They make mats and baskets of grass, that are both beautiful and strong. Indeed there is a neatness and perfection in n ost of their work that shows they neither want ingenuity nor perseverance.

I saw not a fire-place in any one of their houses. They are lighted as well as heated by lamps, which are simple, and yet answer the purpose very well. They are made of a flat stone, hollowed on one side like a plate, and about the same size, or rather larger. In the hollow part they put the oil, mixed with a little dry grass, which serves the purpose of a wick. Both men and women frequently warm their bodies over one of these lamps, by placing it between their legs, under their garments, and sitting thus over it for a few minutes. They produce fire by collision and by attrition; the former by striking two stones one against another; on one of which a good deal of brimstone is first rubbed. The latter method is with two pieces of wood; one of which is a stick of about eighteen inches in length, and the other a flat piece. The pointed end of the stick they press upon the other, whirling it nimbly round as a drill; thus producing fire in a few minutes. This method is common in many parts of the world. It is practised by the Kamtschadales, by these people, by the Greenlanders, by the Brazilians, by the Otaheiteans, by the New Hollanders; and probably by many other nations. Yet some learned and ingenious men have founded an argument on this custom to prove, that this and that nation are of the same extraction. But accidental agreement, in a few particular instances, will not authorise such a conclusion; nor will a disagreement, either in manners or customs, between two different nations, of course prove that they are of different extraction. I could support this opinion by many instances besides the one just mentioned.

No such thing as an offensive or even defensive weapon was seen amongst the natives of Oonalashka. We cannot suppose that the Russians found them in such a defenceless state; it is more probable that for their own security they have disarmed them. Political reasons too may have induced the Russians not to allow these islanders to have any large canoes; for it is difficult to believe they had none such originally, as we found them amongst all their neighbours. However we saw none here but one or two belonging to the Russians. The canoes made use of by the natives are the smallest we had anywhere seen upon the American coast; though built after the same manner, with some little difference in the construction. The stern of these terminates a little abruptly; the head is forked; the upper point of the fork projecting without the under one, which is even with the surface of the water. Why they should thus construct them is difficult to conceive; for the fork is apt to catch

hold of everything that comes in the way; to prevent which they fix a piece of small stick from point to point. In other respects their canoes are built after the manner of those used by the Greenlanders and Esquimaux; the framing being of slender laths, and the covering of seal-skins. They are about twelve feet long; a foot and a half broad in the middle; and twelve or fourteen inches deep. Upon occasion they can carry two persons; one of whom is stretched at full length in the canoe; and the other sits in the seat, or round hole, which is nearly in the middle. Round this hole is a rim or hoop of wood, about which is sewed gut skin, that can be drawn together, or opened like a purse, with leathern thongs fitted to the outer edge. The man seats himself in this place, draws the skin tight round his body over his gut frock, and brings the ends of the thongs, or purse-string, over the shoulder to keep it in its place. The sleeves of his frock are tied round his wrists; and it being close round his neck, and the hood drawn over his head, where it is confined by his cap, water can scarcely penetrate either to his body or into the canoe. If any should, however, insinuate itself, the boatman carries a piece of spunge, with which he dries it up. He uses the double-bladed paddle, which is held with both hands in the middle, striking the water with a quick regular motion, first on one side and then on the other. By this means the canoe is impelled at a great rate, and in a direction as straight as a line can be drawn. In sailing from Egooschshak to Samganoodha, two or three canoes kept way with the ship, though she was going at the rate of seven miles an hour.



FISHING CANOE OF OONALASHKA.

Their fishing and hunting implements lie ready upon the canoes, under straps fixed for the purpose. They are all made in great perfection of wood and bone; and differ very little from those used by the Greenlanders, as they are described by Crantz. The only difference is in the point of the missile dart; which, in some we saw here, is not above an inch long; whereas Crantz says that those of the Greenlanders are a foot and a half in length. Indeed these darts, as well as some other of their instruments, are so curious that they deserve a particular description; but as many of them were brought away on board the ships, this can be done at any time, if thought necessary. These people are very expert in striking fish, both in the sea and in rivers. They also make use of hooks and lines, nets and weirs. The hooks are composed of bone, and the lines of sinews.

The fishes, which are common to other northern seas, are found here; such as whales, grampusses, porpoises, sword-fish, halibut, cod, salmon, trout, seals, flat-fish; several other sorts of small fish; and there may be many more that we had no opportunity of seeing. Halibut and salmon seem to be in the greatest plenty; and on them the inhabitants of these isles subsist chiefly; at least they were the only sort of fish, except a few cod, which we observed to be laid up for their winter store. To the north of 60°, the sea is, in a manner, destitute of small fish of every kind; but then whales are more numerous. Seals, and that whole tribe of sea-animals, are not so numerous as in many other seas. Nor can this be thought strange, since there is hardly any part of the coast, on either continent, nor any of

the islands lying between them, that is not inhabited, and whose inhabitants hunt these animals for their food and clothing. Sea-horses are, indeed, in prodigious numbers about the ice; and the sea-otter is, I believe, nowhere found but in this sea. We sometimes saw an animal with a head like a seal's, that blew after the manner of whales. It was larger than a seal, and its colour was white, with some dark spots. Probably this was the sea-cow, or *manati*.

I think I may venture to assert, that sea and water-fowls are neither in such numbers, nor in such variety, as with us in the northern parts of the Atlantic Ocean. There are some, however, here that I do not remember to have seen anywhere else; particularly the *Alca monochroa* of Steller, before-mentioned; and a black and white duck, which I conceive to be different from the stone-duck described by Krasheninikoff *. All the other birds seen by us are mentioned by this author, except some that we met with near the ice; and most, if not all of these, are described by Martin in his voyage to Greenland. It is a little extraordinary that penguins, which are common in many parts of the world, should not be found in this sea. Albatrosses too are so very scarce, that I cannot help thinking that this is not their proper climate. The few land-birds that we met with are the same with those in Europe; but there may be many others which we had no opportunity of knowing. A very beautiful bird was shot in the woods at Norton Sound, which, I am told, is sometimes found in England, and known by the name of chatterer. Our people met with other small birds there, but in no great variety and abundance; such as the wood-pecker, the bull-finch, the yellow-finch, and a small bird called a tit-mouse.

As our excursions and observations were confined wholly to the sea-coast, it is not to be expected that we could know much of the animals or vegetables of the country. Except mosquitoes, there are few other insects, or reptiles, that I saw, but lizards. There are no deer upon Oonalashka, nor upon any other of the islands. Nor have they any domestic animals, not even dogs. Foxes and weasels were the only quadrupeds we saw; but they told us that they had hares also, and the *marmottas* mentioned by Krasheninikoff †. Hence it is evident that the sea and rivers supply the greatest share of food to the inhabitants. They are also obliged to the sea for all the wood made use of for building, and other necessary purposes; for not a stick grows upon any of the islands, nor upon the adjacent coast of the continent. The learned tell us, that the seeds of plants are, by various means, conveyed from one part of the world to another; even to islands in the midst of great oceans, and far remote from any other land. How comes it to pass that there are no trees growing on this part of the continent of America, nor any other of the islands lying near it? They are certainly as well situated for receiving seeds, by all the various ways I have heard of, as any of those coasts that abound in wood. May not nature have denied to some soil the power of raising trees without the assistance of art? As to the drift-wood upon the shores of the islands, I have no doubt that it comes from America. For although there may be none on the neighbouring coast, enough may grow farther up the country, which torrents in the spring may break loose, and bring down to the sea. And not a little may be conveyed from the woody coasts, though they lie at a greater distance.

There are a great variety of plants at Oonalashka; and most of them were in flower the latter end of June. Several of them are such as we find in Europe, and in other parts of America, particularly in Newfoundland; and others of them, which are also met with in Kamtschatka, are eat by the natives both there and here. Of these Krasheninikoff has given us descriptions. The principal one is the *saranne*, or lily-root; which is about the size of a root of garlic, round, made up of a number of small cloves, and grains like groats. When boiled, it is somewhat like saloop; the taste is not disagreeable, and we found means to make some good dishes with it. It does not seem to be in great plenty, for we got none but what Ismyloff gave us.

We must reckon amongst the food of the natives some other wild roots; the stalk of a plant resembling *angelica*, and berries of several different sorts; such as bramble-berries, cran-berries, hurtle-berries, heath-berries, a small red berry which, in Newfoundland, is

* History of Kamtschatka. Eng. Trans., p. 160. † History of Kamtschatka, p. 99.

called partridge-berry; and another brown berry, unknown to us. This has somewhat of the taste of a sloe, but is unlike it in every other respect. It is very astringent, if eaten in any quantity. Brandy might be distilled from it. Captain Clerke attempted to preserve some; but they fermented, and became as strong as if they had been steeped in spirits. There were a few other plants which we found serviceable, but are not made use of by either Russians or natives; such as wild purslain, pea-tops, a kind of scurvy-grass, cresses, and some others. All these we found very palatable, dressed either in soups or in salads. On the low ground, and in the valleys, is plenty of grass, which grows very thick, and to a great length. I am of opinion that cattle might subsist at Oonalashka all the year round, without being housed. And the soil, in many places, seemed capable of producing grain, roots, and vegetables. But at present, the Russian traders and the natives seem satisfied with what nature brings forth.

Native sulphur was seen amongst the inhabitants of the island; but I had no opportunity of learning where they got it. We found also ochre; a stone that gives a purple colour, and another that gives a very good green. It may be doubted whether this last is known. In its natural state, it is of a greyish-green colour, coarse and heavy. It easily dissolves in oil; but when put into water, it entirely loses its properties. It seemed to be scarce in Oonalashka; but we were told that it was in greater plenty on the island of Oonemak. As to the stones about the shore and hills, I saw nothing in them that was uncommon.

The people of Oonalashka bury their dead on the summits of hills, and raise a little hillock over the grave. In a walk into the country, one of the natives who attended me pointed out several of these receptacles of the dead. There was one of them by the side of the road leading from the harbour to the village, over which was raised a heap of stones. It was observed, that every one who passed it, added one to it. I saw in the country several stone hillocks that seemed to have been raised by art. Many of them were apparently of great antiquity. What their notions are of the Deity, and of a future state, I know not. I am equally unacquainted with their diversions; nothing having been seen that could give us an insight into either.

They are remarkably cheerful and friendly amongst each other, and always behaved with great civility to us. The Russians told us, that they never had any connexions with their women, because they were not Christians. Our people were not so scrupulous; and some of them had reason to repent that the females of Oonalashka encouraged their addresses without any reserve, for their health suffered by a distemper that is not unknown here. The natives of this island are also subject to the cancer, or a complaint like it, which those whom it attacks are very careful to conceal. They do not seem to be long-lived. I nowhere saw a person, man or woman, whom I could suppose to be sixty years of age, and but very few who appeared to be above fifty. Probably their hard way of living may be the means of shortening their days.

I have frequently had occasion to mention, from the time of our arrival in Prince William's Sound, how remarkably the natives on this north-west side of America resemble the Greenlanders and Esquimaux, in various particulars of person, dress, weapons, canoes, and the like. However, I was much less struck with this than with the affinity which we found subsisting between the dialects of the Greenlanders and Esquimaux, and those of Norton's Sound and Oonalashka. This will appear from a table of corresponding words, which I put together, and will be inserted in the course of this work*. It must be observed, however, with regard to the words which we collected on this side of America, that too much stress is not to be laid upon their being accurately represented; for after Mr. Anderson's death, we had few who took much pains about such matters, and I have frequently found, that the same words written down by two or more persons, from the mouth of the same native, on being compared together, differed not a little. But still enough is certain to warrant this judgment, that there is great reason to believe that all these nations are of the same extraction; and if so, there can be little doubt of there being a northern communication of some sort by sea, between this west side of America and the east side, through Baffin's Bay;

* It will be found amongst other vocabularies, at the end of the volume.

which communication, however, may be effectually shut up against ships, by ice and other impediments. Such, at least, was my opinion at this time.

I shall now quit these northern regions with a few particulars relative to the tides and currents upon the coast, and an account of the astronomical observations made by us in Samganoodha Harbour. The tide is nowhere considerable but in the great river*. The flood comes from the south or south-east, everywhere following the direction of the coast to the north-westward. Between Norton Sound and Cape Prince of Wales, we found a current setting to the north-west, particularly off the cape, and within Sledge Island. But this current extended only a little way from the coast; nor was it either consistent or uniform. To the north of Cape Prince of Wales, we found neither tide nor current, either on the American or on the Asiatic coast, though several times looked for. This gave rise to an opinion, entertained by some on board our ships, that the two coasts were connected either by land or by ice; which opinion received some strength by our never having any hollow waves from the north, and by our seeing ice almost the whole way across.

The following are the results of the several observations made ashore during our stay in the harbour of Samganoodha.

The latitude, by the mean of several observed meridian altitudes of the sun	53°	5′	0″
The longitude { By the mean of twenty sets of lunar observations, with the sun east of the moon	193	47	45
The longitude { By the mean of fourteen sets, with the sun and stars west of the moon	193	11	45
The mean of these	193	29	45
The longitude assumed	193	30	0
By the mean of equal altitudes of the sun, taken on the 12th, 14th, 17th, and 21st, the timekeeper was found to be losing on mean time 8″, 8 each day; and on the last of these days, was too slow for mean time 13h 46m 43s, 98. Hence the timekeeper must have been too slow on the 4th, the day after our arrival, by 13h 44m 36s, 62; and the longitude, by Greenwich rate, will be 13h 23m 53s, 8	200	58	27
By King George's (or Nootka) Sound rate, 12h 56m 40s, 4	194	10	6
The 30th June, the timekeeper, by the same rate, gave	193	12	0
The error of the timekeeper at that time was	0	18	0 W.
At this time its error was	0	39	54 E.
The error of the timekeeper between our leaving Samganoodha and our return to it again, was	0	57	54
On the 12th of Oct. the variation A.M. 20° 17′ 2″ / By the mean of three compasses P.M. 19 41 27 } Mean	19	59	15 E.
Mean of the dip of the north end of the needle	69	23	30

Dip of the needle { Unmarked end, Marked end } Dipping face east { 68° 45′, 69 55 } Face West { 69° 30′, 69 17′ }

* Cook's River.

CHAPTER XII.—DEPARTURE FROM OONALASHKA, AND FUTURE VIEWS.—THE ISLAND AMOGHTA.—SITUATION OF A REMARKABLE ROCK.—THE STRAIT BETWEEN OONALASHKA AND OONELLA REPASSED.—PROGRESS TO THE SOUTH.—MELANCHOLY ACCIDENT ON BOARD THE DISCOVERY.—MOWEE, ONE OF THE SANDWICH ISLANDS, DISCOVERED.—INTERCOURSE WITH THE NATIVES.—VISIT FROM TERREEOBOO.—ANOTHER ISLAND CALLED OWHYHEE, DISCOVERED.—THE SHIPS PLY TO WINDWARD TO GET ROUND IT.—AN ECLIPSE OF THE MOON OBSERVED.—THE CREW REFUSE TO DRINK SUGAR-CANE BEER.—CORDAGE DEFICIENT IN STRENGTH.—COMMENDATION OF THE NATIVES OF OWHYHEE.—THE RESOLUTION GETS TO WINDWARD OF THE ISLAND.—HER PROGRESS DOWN THE SOUTH-EAST COAST.—VIEWS OF THE COUNTRY, AND VISITS FROM THE NATIVES.—THE DISCOVERY JOINS.—SLOW PROGRESS WESTWARD.—KARAKAKOOA BAY EXAMINED BY MR. BLIGH.—VAST CONCOURSE OF THE NATIVES.—THE SHIPS ANCHOR IN THE BAY.

In the morning of Monday the 26th, we put to sea from Samganoodha Harbour, and as the wind was southerly, stood away to the westward. My intention was now to proceed to Sandwich Islands, there to spend a few of the winter months, in case we should meet with the necessary refreshments, and then to direct our course to Kamtschatka, so as to endeavour to be there by the middle of May, the ensuing summer. In consequence of this resolution, I gave Captain Clerke orders how to proceed in case of separation; appointing Sandwich Islands for the first place of rendezvous, and the harbour of Petropaulowska, in Kamtschatka, for the second.

Soon after we were out of the harbour, the wind veered to the S.E. and E.S.E., which, by the evening, carried us as far as the western part of Oonalashka, where we got the wind at S. With this we stretched to the westward, till seven o'clock the next morning, when we wore, and stood to the E. The wind, by this time, had increased in such a manner as to reduce us to our three courses. It blew in very heavy squalls attended with rain, hail, and snow. At nine o'clock in the morning of the 28th, the island of Oonalashka bore S.E., four leagues distant. We then wore and stood to the westward. The strength of the gale was now over, and toward evening, the little wind that blew insensibly veered round to the E., where it continued but a short time before it got to N.E., and increased to a very hard gale with rain. I steered first to the southward, and as the wind inclined to the N. and N.W., I steered more westerly.

On the 29th, at half-past six in the morning, we saw land extending from E. by S. to S. by W., supposed to be the island Amoghta. At eight, finding that we could not weather the island, as the wind had now veered to the westward, I gave over plying, and bore away for Oonalashka, with a view of going to the northward and eastward of that island, not daring to attempt a passage to the S. E. of it, in so hard a gale of wind. At the time we bore away, the land extended from E. by S. ½ S. to S. S. W., four leagues distant. The longitude by the time keeper was 191° 17′, and the latitude 53° 38′. This will give a very different situation to this island from that assigned to it upon the Russian map. But it must be remembered, that this is one of the islands which Mr. Ismyloff said was wrongly placed. Indeed it is a doubt if this be Amoghta*; for after Ismyloff had made the correction, no land appeared upon the map in this latitude; but as I have observed before, we must not look for accuracy in this chart. At eleven o'clock, as we were steering to the N. E., we discovered an elevated rock, like a tower, bearing N. N. E. ½ E., four leagues distant. It lies in the latitude of 53° 57′, and in the longitude of 191° 2′, and hath no place in the Russian map †. We must have passed very near it in the night. We could judge of

* On the chart of Krenitzen's and Levasheff's voyage, in 1768 and 1769, which we find in Mr. Coxe's book, p. 251, an island called Amuckta is laid down, not very far from the place assigned to Amoghta by Captain Cook. The chart also agrees with Captain Cook's, as to the general position of this group of islands. The singularly indented shores of the island of Oonalashka are represented in both charts much alike; these circumstances are worth attending to, as the more modern Russian maps of this archipelago are so wonderfully erroneous.

† Though this rock had no place in the Russian map produced by Ismyloff, it has a place in the chart of Krenitzen's and Levasheff's voyage, above referred to.

its steepness from this circumstance, that the sea, which now ran very high, broke no where but against it. At three in the afternoon, after getting a sight of Oonalashka, we shortened sail, and hauled the wind, not having time to get through the passage before night. At day break the next morning, we bore away under courses, and close-reefed top-sails, having a very hard gale at W. N. W., with heavy squalls, attended with snow. At noon, we were in the middle of the strait, between Oonalashka and Oonella, the harbour of Samganoodha bearing S. S. E., one league distant. At three in the afternoon, being through the strait and clear of the isles, Cape Providence bearing W. S. W., two or three leagues distant, we steered to the southward, under double-reefed top-sails and courses, with the wind at W. N. W., a strong gale, and fair weather.

On Monday the 2d of November, the wind veered to the southward, and before night blew a violent storm, which obliged us to bring to. The Discovery fired several guns, which we answered, but without knowing on what occasion they were fired. At eight o'clock, we lost sight of her, and did not see her again till eight the next morning. At ten, she joined us; and, as the height of the gale was now over, and the wind had veered back to W. N. W., we made sail, and resumed our course to the southward. The 6th, in the evening, being in the latitude of 42° 12′, and in the longitude of 201° 26′, the variation was 17° 15′ E. The next morning, our latitude being 41° 20′, and our longitude 202°, a shag, or cormorant, flew several times round the ship. As these birds are seldom, if ever, known to fly far out of sight of land, I judged that some was not far distant. However, we could see none. In the afternoon, there being but little wind, Captain Clerke came on board, and informed me of a melancholy accident that happened on board his ship, the second night after we left Samganoodha. The main tack gave way, killed one man, and wounded the boatswain and two or three more. In addition to this misfortune, I now learned, that on the evening of the 3d, his sails and rigging received considerable damage; and that the guns which he fired were the signal to bring to. On the 8th, the wind was at north; a gentle breeze, with clear weather. On the 9th, in the latitude of 39½°, we had eight hours calm. This w[illegible]eeded by the wind from the south, attended with fair weather. Availing oursel[illegible]his, as many of our people as could handle a needle were set to work to repair the sai[illegible]d the carpenters were employed to put the boats in order.

On the 12th at noon, being then in the latitude of 36° 14′, and in the longitude of 206° 17′, the wind returned back to the northward; and on the 15th, in the latitude of 33° 30′, it veered to the east. At this time, we saw a tropic bird, and a dolphin; the first that we had observed during the passage. On the 17th, the wind veered to the southward, where it continued till the afternoon of the 9th, when a squall of wind and rain brought it at once round by the west to the north. This was in the latitude of 32° 26′, and in the longitude of 207° 30′. The wind presently increased to a very strong gale, attended with rain, so as to bring us under double-reefed top-sails. In lowering down the main-top-sail to reef it, the wind tore it quite out of the foot-rope; and it was split in several other parts. This sail had only been brought to the yard the day before, after having had a repair. The next morning, we got another top-sail to the yard. This gale proved to be the forerunner of the trade-wind, which, in latitude 25°, veered to east, and east south-east.

I continued to steer to the southward, till daylight in the morning of the 25th, at which time we were in the latitude of 20° 55′. I now spread the ships, and steered to the west. In the evening, we joined; and at midnight brought to. At daybreak, next morning, land was seen extending from south south-east to west. We made sail, and stood for it. At eight, it extended from south-east half south, to west; the nearest part two leagues distant. It was supposed that we saw the extent of the land to the east, but not to the west. We were now satisfied, that the group of the Sandwich Islands had been only imperfectly discovered; as those of them which we had visited in our progress northward, all lie to the leeward of our present station. In the country was an elevated saddle hill, whose summit appeared above the clouds. From this hill the land fell in a gentle slope, and terminated in a steep, rocky coast, against which the sea broke in a dreadful surf. Finding that we could not weather the island, I bore up, and ranged along the coast to the westward. It was not long before we saw people on several parts of the shore, and some houses and plantations.

The country seemed to be both well wooded and watered; and running streams were seen falling into the sea in various places.

As it was of the last importance to procure a supply of provisions at these islands; and experience having taught me that I could have no chance to succeed in this, if a free trade with the natives were to be allowed; that is, if it were left to every man's discretion to trade for what he pleased, and in the manner he pleased; for this substantial reason, I now published an order, prohibiting all persons from trading, except such as should be appointed by me and Captain Clerke; and even these were enjoined to trade only for provisions and refreshments. Women were also forbidden to be admitted into the ships, except under certain restrictions. But the evil I meant to prevent, by this regulation, I soon found, had already got amongst them.

At noon, the coast extended from S. 81° E. to N. 56° W.; a low flat, like an isthmus, bore S. 42° W.; the nearest shore three or four miles distant; the latitude was 20° 59′, and the longitude 203° 50′. Seeing some canoes coming off to us, I brought to. As soon as they got alongside, many of the people who conducted them came into the ship, without the least hesitation. We found them to be of the same nation with the inhabitants of the islands more to leeward, which we had already visited; and, if we did not mistake them, they knew of our having been there. Indeed, it rather appeared too evident; for these people had got amongst them the venereal distemper; and, as yet, I knew of no other way of its reaching them, but by an intercourse with their neighbours since our leaving them.

We got from our visitors a quantity of cuttle-fish, for nails and pieces of iron. They brought very little fruit and roots; but told us that they had plenty of them on their island, as also hogs and fowls. In the evening, the horizon being clear to the westward, we judged the westernmost land in sight to be an island, separated from that off which we now were. Having no doubt that the people would return to the ships next day, with the produce of their country, I kept plying off all night, and in the morning stood close in-shore. At first, only a few of the natives visited us; but toward noon, we had the company of a good many, who brought with them bread-fruit, potatoes, tarro, or eddy roots, a few plantains, and small pigs; all of which they exchanged for nails and iron tools. Indeed, we had nothing else to give them. We continued trading with them till four o'clock in the afternoon, when, having disposed of all their cargoes, and not seeming inclined to fetch more, we made sail, and stood off-shore.

While we were lying to, though the wind blew fresh, I observed that the ships drifted to the east. Consequently, there must have been a current setting in that direction. This encouraged me to ply to windward, with a view to get round the east end of the island, and so have the whole lee-side before us. In the afternoon of the 30th, being off the north-east end of the island, several canoes came off to the ships. Most of these belonged to a chief named Terreeoboo, who came in one of them. He made me a present of two or three small pigs; and we got, by barter, from the other people, a little fruit. After a stay of about two hours, they all left us, except six or eight of their company, who chose to remain on board. A double-sailing canoe came, soon after, to attend upon them; which we towed astern all night. In the evening, we discovered another island to windward, which the natives call Owhyhee. The name of that off which we had been for some days, we were also told, is Mowee.

On the 1st of December, at eight in the morning, Owhyhee extended from south 22° E. to S. 12° W.; and Mowee from N. 41° to N. 83° W. Finding that we could fetch Owhyhee, I stood for it; and our visitors from Mowee not choosing to accompany us, embarked in their canoe, and went ashore. At seven in the evening, we were close up with the north side of Owhyhee; where we spent the night, standing off and on. In the morning of the 2d, we were surprised to see the summits of the mountains on Owhyhee covered with snow. They did not appear to be of any extraordinary height; and yet, in some places, the snow seemed to be of a considerable depth, and to have lain there some time. As we drew near the shore, some of the natives came off to us. They were a little shy at first; but we soon enticed some of them on board; and at last prevailed upon them to return to the island, and bring off what we wanted. Soon after these reached the shore,

we had company enough; and few coming empty-handed, we got a tolerable supply of small pigs, fruit, and roots. We continued trading with them till six in the evening; when we made sail, and stood off, with a view of plying to windward round the island.

In the evening of the 4th, we observed an eclipse of the moon. Mr. King made use of a night-telescope, a circular aperture being placed at the object end, about one-third of the size of the common aperture. I observed with the telescope of one of Ramsden's sextants; which, I think, answers this purpose as well as any other. The following times are the means, as observed by us both:—

6^h 3′ 25″ beginning of the eclipse 8^h 27′ 25″ end of the eclipse	Longitude	204° 40′ 45″ 204° 25′ 15″
Mean		204° 35′ 0″

The penumbra was visible, at least ten minutes before the beginning, and after the end of the eclipse. I measured the uneclipsed part of the moon, with one of Ramsden's sextants, several times before, at, and after the middle of the eclipse; but did not get the time of the middle so near as might have been effected by this method. Indeed these observations were made only as an experiment, without aiming at much nicety. I also measured mostly one way; whereas I ought to have brought alternately the reflected and direct images to contrary sides, with respect to each other; reading the numbers off the quadrant, in one case, to the left of the beginning of the divisions; and in the other case, to the right hand of the same. It is evident, that half the sum of these two numbers must be the true measurement, independent of the error of the quadrant; and this is the method that I would recommend. But I am well assured, that it might have been observed much nearer; and that this method may be useful when neither the beginning nor end of an eclipse can be observed, which may often happen.

Immediately after the eclipse was over, we observed the distance of each limb of the moon from Pollux and Arietis; the one being to the east, and the other to the west. An opportunity to observe, under all these circumstances, seldom happens; but when it does, it ought not to be omitted; as, in this case, the local errors to which these observations are liable destroy each other; which, in all other cases, would require the observations of a whole moon. The following are the results of these observations:

Myself with	Arietis 204° 22′ 7″ Pollux 204° 20′ 4″	mean 204° 21′ 5″
Mr. King with	Arietis 204° 27′ 45″ Pollux 204° 9′ 12″	mean 204° 18′ 29″
Mean of the two means		204° 19′ 47″
The time-keeper, at 4^h 30′, to which time all the lunar observations are reduced		204° 4′ 45″

The current which I have mentioned, as setting to the eastward, had now ceased; for we gained but little by plying. On the 6th, in the evening, being about five leagues farther up the coast, and near the shore, we had some traffic with the natives. But, as it had furnished only a trifling supply, I stood in again the next morning, when we had a considerable number of visitors; and we lay to, trading with them till two in the forenoon. By that time, we had procured pork, fruit, and roots, sufficient for four or five days. We then made sail, and continued to ply to windward.

Having procured a quantity of sugar-cane, and having, upon a trial, made but a few days before, found that a strong decoction of it produced a very palatable beer, I ordered some more to be brewed for our general use. But when the cask was now broached, not one of my crew would even so much as taste it. As I had no motive in preparing this beverage, but to save our spirit for a colder climate, I gave myself no trouble, either by exerting authority, or by having recourse to persuasion, to prevail upon them to drink it; knowing that there was no danger of the scurvy, so long as we could get a plentiful supply of other vegetables. But that I might not be disappointed

in my views, I gave orders that no grog should be served in either ship. I myself, and the officers, continued to make use of this sugar-cane beer, whenever we could get materials for brewing it. A few hops, of which we had some on board, improved it much. It has the taste of new malt beer; and I believe no one will doubt of its being very wholesome. And yet my inconsiderate crew alleged that it was injurious to their health. They had no better reason to support a resolution, which they took on our first arrival in King George's Sound, not to drink the spruce-beer made there. But, whether from a consideration that it was not the first time of their being required to use that liquor, or from some other reason, they did not attempt to carry their purpose into actual execution; and I had never heard of it till now, when they renewed their ignorant opposition to my best endeavours to serve them. Every innovation whatever, on board a ship, though ever so much to the advantage of seamen, is sure to meet with their highest disapprobation. Both portable soup and sour krout were, at first, condemned as stuff unfit for human beings. Few commanders have introduced into their ships more novelties, as useful varieties of food and drink, than I have done. Indeed few commanders have had the same opportunities of trying such experiments, or been driven to the same necessity of trying them. It has, however, been in a great measure owing to various little deviations from established practice, that I have been able to preserve my people, generally speaking, from that dreadful distemper, the scurvy, which has perhaps destroyed more of our sailors, in their peaceful voyages, than have fallen by the enemy in military expeditions.

I kept at some distance from the coast till the 13th, when I stood in again, six leagues farther to windward than we had as yet reached; and, after having some trade with the natives who visited us, returned to sea. I should have got near the shore again on the 15th, for a supply of fruit or roots, but the wind happening to be at south-east by south, and south south-east, I thought this a good time to stretch to the eastward, in order to get round, or at least to get a sight of the south-east end of the island. The wind continued at south-east by south most part of the 16th. It was variable between south and east on the 17th; and on the 18th it was continually veering from one quarter to another, blowing sometimes in hard squalls, and at other times calm, with thunder, lightning, and rain. In the afternoon, we had the wind westerly for a few hours; but in the evening it shifted to east by south, and we stood to the southward, close hauled, under an easy sail, as the Discovery was at some distance astern. At this time the south-east point of the island bore south-west by south, about five leagues distant; and I made no doubt that I should be able to weather it. But at one o'clock next morning it fell calm, and we were left to the mercy of a north-easterly swell, which impelled us fast toward the land; so that, long before daybreak we saw lights upon the shore, which was not more than a league distant. The night was dark, with thunder, lightning, and rain.

At three o'clock the calm was succeeded by a breeze from the south by east, blowing in squalls, with rain. We stood to the north-east, thinking it the best tack to clear the coast; but if it had been daylight we should have chosen the other. At daybreak, the coast was seen extending from north by west to south-west by west, a dreadful surf breaking upon the shore, which was not more than half a league distant. It was evident that we had been in the most imminent danger. Nor were we yet in safety, the wind veering more easterly; so that, for some time, we did but just keep our distance from the coast. What made our situation more alarming, was the leach-rope of the main-top-sail giving way; which was the occasion of the sail's being rent in two; and the two top-gallant sails gave way in the same manner, though not half worn out. By taking a favourable opportunity, we soon got others to the yards; and then we left the land astern. The Discovery, by being at some distance to the north, was never near the land; nor did we see her till eight o'clock.

On this occasion, I cannot help observing, that I have always found that the bolt-ropes to our sails have not been of sufficient strength or substance. This, at different times, has been the source of infinite trouble and vexation; and of much expense of canvas, ruined by their giving way. I wish, also, that I did not think there is room for remarking, that the cordage and canvas, and indeed all the other stores made use of in the navy, are not

of equal goodness with those in general used in the merchant-service. It seems to be a very prevalent opinion amongst naval officers of all ranks, that the king's stores are better than any others, and that no ships are so well fitted out as those of the navy. Undoubtedly they are in the right as to the quantity, but, I fear, not as to the quality, of the stores. This, indeed, is seldom tried; for things are generally condemned, or converted to some other use, by such time as they are half worn out. It is only on such voyages as ours that we have an opportunity of making the trial; as our situation makes it necessary to wear everything to the very utmost*.

As soon as daylight appeared, the natives ashore displayed a large white flag, which we conceived to be a signal of peace and friendship. Some of them ventured out after us; but the wind freshening, and it not being safe to wait, they were soon left astern. In the afternoon, after making another attempt to weather the eastern extreme, which failed, I gave it up, and ran down to the Discovery. Indeed, it was of no consequence to get round the island; for we had seen its extent to the south-east, which was the thing I aimed at; and according to the information which we had got from the natives, there is no other island to the windward of this. However, as we were so near the south end of it, and as the least shift of wind in our favour would serve to carry us round, I did not wholly give up the idea of weathering it, and therefore continued to ply.

On the 20th, at noon, this south-east point bore south, three leagues distant; the snowy hills west north-west; and we were about four miles from the nearest shore. In the afternoon, some of the natives came in their canoes, bringing with them a few pigs and plantains. The latter were very acceptable, having had no vegetables for some days; but the supply we now received was so inconsiderable, being barely sufficient for one day, that I stood in again the next morning, till within three or four miles of the land, where we were met by a number of canoes laden with provisions. We brought to, and continued trading with the people in them till four in the afternoon; when, having got a pretty good supply, we made sail, and stretched off to the northward. I had never met with a behaviour so free from reserve and suspicion, in my intercourse with any tribes of savages, as we experienced in the people of this island. It was very common for them to send up into the ship the several articles they brought off for barter; afterward, they would come in themselves, and make their bargains on the quarter-deck. The people of Otaheite, even after our repeated visits, do not care to put so much confidence in us. I infer from this, that those of Owhyhee must be more faithful in their dealings with one another than the inhabitants of Otaheite are. For if little faith were observed amongst themselves, they would not be so ready to trust strangers. It is also to be observed, to their honour, that they had never once attempted to cheat us in exchanges, nor to commit a theft. They understand trading as well as most people, and seemed to comprehend clearly the reason of our plying upon the coast. For, though they brought off provisions in great plenty, particularly pigs, yet they kept up their price; and, rather than dispose of them for less than they thought they were worth, would take them ashore again.

On the 22d, at eight in the morning, we tacked to the southward, with a fresh breeze at east by north. At noon, the latitude was 20° 28′ 30′; and the snowy peak bore south-west half south. We had a good view of it the preceding day, and the quantity of snow seemed to have increased, and to extend lower down the hill. I stood to the south-east till midnight, then tacked to the north till four in the morning, when we returned to the south-east tack; and, as the wind was at north-east by east, we had hopes of weathering the island. We should have succeeded, if the wind had not died away, and left us to the mercy of a great swell, which carried us fast toward the land, which was not two leagues distant. At length, we got our head off, and some light puffs of wind, which came with showers of

* Captain Cook may, in part, be right in his comparison of some cordage used in the king's service, with what is used in that of the merchants; especially in time of war, when part of the cordage wanted in the navy is, from necessity, made by contract. But it is well known, that there is no better cordage than what is made in the king's yards. This explanation of the preceding paragraph has been subjoined on the authority of a naval officer of distinguished rank, and great professional ability, who has, at the same time, recommended it as a necessary precaution, that ships fitted out on voyages of discovery should be furnished with no cordage but what is made in the king's yards; and, indeed, that every article of their store, of every kind, should be the best that can be made.

rain, put us out of danger. While we lay, as it were, becalmed, several of the islanders came off with hogs, fowls, fruit, and roots. Out of one canoe we got a goose; which was about the size of a Muscovy duck. Its plumage was dark grey, and the bill and legs black.

At four in the afternoon, after purchasing everything that the natives had brought off, which was full as much as we had occasion for, we made sail, and stretched to the north, with the wind at E.N.E. At midnight we tacked, and stood to the S.E. Upon a supposition that the Discovery would see us tack, the signal was omitted; but she did not see us, as we afterward found, and continued standing to the north; for, at daylight next morning, she was not in sight. At this time, the weather being hazy, we could not see far; so that it was possible the Discovery might be following us; and being past the north-east part of the island, I was tempted to stand on, till, by the wind veering to N.E., we could not weather the land upon the other tack. Consequently we could not stand to the north to join or look for the Discovery. At noon we were, by observation, in the latitude of 19° 55′, and in the longitude of 205° 3′; the S.E. point of the island bore S. by E. a quarter E., six leagues distant; the other extreme bore N., 60° W.; and we were two leagues from the nearest shore. At six in the evening, the southernmost extreme of the island bore S.W., the nearest shore seven or eight miles distant; so that we had now succeeded in getting to the windward of the island, which we had aimed at with so much perseverance. The Discovery, however, was not yet to be seen. But the wind, as we had it, being very favourable for her to follow us, I concluded that it would not be long before she joined us. I therefore kept cruising off this south-east point of the island, which lies in the latitude of 19° 34′, and in the longitude of 205° 6′, till I was satisfied that Captain Clerke could not join me here. I now conjectured that he had not been able to weather the north-east part of the island, and had gone to leeward in order to meet me that way.

As I generally kept from five to ten leagues from the land, no canoes, except one, came off to us till the 28th, when we were visited by a dozen or fourteen. The people who conducted them brought, as usual, the produce of the island. I was very sorry that they had taken the trouble to come so far. For we could not trade with them, our old stock not being as yet consumed; and we had found, by late experience, that the hogs could not be kept alive, nor the roots preserved from putrefaction, many days. However, I intended not to leave this part of the island before I got a supply; as it would not be easy to return to it again, in case it should be found necessary. We began to be in want on the 30th; and I would have stood in near the shore, but was prevented by a calm; but a breeze springing up, at midnight, from S. and S.W., we were enabled to stand in for the land at daybreak. At ten o'clock in the morning, we were met by the islanders with fruit and roots; but in all the canoes were only three small pigs. Our not having bought those which had been lately brought off, may be supposed to be the reason of this very scanty supply. We brought-to for the purposes of trade; but soon after our marketing was interrupted by a very hard rain; and, besides, we were rather too far from the shore. Nor durst I go nearer; for I could not depend upon the wind's remaining where it was for a moment; the swell also being high, and setting obliquely upon the shore, against which it broke in a frightful surf. In the evening the weather mended; the night was clear, and it was spent in making short boards.

Before daybreak, the atmosphere was again loaded with heavy clouds; and the new year was ushered in with very hard rain, which continued, at intervals, till past ten o'clock. The wind was southerly; a light breeze, with some calms. When the rain ceased, the sky cleared, and the breeze freshened. Being at this time about five miles from the land, several canoes arrived with fruit and roots; and, at last, some hogs were brought off. We lay-to, trading with them till three o'clock in the afternoon; when, having a tolerable supply, we made sail, with a view of proceeding to the N.W. or lee-side of the island, to look for the Discovery. It was necessary, however, the wind being at S., to stretch first to the eastward, till midnight, when the wind came more favourable, and we went upon the other tack. For several days past, both wind and weather had been exceedingly unsettled; and there fell a great deal of rain. The three following days were spent in running down the

south-east side of the island. For during the nights we stood off and on; and part of each day was employed in lying-to, in order to furnish an opportunity to the natives of trading with us. They sometimes came on board, while we were five leagues from the shore. But whether from a fear of losing their goods in the sea, or from the uncertainty of a market, they never brought much with them. The principal article procured was salt, which was extremely good.

On the 5th, in the morning, we passed the south point of the island, which lies in the latitude of 18° 54; and beyond it we found the coast to trend N. 60° W. On this point stands a pretty large village, the inhabitants of which thronged off to the ship with hogs and women. It was not possible to keep the latter from coming on board; and no women I ever met with were less reserved. Indeed it appeared to me that they visited us with no other view than to make a surrender of their persons. As I had now got a quantity of salt, I purchased no hogs but such as were fit for salting; refusing all that were under size. However, we could seldom get any above fifty or sixty pounds' weight. It was happy for us that we still had some vegetables on board; for we now received few such productions. Indeed this part of the country, from its appearance, did not seem capable of affording them. Marks of its having been laid waste by the explosion of a volcano, everywhere presented themselves; and though we had as yet seen nothing like one upon the island, the devastation that it had made, in this neighbourhood, was visible to the naked eye. This part of the coast is sheltered from the reigning winds; but we could find no bottom to anchor upon; a line of an hundred and sixty fathoms not reaching it, within the distance of half a mile from the shore. The islanders having all left us toward the evening, we ran a few miles down the coast; and then spent the night standing off and on.

The next morning the natives visited us again, bringing with them the same articles of commerce as before. Being now near the shore, I sent Mr. Bligh, the master, in a boat, to sound the coast, with orders to land, and to look for fresh water. Upon his return, he reported that, at two cables' length from the shore, he had found no soundings with a line of one hundred and sixty fathoms; that, when he landed, he found no stream or spring, but only rain-water, deposited in holes upon the rocks; and even that was brackish, from the spray of the sea; and that the surface of the country was entirely composed of slags and ashes, with a few plants here and there interspersed. Between ten and eleven we saw with pleasure the Discovery coming round the south point of the island; and, at one in the afternoon, she joined us. Captain Clerke then coming on board, informed me that he had cruised four or five days where we were separated, and then plied round the east side of the island; but that, meeting with unfavourable winds, he had been carried to some distance from the coast. He had one of the islanders on board all this time, who had remained there from choice, and had refused to quit the ship, though opportunities had offered.

Having spent the night standing off and on, we stood in again the next morning; and when we were about a league from the shore, many of the natives visited us. At noon the observed latitude was 19° 1′, and the longitude, by the timekeeper, was 203° 26′; the island extending from S. 74° E., to N. 13° W.; the nearest part two leagues distant. At daybreak, on the 8th, we found that the currents, during the night, which we spent in plying, had carried us back considerably to windward, so that we were now off the south-west point of the island. There we brought to, in order to give the natives an opportunity of trading with us. At noon our observed latitude was 19° 1′, and our longitude, by the timekeeper, was 203° 13′; the south-west point of the island bearing N. 30° E., two miles distant. We spent the night as usual, standing off and on. It happened that four men and ten women who had come on board the preceding day, still remained with us. As I did not like the company of the latter, I stood in-shore toward noon, principally with a view to get them out of the ship; and some canoes coming off, I took that opportunity of sending away our guests.

We had light airs from N.W. and S.W., and calms, till eleven in the morning of the 10th, when the wind freshened at W.N.W., which, with a strong current setting to the S.E., so much retarded us, that in the evening, between seven and eight o'clock, the south point of the island bore N., 10½° W., four leagues distant. The south snowy hill now bore

N. $1\frac{1}{2}°$ E. At four in the morning of the 11th, the wind having fixed at W., I stood in for the land, in order to get some refreshments. As we drew near the shore, the natives began to come off. We lay-to, or stood on and off, trading with them all the day; but got a very scanty supply at last. Many canoes visited us, whose people had not a single thing to barter; which convinced us that this part of the island must be very poor, and that we had already got all that they could spare. We spent the 12th plying off and on, with a fresh gale at west. A mile from the shore, and to the north-east of the south point of the island, having tried soundings, we found ground at fifty-five fathoms' depth; the bottom a fine sand. At five in the evening we stood to the S.W., with the wind at W.N.W.; and soon after midnight we had a calm.

At eight o'clock next morning, having got a small breeze at S.S.E., we steered to the N.N.W., in for the land. Soon after a few canoes came alongside with some hogs, but without any vegetables, which articles we most wanted. We had now made some progress; for, at noon, the south point of the island bore S. $86\frac{1}{2}°$ E.; the S.W. point N. 13° W.; the nearest shore two leagues distant; latitude, by observation, 18° 56′, and our longitude, by the timekeeper, 203° 40′. We had got the length of the south-west point of the island in the evening; but the wind now veering to the westward and northward, during the night we lost all that we had gained. Next morning, being still off the south-west point of the island, some canoes came off; but they brought nothing that we were in want of. We had now neither fruit nor roots, and were under a necessity of making use of some of our sea-provisions. At length some canoes from the northward brought us a small supply of hogs and roots. We had variable light airs, next to a calm, the following day, till five in the afternoon, when a small breeze at E.N.E. springing up, we were at last enabled to steer along-shore to the northward. The weather being fine, we had plenty of company this day, and abundance of everything. Many of our visitors remained with us on board all night, and we towed their canoes astern.

At daybreak on the 16th, seeing the appearance of a bay, I sent Mr. Bligh, with a boat from each ship to examine it, being at this time three leagues off. Canoes now began to arrive from all parts; so that before ten o'clock there were not fewer than a thousand about the two ships, most of them crowded with people, and well laden with hogs and other productions of the island. We had the most satisfying proof of their friendly intentions; for we did not see a single person who had with him a weapon of any sort. Trade and curiosity alone had brought them off. Among such numbers as we had, at times, on board, it is no wonder that some should betray a thievish disposition. One of our visitors took out of the ship a boat's rudder. He was discovered, but too late to recover it. I thought this a good opportunity to show these people the use of fire-arms; and two or three muskets, and as many four-pounders, were fired over the canoe which carried off the rudder. As it was not intended that any of the shot should take effect, the surrounding multitude of natives seemed rather more surprised than frightened. In the evening Mr. Bligh returned, and reported that he had found a bay in which was good anchorage, and fresh water, in a situation tolerably easy to be come at. Into this bay I resolved to carry the ships, there to refit, and supply ourselves with every refreshment that the place could afford. As night approached, the greater part of our visitors retired to the shore; but numbers of them requested our permission to sleep on board. Curiosity was not the only motive, at least with some; for the next morning several things were missing, which determined me not to entertain so many another night.

At eleven o'clock in the forenoon we anchored in the bay (which is called by the natives Karakakooa), in thirteen fathoms' water, over a sandy bottom, and about a quarter of a mile from the north-east shore. In this situation, the south point of the bay bore south by west, and the north point west half north. We moored with the stream-anchor and cable to the northward, unbent the sails, and struck the yards and topmasts. The ships continued to be much crowded with natives, and were surrounded by a multitude of canoes. I had nowhere, in the course of my voyages, seen so numerous a body of people assembled at one place. For besides those who had come off to us in canoes, all the shore of the bay was covered with spectators, and many hundreds were swimming round the ships like shoals of fish. We

could not but be struck with the singularity of this scene; and perhaps there were few on board who now lamented our having failed in our endeavours to find a northern passage homeward, last summer. To this disappointment we owed our having it in our power to revisit the Sandwich Islands, and to enrich our voyage with a discovery which, though the last, seemed, in many respects, to be the most important that had hitherto been made by Europeans throughout the extent of the Pacific Ocean.

[Here Captain Cook's Journal ends. The remaining transactions of the voyage are related by Captain King.]

BOOK V.

CAPTAIN KING'S JOURNAL OF THE TRANSACTIONS ON RETURNING TO THE SANDWICH ISLANDS.

CHAPTER I.—DESCRIPTION OF KARAKAKOOA BAY.—VAST CONCOURSE OF THE NATIVES.—POWER OF THE CHIEFS OVER THE INFERIOR PEOPLE.—VISIT FROM KOAH, A PRIEST AND WARRIOR.—THE MORAI AT KAKOOA DESCRIBED.—CEREMONIES AT THE LANDING OF CAPTAIN COOK.—OBSERVATORIES ERECTED.—POWERFUL OPERATION OF THE TABOO.—METHOD OF SALTING PORK IN TROPICAL CLIMATES.—SOCIETY OF PRIESTS DISCOVERED.—THEIR HOSPITALITY AND MUNIFICENCE.—RECEPTION OF CAPTAIN COOK.—ARTIFICE OF KOAH.—ARRIVAL OF TERREEOBOO, KING OF THE ISLAND.—SINGULAR CEREMONY.—VISIT FROM THE KING.—RETURNED BY CAPTAIN COOK.

KARAKAKOOA Bay is situated on the west side of the island of Owhyhee, in a district called Akona. It is about a mile in depth, and bounded by two low points of land at the distance of half a league, and bearing south south-east and north north-west from each other. On the north point, which is flat and barren, stands the village of Kowrowa; and in the bottom of the bay, near a grove of tall cocoa-nut trees, there is another village of a more considerable size, called Kakooa: between them runs a high rocky cliff, inaccessible from the sea-shore. On the south side, the coast, for about a mile inland, has a rugged appearance; beyond which the country rises with a gradual ascent, and is overspread with cultivated inclosures and groves of cocoa-nut trees, where the habitations of the natives are scattered in great numbers. The shore, all around the bay, is covered with a black coral rock, which makes the landing very dangerous in rough weather; except at the village of Kakooa, where there is a fine sandy beach, with a Morai, or burying-place, at one extremity, and a small well of fresh water at the other. This bay appearing to Captain Cook a proper place to refit the ships, and lay in an additional supply of water and provisions, we moored on the north side, about a quarter of a mile from the shore, Kowrowa bearing north-west. As soon as the inhabitants perceived our intention of anchoring in the bay, they came off from the shore in astonishing numbers, and expressed their joy by singing and shouting, and exhibiting a variety of wild and extravagant gestures. The sides, the decks, and rigging of both ships were soon completely covered with them; and a multitude of women and boys, who had not been able to get canoes, came swimming round us in shoals; many of whom not finding room on board, remained the whole day playing in the water.

Among the chiefs who came on board the Resolution, was a young man, called Pareea, whom we soon perceived to be a person of great authority. On presenting himself to Captain Cook, he told him, that he was *Jakanee** to the king of the island, who was at that

* We afterward met with several others of the same denomination; but whether it be an office, or some degree of affinity, we could never learn with certainty.

time engaged on a military expedition at Mowee, and was expected to return within three or four days. A few presents from Captain Cook attached him entirely to our interests, and he became exceedingly useful to us in the management of his countrymen, as we had soon occasion to experience. For we had not been long at anchor, when it was observed that the Discovery had such a number of people hanging on one side, as occasioned her to heel considerably; and that the men were unable to keep off the crowds which continued pressing into her. Captain Cook, being apprehensive that she might suffer some injury, pointed out the danger to Pareea, who immediately went to their assistance, cleared the ship of its incumbrances, and drove away the canoes that surrounded her.

The authority of the chiefs over the inferior people appeared, from this incident, to be of the most despotic kind. A similar instance of it happened the same day on board the Resolution; where the crowd being so great as to impede the necessary business of the ship, we were obliged to have recourse to the assistance of Kaneena, another of their chiefs, who had likewise attached himself to Captain Cook. The inconvenience we laboured under being made known, he immediately ordered his countrymen to quit the vessel; and we were not a little surprised to see them jump overboard, without a moment's hesitation; all except one man, who loitering behind, and showing some unwillingness to obey, Kaneena took him up in his arms, and threw him into the sea. Both these chiefs were men of strong and well-proportioned bodies, and of countenances remarkably pleasing. Kaneena especially, whose portrait was drawn by Mr. Webber, was one of the finest men I ever saw. He was about six feet high, had regular and expressive features, with lively, dark eyes; his carriage was easy, firm, and graceful.

KANEENA IN HIS HELMET.

It has been already mentioned, that during our long cruise off this island, the inhabitants had always behaved with great fairness and honesty in their dealings, and had not shown the slightest propensity to theft; which appeared to us the more extraordinary, because those with whom we had hitherto held any intercourse were of the lowest rank, either servants or fishermen. We now found the case exceedingly altered. The immense crowd of islanders, which blocked up every part of the ships, not only afforded frequent opportunity of pilfering without risk of discovery, but our inferiority in number held forth a prospect of escaping with impunity in case of detection. Another circumstance, to which we attributed this alteration in their behaviour, was the presence and encouragement of their chiefs; for generally tracing the booty into the possession of some men of consequence, we had the strongest reason to suspect that these depredations were committed at their instigation.

Soon after the Resolution had got into her station, our two friends, Pareea and Kaneena, brought on board a third chief, named Koah, who, we were told, was a priest, and had been, in his youth, a distinguished warrior. He was a little old man, of an emaciated figure; his eyes exceedingly sore and red, and his body covered with a white leprous scurf, the effects of an immoderate use of the *ava*. Being led into the cabin, he approached Captain Cook with great veneration, and threw over his shoulders a piece of red cloth, which he had brought along with him. Then stepping a few paces back, he made an offering of a small pig, which he held in his hand, whilst he pronounced a discourse that lasted for a considerable time. This ceremony was frequently repeated during our stay at Owhyhee, and

appeared to us, from many circumstances, to be a sort of religious adoration*. Their idols we found always arrayed with red cloth, in the same manner as was done to Captain Cook; and a small pig was their usual offering to the *Eatooas*. Their speeches, or prayers, were uttered too with a readiness and volubility that indicated them to be according to some formulary.

When this ceremony was over, Koah dined with Captain Cook, eating plentifully of what was set before him; but, like the rest of the inhabitants of the islands in these seas, could scarcely be prevailed on to taste a second time our wine or spirits. In the evening, Captain Cook, attended by Mr. Bayly and myself, accompanied him on shore. We landed at the beach, and were received by four men, who carried wands tipt with dogs' hair, and marched before us, pronouncing with a loud voice a short sentence, in which we could only distinguish the word *Orono*†. The crowd which had been collected on the shore retired at our approach; and not a person was to be seen, except a few lying prostrate on the ground, near the huts of the adjoining village.

Before I proceed to relate the adoration that was paid to Captain Cook, and the peculiar ceremonies with which he was received on this fatal island, it will be necessary to describe the Morai, situated, as I have already mentioned, at the south side of the beach at Kakooa. It was a square solid pile of stones, about forty yards long, twenty broad, and fourteen in height. The top was flat and well paved, and surrounded by a wooden rail, on which were fixed the skulls of the captives, sacrificed on the death of their chiefs. In the centre of the area stood a ruinous old building of wood, connected with the rail on each side by a stone wall, which divided the whole space into two parts. On the side next the country were five poles, upward of twenty feet high, supporting an irregular kind of scaffold; on the opposite side, toward the sea, stood two small houses, with a covered communication.

We were conducted by Koah to the top of this pile by an easy ascent, leading from the beach to the north-west corner of the area. At the entrance, we saw two large wooden images, with features violently distorted, and a long piece of carved wood, of a conical form inverted, rising from the top of their heads; the rest was without form, and wrapped round with red cloth. We were here met by a tall young man with a long beard, who presented Captain Cook to the images; and after chanting a kind of hymn, in which he was joined by Koah, they led us to that end of the Morai where the five poles were fixed. At the foot of them were twelve images ranged in a semicircular form, and before the middle figure stood a high stand or table exactly resembling the *Whatta*‡ of Otaheite, on which lay a putrid hog, and under it pieces of sugar-cane, cocoa-nuts, bread-fruit, plantains, and sweet potatoes. Koah having placed the Captain under this stand, took down the hog, and held it toward him; and after having a second time addressed him in a long speech, pronounced with much vehemence and rapidity, he let it fall on the ground, and led him to the scaffolding, which they began to climb together, not without great risk of falling. At this time we saw, coming in solemn procession, at the entrance of the top of the Morai, ten men carrying a live hog, and a large piece of red cloth. Being advanced a few paces, they stopped and prostrated themselves; and Kaireekeea, the young man above-mentioned, went to them, and receiving the cloth, carried it to Koah, who wrapped it round the Captain, and afterward offered him the hog, which was brought by Kaireekeea with the same

* Mr. Ellis gives the following explanation of the singular honours that were paid to Captain Cook at Owhyhee:—"Among the kings who governed Hawaii, or an extensive district in the island, during what may, in its chronology, be called the fabulous age, was Rono, or Orono; who, on some account, became offended with his wife, and murdered her; but afterwards lamented the act so much, as to induce a state of mental derangement. In this state he travelled through all the islands, boxing and wrestling with every one he met. He subsequently set sail in a singularly-shaped canoe for Tahiti, or a foreign country. After his departure, he was deified by his countrymen, and annual games of boxing and wrestling were instituted to his honour. As soon as Captain Cook arrived, it was supposed and reported that the god Rono was returned; the priests clothed him with the sacred cloth worn only by the god, conducted him to their temples, sacrificed animals to propitiate his favour, and hence the people prostrated themselves before him as he walked through the villages."—ED.

† Captain Cook generally went by this name amongst the natives of Owhyhee; but we could never learn its precise meaning. Sometimes they applied it to an invisible being, who, they said, lived in the heavens. We also found that it was a title belonging to a personage of great rank and power in the island, who resembles pretty much the Dalai Lama of the Tartars, and the ecclesiastical emperor of Japan.

‡ See Captain Cook's former Voyage.

ceremony. Whilst Captain Cook was aloft, in this awkward situation, swathed round with red cloth, and with difficulty keeping his hold amongst the pieces of rotten scaffolding, Kaireekeea and Koah began their office, chanting sometimes in concert, and sometimes alternately. This lasted a considerable time; at length Koah let the hog drop, when he and the Captain descended together. He then led him to the images before mentioned, and having said something to each in a sneering tone, snapping his fingers at them as he passed, he brought him to that in the centre, which, from its being covered with red cloth, appeared to be in greater estimation than the rest. Before this figure he prostrated himself, and kissed it, desiring Captain Cook to do the same; who suffered himself to be directed by Koah throughout the whole of this ceremony.

We were now led back into the other division of the Morai, where there was a space, ten or twelve feet square, sunk about three feet below the level of the area. Into this we descended, and Captain Cook was seated between two wooden idols, Koah supporting one of his arms, whilst I was desired to support the other. At this time, arrived a second procession of natives, carrying a baked hog, and a pudding, some bread-fruit, cocoa-nuts, and other vegetables. When they approached us, Kaireekeea put himself at their head, and presenting the pig to Captain Cook in the usual manner, began the same kind of chant as before, his companions making regular responses. We observed, that after every response, their parts became gradually shorter, till, toward the close, Kaireekeea's consisted of only two or three words, which the rest answered by the word *Orono*.

When this offering was concluded, which lasted a quarter of an hour, the natives sat down, fronting us, and began to cut up the baked hog, to peel the vegetables, and break the cocoa-nuts; whilst others employed themselves in brewing the *ava;* which is done, by chewing it in the same manner as at the Friendly Islands. Kaireekeea then took part of the kernel of a cocoa-nut, which he chewed, and wrapping it in a piece of cloth rubbed with it the Captain's face, head, hands, arms, and shoulders. The *ava* was then handed round, and after we had tasted it, Koah and Pareea began to pull the flesh of the hog in pieces, and to put it into our mouths. I had no great objection to being fed by Pareea, who was very cleanly in his person; but Captain Cook, who was served by Koah, recollecting the putrid hog, could not swallow a morsel; and his reluctance, as may be supposed, was not diminished, when the old man, according to his own mode of civility, had chewed it for him.

When this last ceremony was finished, which Captain Cook put an end to as soon as he decently could, we quitted the Morai, after distributing amongst the people some pieces of iron and other trifles, with which they seemed highly gratified. The men with wands conducted us to the boats, repeating the same words as before. The people again retired, and the few that remained, prostrated themselves as we passed along the shore. We immediately went on board, our minds full of what we had seen, and extremely well satisfied with the good dispositions of our new friends. The meaning of the various ceremonies with which we had been received, and which, on account of their novelty and singularity, have been related at length, can only be the subject of conjectures, and those uncertain and partial: they were, however, without doubt, expressive of high respect on the part of the natives; and, as far as related to the person of Captain Cook, they seemed approaching to adoration.

The next morning I went on shore with a guard of eight marines, including the corporal and lieutenant, having orders to erect the observatory in such a situation as might best enable me to superintend and protect the waterers, and the other working parties that were to be on shore. As we were viewing a spot conveniently situated for this purpose, in the middle of the village, Pareea, who was always ready to show both his power and his good-will, offered to pull down some houses that would have obstructed our observations. However, we thought it proper to decline this offer, and fixed on a field of sweet potatoes adjoining to the Morai, which was readily granted us; and the priests, to prevent the intrusion of the natives, immediately consecrated the place, by fixing their wands round the wall by which it was inclosed.

This sort of religious interdiction they call *taboo;* a word we heard often repeated during

our stay amongst these islanders, and found to be of very powerful and extensive operation. A more particular explanation of it will be given in the general account of these islands, under the article of religion; at present it is only necessary to observe, that it procured us even more privacy than we desired. No canoes ever presumed to land near us; the natives sat on the wall, but none offered to come within the *tabooed* space, till he had obtained our permission. But though the men, at our request, would come across the field with provisions, yet not all our endeavours could prevail on the women to approach us. Presents were tried, but without effect; Pareea and Koah were tempted to bring them, but in vain; we were invariably answered, that the *Eatooa* and Terreeoboo (which was the name of their king) would kill them. This circumstance afforded no small matter of amusement to our friends on board, where the crowds of people, and particularly of women, that continued to flock thither, obliged them almost every hour to clear the vessel, in order to have room to do the necessary duties of the ship. On these occasions, two or three hundred women were frequently made to jump into the water at once, where they continued swimming and playing about, till they could again procure admittance.

From the 19th to the 24th, when Pareea and Koah left us to attend Terreeoboo, who had landed on some other part of the island, nothing very material happened on board. The caulkers were set to work on the sides of the ships, and the rigging was carefully overhauled and repaired. The salting of hogs for sea-store was also a constant, and one of the principal objects of Captain Cook's attention. As the success we met with in this experiment, during our present voyage, was much more complete than it had been in any former attempt of the same kind, it may not be improper to give an account of the detail of the operation. It has generally been thought impracticable to cure the flesh of animals by salting, in tropical climates; the progress of putrefaction being so rapid, as not to allow time for the salt to take (as they express it) before the meat gets a taint, which prevents the effect of the pickle. We do not find that experiments relative to this subject have been made by the navigators of any nation before Captain Cook. In his first trials, which were made in 1774, during his second voyage to the Pacific Ocean, the success he met with, though very imperfect, was yet sufficient to convince him of the error of the received opinion. As the voyage in which he was now engaged was likely to be protracted a year beyond the time for which the ships had been victualled, he was under the necessity of providing, by some such means, for the subsistence of the crews, or of relinquishing the further prosecution of his discoveries. He therefore lost no opportunity of renewing his attempts, and the event answered his most sanguine expectations.

The hogs which we made use of for this purpose were of various sizes, weighing from four to twelve stone *. The time of slaughtering was always in the afternoon; and as soon as the hair was scalded off, and the entrails removed, the hog was divided into pieces of four or eight pounds each, and the bones of the legs and chine taken out; and, in the larger sort, the ribs also. Every piece then being carefully wiped and examined, and the veins cleared of the coagulated blood, they were handed to the salters whilst the flesh remained still warm. After they had been well rubbed with salt, they were placed in a heap, on a stage raised in the open air, covered with planks, and pressed with the heaviest weights we could lay on them. In this situation they remained till the next evening, when they were again well wiped and examined, and the suspicious parts taken away. They were then put into a tub of strong pickle, where they were always looked over once or twice a day, and if any piece had not taken the salt, which was readily discovered by the smell of the pickle, they were immediately taken out, re-examined, and the sound pieces put to fresh pickle. This, however, after the precautions before used, seldom happened. After six days, they were taken out, examined for the last time, and being again slightly pressed, they were packed in barrels, with a thin layer of salt between them. I brought home with me some barrels of this pork, which was pickled at Owhyhee in January 1779, and was tasted by several persons in England, about Christmas 1780, and found perfectly sound and wholesome †.

* 14 lb.

† Since these papers were prepared for the press, I have been informed by Mr. Vancouver, who was one of my Midshipmen in the Discovery, and was afterwards appointed Lieutenant of the Martin sloop of war, that he tried the method here recommended, both with English and Spanish

I shall now return to our transactions on shore at the observatory, where we had not been long settled, before we discovered, in our neighbourhood, the habitations of a society of priests, whose regular attendance at the Morai had excited our curiosity. Their huts stood round a pond of water, and were surrounded by a grove of cocoa-nut trees, which separated them from the beach and the rest of the village, and gave the place an air of religious retirement. On my acquainting Captain Cook with these circumstances, he resolved to pay them a visit; and as he expected to be received in the same manner as before, he brought Mr. Webber with him to make a drawing of the ceremony. On his arrival at the beach, he was conducted to a sacred building called Harre-no-Orono, or the house of Orono, and seated before the entrance, at the foot of a wooden idol, of the same kind with those on the Morai. I was here again made to support one of his arms, and after wrapping him in red cloth, Kaireekeea, accompanied by twelve priests, made an offering of a pig with the usual solemnities. The pig was then strangled, and a fire being kindled, it was thrown into the embers, and after the hair was singed off, it was again presented, with a repetition of the chanting, in the manner before described. The dead pig was then held for a short time under the Captain's nose; after which it was laid, with a cocoa-nut, at his feet, and the performers sat down. The *ava* was then brewed, and handed round; a fat hog, ready dressed, was brought in; and we were fed as before.

During the rest of the time we remained in the bay, whenever Captain Cook came on shore, he was attended by one of these priests, who went before him, giving notice that the *Orono* had landed, and ordering the people to prostrate themselves. The same person also constantly accompanied him on the water, standing in the bow of the boat, with a wand in his hand, and giving notice of his approach to the natives, who were in canoes, on which they immediately left off paddling, and lay down on their faces till he had passed. Whenever he stopped at the observatory, Kaireekeea and his brethren immediately made their appearance with hogs, cocoa-nuts, bread-fruit, &c. and presented them with the usual solemnities. It was on these occasions that some of the inferior chiefs frequently requested to be permitted to make an offering to the *Orono*. When this was granted, they presented the hog themselves, generally with evident marks of fear in their countenances; whilst Kaireekeea and the priests chanted their accustomed hymns.

The civilities of this society were not, however, confined to mere ceremony and parade. Our party on shore received from them, every day, a constant supply of hogs and vegetables, more than sufficient for our subsistence; and several canoes loaded with provisions were sent to the ships with the same punctuality. No return was ever demanded, or even hinted at in the most distant manner. Their presents were made with a regularity more like the discharge of a religious duty than the effect of mere liberality; and when we inquired at whose charge all this munificence was displayed, we were told, it was at the expense of a great man called Kaoo, the chief of the priests, and grandfather to Kaireekeea, who was at that time absent attending the king of the island.

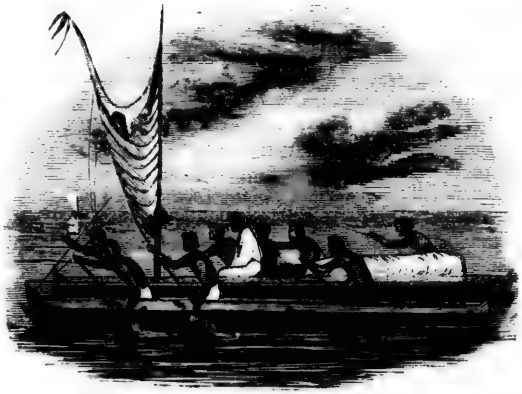
As everything relating to the character and behaviour of this people must be interesting to the reader, on account of the tragedy that was afterwards acted here, it will be proper to acquaint him, that we had not always so much reason to be satisfied with the conduct of the warrior chiefs, or *Earees*, as with that of the priests. In all our dealings with the former, we found them sufficiently attentive to their own interests; and besides their habit of stealing, which may admit of some excuse from the universality of the practice amongst the islanders of these seas, they made use of other artifices equally dishonourable. I shall only mention one instance, in which we discovered, with regret, our friend Koah to be a party principally concerned. As the chiefs, who brought us presents of hogs, were always sent back handsomely

pork, during a cruise on the Spanish Main, in the year 1782, and succeeded to the utmost of his expectations. He also made the experiment at Jamaica with the beef served by the victualling-office to the ships, but not with the same success, which he attributes to the want of the necessary precautions in killing and handling the beasts; to their being hung up and opened before they had sufficient time to bleed, by which means the blood-vessels were exposed to the air, and the blood condensed before it had time to empty itself; and to their being hard driven and bruised. He adds, that having himself attended to the killing of an ox, which was carefully taken on board the Martin, he salted a part of it, which at the end of the week was found to have taken the salt completely, and he has no doubt would have kept for any length of time; but the experiment was not tried.

rewarded, we had generally a greater supply than we could make use of. On these occasions, Koah, who never failed in his attendance on us, used to beg such as we did not want, and they were always given to him. It one day happened, that a pig was presented us by a man whom Koah himself introduced as a chief, who was desirous of paying his respects, and we recollected the pig to be the same that had been given to Koah just before. This leading us to suspect some trick, we found, on further inquiry, the pretended chief to be an ordinary person; and on connecting this with other circumstances, we had reason to suspect that it was not the first time we had been the dupes of the like imposition.

Things continued in this state till the 24th, when we were a good deal surprised to find that no canoes were suffered to put off from the shore, and that the natives kept close to their houses. After several hours' suspense, we learned that the bay was *tabooed*, and all intercourse with us interdicted, on account of the arrival of Terreeoboo. As we had not foreseen an accident of this sort, the crews of both ships were obliged to pass the day without their usual supply of vegetables. The next morning, therefore, they endeavoured, both by threats and promises, to induce the natives to come alongside; and as some of them were at last venturing to put off, a chief was observed attempting to drive them away. A musket was immediately fired over his head, to make him desist, which had the desired effect, and refreshments were soon after purchased as usual. In the afternoon, Terreeoboo arrived, and visited the ships in a private manner, attended only by one canoe, in which were his wife and children. He staid on board till near ten o'clock, when he returned to the village of Kowrowa.

The next day, about noon, the king, in a large canoe, attended by two others, set out from the village and paddled toward the ships in great state. Their appearance was grand and magnificent. In the first canoe was Terreeoboo and his chiefs, dressed in their rich feathered cloaks and helmets, and armed with long spears and daggers; in the second came the venerable Kaoo, the chief of the priests, and his brethren, with their idols displayed on red cloth. These idols were busts of a gigantic size, made of wicker-work, and curiously covered with small feathers of various colours, wrought in the same manner with their cloaks. Their eyes were made of large pearl oysters, with a black nut fixed in the centre; their mouths were set with a double row of the fangs of dogs, and, together with the rest of their features, were strangely distorted. The third canoe was filled with hogs and various sorts of vegetables. As they went along, the priests in the centre canoe sung their hymns with great solemnity; and after paddling round the ships, instead of going on board, as was expected, they made toward the shore at the beach where we were stationed.



TERREEOBOO'S CANOE.

As soon as I saw them approaching, I ordered out our little guard to receive the king; and Captain Cook, perceiving that he was going on shore, followed him and arrived nearly at the same time. We conducted them into the tent, where they had scarcely been seated, when the king rose up, and in a very graceful manner threw over the Captain's shoulders the cloak he himself wore, put a feathered helmet on his head, and a curious fan into his hand. He also spread at his feet five or six other cloaks, all exceedingly beautiful, and of the greatest value. His attendants then brought four very large hogs, with sugar-canes, cocoanuts, and bread-fruit; and this part of the ceremony was concluded by the king's exchanging

names with Captain Cook, which amongst all the islanders of the Pacific Ocean is esteemed the strongest pledge of friendship. A procession of priests, with a venerable old personage at their head, now appeared, followed by a long train of men leading large hogs, and others carrying plantains, sweet potatoes, &c. By the looks and gestures of Kaireekeea, I immediately knew the old man to be the chief of the priests before mentioned, on whose bounty we had so long subsisted. He had a piece of red cloth in his hands, which he wrapped round Captain Cook's shoulders, and afterward presented him with a small pig in the usual form. A seat was then made for him, next to the king; after which, Kaireekeea and his followers began their ceremonies, Kaoo and the chiefs joining in the responses.

I was surprised to see, in the person of this king, the same infirm and emaciated old man, that came on board the Resolution when we were off the north-east side of the island of Mowee; and we soon discovered amongst his attendants most of the persons who at that time had remained with us all night. Of this number were the two younger sons of the king, the eldest of whom was sixteen years of age, and his nephew Maiha-Maiha, whom at first we had some difficulty in recollecting, his hair being plastered over with a dirty brown paste and powder, which was no mean heightening to the most savage face I ever beheld.

As soon as the formalities of the meeting were over, Captain Cook carried Terreeoboo, and as many chiefs as the pinnace could hold, on board the Resolution. They were received with every mark of respect that could be shown them; and Captain Cook, in return for the feathered cloak, put a linen shirt on the king, and girt his own hanger round him. The ancient Kaoo, and about half a dozen more old chiefs, remained on shore, and took up their abode at the priests' houses. During all this time, not a canoe was seen in the bay, and the natives either kept within their huts, or lay prostrate on the ground. Before the king left the Resolution, Captain Cook obtained leave for the natives to come and trade with the ships as usual; but the women, for what reason we could not learn, still continued under the effects of the *taboo;* that is, were forbidden to stir from home, or to have any communication with us.

CHAPTER II.—FARTHER ACCOUNT OF TRANSACTIONS WITH THE NATIVES.—THEIR HOSPITALITY.—PROPENSITY TO THEFT.—DESCRIPTION OF A BOXING-MATCH.—DEATH OF ONE OF OUR SEAMEN.—BEHAVIOUR OF THE PRIESTS AT HIS FUNERAL.—THE WOOD-WORK AND IMAGES ON THE MORAI PURCHASED.—THE NATIVES INQUISITIVE ABOUT OUR DEPARTURE.—THEIR OPINION ABOUT THE DESIGN OF OUR VOYAGE.—MAGNIFICENT PRESENTS OF TERREEOBOO TO CAPTAIN COOK.—THE SHIPS LEAVE THE ISLAND.—THE RESOLUTION DAMAGED IN A GALE, AND OBLIGED TO RETURN.

THE quiet and inoffensive behaviour of the natives having taken away every apprehension of danger, we did not hesitate to trust ourselves amongst them at all times, and in all situations. The officers of both ships went daily up the country in small parties, or even singly, and frequently remained out the whole night. It would be endless to recount all the instances of kindness and civility which we received upon those occasions. Wherever we went, the people flocked about us, eager to offer every assistance in their power, and highly gratified if their services were accepted. Various little arts were practised to attract our notice, or to delay our departure. The boys and girls ran before, as we walked through their villages, and stopped us at every opening where there was room to form a group for dancing. At one time, we were invited to accept a draught of cocoa-nut milk, or some other refreshment, under the shade of their huts; at another, we were seated within a circle of young women, who exerted all their skill and agility to amuse us with songs and dances.

The satisfaction we derived from their gentleness and hospitality was, however, frequently interrupted by that propensity to stealing which they have in common with all the other islanders of these seas. This circumstance was the more distressing, as it sometimes obliged us to have recourse to acts of severity, which we should willingly have avoided, if the necessity of the case had not absolutely called for them. Some of their most expert swimmers

were one day discovered under the ships, drawing out the filling nails of the sheathing, which they performed very dexterously by means of a short stick, with a flint stone fixed in the end of it. To put a stop to this practice, which endangered the very existence of the vessels, we at first fired small-shot at the offenders; but they easily got out of our reach by diving under the ship's bottom. It was therefore found necessary to make an example, by flogging one of them on board the Discovery.

About this time, a large party of gentlemen, from both ships, set out on an excursion into the interior parts of the country, with a view of examining its natural productions. An account of this journey will be given in a subsequent part of our narrative. It is, therefore, only necessary at present to observe, that it afforded Kaoo a fresh opportunity of showing his attention and generosity. For as soon as he was informed of their departure, he sent a large supply of provisions after them, together with orders that the inhabitants of the country through which they were to pass should give them every assistance in their power.

And, to complete the delicacy and disinterestedness of his conduct, even the people he employed could not be prevailed on to accept the smallest present. After remaining out six days, our officers returned, without having been able to penetrate above twenty miles into the island; partly from want of proper guides, and partly from the impracticability of the country.

The head of the Resolution's rudder being found exceedingly shaken, and most of the pintles either loose or broken, it was unhung, and sent on shore, on the 27th in the morning, to undergo a thorough repair. At the same time, the carpenters were sent into the country, under conduct of some of Kaoo's people, to cut planks for the head rail-work, which was also entirely decayed and rotten. On the 28th, Captain Clerke, whose ill health confined him, for the most part, on board, paid Terreeoboo his first visit, at his hut on shore. He was received with the same formalities as were observed with Captain Cook; and, on his coming away, though the visit was quite unexpected, he received a present of thirty large hogs, and as much fruit and roots as his crew could consume in a week.

As we had not yet seen anything of their sports or athletic exercises, the natives, at the request of some of our officers, entertained us this evening with a boxing-match. Though these games were much inferior, as well in point of solemnity and magnificence, as in the skill and powers of the combatants, to what we had seen exhibited at the Friendly Islands; yet, as they differed in some particulars, it may not be improper to give a short account of them. We found a vast concourse of people assembled on a level spot of ground, at a little distance from our tents. A long space was left vacant in the midst of them, at the upper end of which sat the judges, under three standards, from which hung slips of cloth of various colours, the skins of two wild geese, a few small birds, and bunches of feathers. When the sports were ready to begin, the signal was given by the judges, and immediately two combatants appeared. They came forward slowly, lifting up their feet very high behind, and drawing their hands along the soles. As they approached, they frequently eyed each other from head to foot, in a contemptuous manner, casting several arch looks at the spectators, straining their muscles, and using a variety of affected gestures. Being advanced within reach of each other, they stood with both arms held out straight before their faces, at which part all their blows were aimed. They struck, in what appeared to our eyes an awkward manner, with a full swing of the arm; made no attempt to parry, but eluded their adversary's attack by an inclination of the body, or by retreating. The battle was quickly decided; for if either of them was knocked down, or even fell by accident, he was considered as vanquished, and the victor expressed his triumph by a variety of gestures, which usually excited, as was intended, a loud laugh among the spectators. He then waited for a second antagonist; and if again victorious, for a third, till he was, at last, in his turn defeated. A singular rule observed in these combats is, that whilst any two are preparing to fight, a third person may step in, and choose either of them for his antagonist, when the other is obliged to withdraw. Sometimes three or four followed each other in this manner, before the match was settled. When the combat proved longer than usual, or appeared too unequal, one of the chiefs generally stepped in, and ended it by putting a stick between the combatants. The same good-humour was preserved throughout, which we before so much admired in the

Friendly Islanders. As these games were given at our desire, we found it was universally expected that we should have borne our part in them; but our people, though much pressed by the natives, turned a deaf ear to their challenge, remembering full well the blows they got at the Friendly Islands.

This day died William Watman, a seaman of the gunner's crew; an event which I mention the more particularly, as death had hitherto been very rare amongst us. He was an old man, and much respected on account of his attachment to Captain Cook. He had formerly served as a marine twenty-one years; after which he entered as a seaman on board the Resolution in 1772, and served with Captain Cook in his voyage toward the South Pole. At their return, he was admitted into Greenwich Hospital, through the Captain's interest, at the same time with himself; and being resolved to follow throughout the fortunes of his benefactor, he also quitted it along with him, on his being appointed to the command of the present expedition. During the voyage, he had frequently been subject to slight fevers, and was a convalescent when we came into the bay, where, being sent on shore for a few days, he conceived himself perfectly recovered, and, at his own desire, returned on board; but the day following, he had a paralytic stroke, which in two days more carried him off.

At the request of the king of the island, he was buried on the Morai, and the ceremony was performed with as much solemnity as our situation permitted. Old Kaoo and his brethren were spectators, and preserved the most profound silence and attention whilst the service was reading. When we began to fill up the grave, they approached it with great reverence, threw in a dead pig, some cocoa-nuts, and plantains; and, for three nights afterward, they surrounded it, sacrificing hogs, and performing their usual ceremonies of hymns and prayers, which continued till daybreak. At the head of the grave, we erected a post, and nailed upon it a square piece of board, on which was inscribed the name of the deceased, his age, and the day of his death. This they promised not to remove; and we have no doubt, but that it will be suffered to remain, as long as the frail materials of which it is made will permit.

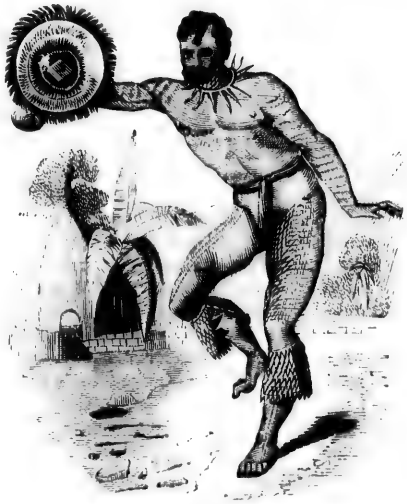
The ships being in great want of fuel, the Captain desired me, on the 2d of February, to treat with the priests for the purchase of the rail that surrounded the top of the Morai. I must confess I had, at first, some doubt about the decency of this proposal, and was apprehensive that even the bare mention of it might be considered by them as a piece of shocking impiety. In this, however, I found myself mistaken. Not the smallest surprise was expressed at the application, and the wood was readily given, even without stipulating for anything in return. Whilst the sailors were taking it away, I observed one of them carrying off a carved image; and, on further inquiry, I found that they had conveyed to the boats the whole* semicircle. Though this was done in the presence of the natives, who had not shown any mark of resentment at it, but had even assisted them in the removal, I thought it proper to speak to Kaoo on the subject; who appeared very indifferent about the matter, and only desired that we would restore the centre image I have mentioned before, which he carried into one of the priest's houses.

Terreeoboo, and his chiefs, had, for some days past, been very inquisitive about the time of our departure. This circumstance had excited in me a great curiosity to know what opinion this people had formed of us, and what were their ideas respecting the cause and objects of our voyage. I took some pains to satisfy myself on these points; but could never learn anything farther, than that they imagined we came from some country where provisions had failed; and that our visit to them was merely for the purpose of filling our bellies. Indeed, the meagre appearance of some of our crew, the hearty appetites with which we sat down to their fresh provisions, and our great anxiety to purchase and carry off as much as we were able, led them, naturally enough, to such a conclusion. To these may be added, a circumstance which puzzled them exceedingly, our having no women with us; together with our quiet conduct, and unwarlike appearance. It was ridiculous enough to see them stroking the sides and patting the bellies of the sailors (who were certainly much improved in the sleekness of their looks, during our short stay in the island,) and telling them, partly by

* See description of the Morai, in the preceding chapter.

signs, and partly by words, that it was time for them to go; but if they would come again the next bread-fruit season, they should be better able to supply their wants. We had now been sixteen days in the bay; and if our enormous consumption of hogs and vegetables be considered, it need not be wondered, that they should wish to see us take our leave. It is very probable, however, that Terreeoboo had no other view in his inquiries, at present, than a desire of making sufficient preparation for dismissing us with presents suitable to the respect and kindness with which he had received us. For, on our telling him we should leave the island on the next day but one, we observed, that a sort of proclamation was immediately made through the villages, to require the people to bring in their hogs and vegetables, for the king to present to the Orono on his departure.

We were this day much diverted, at the beach, by the buffooneries of one of the natives. He held in his hand an instrument of the sort we have already described *; some bits of sea-weed were tied round his neck; and round each leg, a piece of strong netting, about nine inches deep, on which a great number of dog's teeth were loosely fastened in rows. His style of dancing was entirely burlesque, and accompanied with strange grimaces, and pantomimical distortions of the face; which, though at times inexpressibly ridiculous, yet, on the whole, was without much meaning or expression. Mr. Webber thought it worth his while to make a drawing of this person, as exhibiting a tolerable specimen of the natives; the manner in which the maro is tied; the figure of the instrument before-mentioned, and of the ornaments round the legs, which, at other times, we also saw used by their dancers. In the evening, we were again entertained with wrestling and boxing matches; and we displayed, in return, the few fireworks we had left. Nothing could be better calculated to excite the admiration of these islanders, and to impress them with an idea of our great superiority, than an exhibition of this kind. Captain Cook has already described the extraordinary effects of that which was made at Hapaee; and though the present was, in every respect, infinitely inferior, yet the astonishment of the natives was not less.



DANCE OF OWHYHEE.

I have before mentioned, that the carpenters from both ships had been sent up the country to cut planks, for the head-rail work of the Resolution. This was the third day since their departure; and having received no intelligence from them, we began to be very anxious for their safety. We were communicating our apprehensions to old Kaoo, who appeared as much concerned as ourselves, and were concerting measures with him for sending after them, when they arrived all safe. They had been obliged to go farther into the country than was expected, before they met with trees fit for their purpose; and it was this circumstance, together with the badness of the roads, and the difficulty of bringing back the timber, which had detained them so long. They spoke in high terms of their guides, who both supplied them with provisions, and guarded their tools with the utmost fidelity.

The next day being fixed for our departure, Terreeoboo invited Captain Cook and myself to attend him, on the 3d, to the place where Kaoo resided. On our arrival, we found the

* See Vol ii. p. 250.

ground covered with parcels of cloth, a vast quantity of red and yellow feathers tied to the fibres of cocoa-nut husks, and a great number of hatchets, and other pieces of iron-ware, that had been got in barter from us. At a little distance from these lay an immense quantity of vegetables of every kind; and near them was a large herd of hogs. At first, we imagined the whole to be intended as a present for us, till Kaireekeea informed me that it was a gift or tribute from the people of that district to the king; and, accordingly, as soon as we were seated, they brought all the bundles and laid them severally at Terreeoboo's feet, spreading out the cloth, and displaying the feathers and iron-ware before him. The king seemed much pleased with this mark of their duty; and having selected about a third part of the iron-ware, the same proportion of feathers, and a few pieces of cloth, these were set aside by themselves; and the remainder of the cloth, together with all the hogs and vegetables, were afterwards presented to Captain Cook and myself. We were astonished at the value and magnitude of this present, which far exceeded everything of the kind we had seen, either at the Friendly or Society Islands. Boats were immediately sent to carry them on board; the large hogs were picked out to be salted for sea-store, and upwards of thirty smaller pigs, and the vegetables, were divided between the two crews.

The same day, we quitted the Morai, and got the tents and astronomical instruments on board. The charm of the *taboo* was now removed; and we had no sooner left the place, than the natives rushed in and searched eagerly about, in expectation of finding something of value that we might have left behind. As I happened to remain the last on shore, and waited for the return of the boat, several came crowding about me, and having made me sit down by them, began to lament our separation. It was, indeed, not without difficulty I was able to quit them. And here I hope I may be permitted to relate a trifling occurrence, in which I was principally concerned. Having had the command of the party on shore, during the whole time we were in the bay, I had an opportunity of becoming better acquainted with the natives, and of being better known to them, than those whose duty required them to be generally on board. As I had every reason to be satisfied with their kindness in general, so I cannot too often, nor too particularly, mention the unbounded and constant friendship of their priests. On my part, I spared no endeavours to conciliate their affections, and gain their esteem; and I had the good fortune to succeed so far, that, when the time of our departure was made known, I was strongly solicited to remain behind, not without offers of the most flattering kind. When I excused myself, by saying that Captain Cook would not give his consent, they proposed that I should retire into the mountains, where, they said, they would conceal me till after the departure of the ships; and, on my farther assuring them that the Captain would not leave the bay without me, Terreeoboo and Kaoo waited upon Captain Cook, whose son they supposed I was, with a formal request that I might be left behind. The Captain, to avoid giving a positive refusal to an offer so kindly intended, told them that he could not part with me at that time, but that he should return to the island next year, and would then endeavour to settle the matter to their satisfaction.

Early in the morning of the 4th, we unmoored, and sailed out of the bay, with the Discovery in company, and were followed by a great number of canoes. Captain Cook's design was to finish the survey of Owhyhee, before he visited the other islands, in hopes of meeting with a road better sheltered than the bay we had just left; and in case of not succeeding here, he purposed to take a view of the south-east part of Mowee, where the natives informed us we should find an excellent harbour. We had calm weather all this and the following day, which made our progress to the northward very slow. We were accompanied by a great number of the natives in their canoes; and Terreeoboo gave a fresh proof of his friendship to Captain Cook, by a large present of hogs and vegetables, that was sent after him.

In the night of the 5th, having a light breeze off the land, we made some way to the northward; and in the morning of the 6th, having passed the westernmost point of the island, we found ourselves abreast of a deep bay, called by the natives Toe-yahyah. We had great hopes that this bay would furnish us with a safe and commodious harbour, as we saw to the north-east several fine streams of water; and the whole had the appearance of being well sheltered. These observations agreeing with the accounts given us by Koah, who

accompanied Captain Cook, and had changed his name, out of compliment to us, into Britannee, the pinnace was hoisted out, and the master, with Britannee for his guide, was sent to examine the bay, whilst the ships worked up after them. In the afternoon the weather became gloomy, and the gusts of wind that blew off the land were so violent, as to make it necessary to take in all the sails, and bring-to under the mizen stay-sail. All the canoes left us at the beginning of the gale; and Mr. Bligh, on his return, had the satisfaction of saving an old woman and two men, whose canoe had been overset by the violence of the wind, as they were endeavouring to gain the shore. Besides these distressed people, we had a great many women on board, whom the natives had left behind in their hurry to shift for themselves.

The master reported to Captain Cook, that he had landed at the only village he saw on the north side of the bay, where he was directed to some wells of water, but found they would by no means answer our purpose; that he afterward proceeded farther into the bay, which runs inland to a great depth, and stretches toward the foot of a very conspicuous high mountain, situated on the north-west end of the island; but that instead of meeting with safe anchorage, as Britannee had taught him to expect, he found the shores low and rocky, and a flat bed of coral rocks running along the coast, and extending upward of a mile from the land, on the outside of which, the depth of water was twenty fathoms, over a sandy bottom; and that, in the mean time, Britannee had contrived to slip away, being afraid of returning, as we imagined, because his information had not proved true and successful.

In the evening, the weather being more moderate, we again made sail; but about midnight it blew so violently, as to split both the fore and maintopsails. On the morning of the 7th, we bent fresh sails, and had fair weather and a light breeze. At noon, the latitude, by observation, was 20° 1′ north, the west point of the island bearing south, 7° east, and the north-west point north, 38° east. As we were, at this time, four or five leagues from the shore, and the weather very unsettled, none of the canoes would venture out, so that our guests were obliged to remain with us, much indeed to their dissatisfaction; for they were all sea-sick, and many of them had left young children behind them. In the afternoon, though the weather was still squally, we stood in for the land, and being about three leagues from it, we saw a canoe, with two men paddling toward us, which we immediately conjectured had been driven off the shore by the late boisterous weather; and therefore stopped the ship's way, in order to take them in. These poor wretches were so entirely exhausted with fatigue, that had not one of the natives on board, observing their weakness, jumped into the canoe to their assistance, they would scarcely have been able to fasten it to the rope we had thrown out for that purpose. It was with difficulty we got them up the ship's side, together with a child, about four years old, which they had lashed under the thwarts of the canoe, where it had lain with only its head above water. They told us, they had left the shore the morning before, and had been, from that time, without food or water. The usual precautions were taken in giving them victuals, and the child being committed to the care of one of the women, we found them all next morning perfectly recovered.

At midnight, a gale of wind came on, which obliged us to double reef the topsails, and get down the top-gallant yards. On the 8th, at daybreak, we found that the foremast had again given way, the fishes which were put on the head, in King George's or Nootka Sound, on the coast of America, being sprung, and the parts so very defective, as to make it absolutely necessary to replace them, and, of course, to unstep the mast. In this difficulty Captain Cook was for some time in doubt, whether he should run the chance of meeting with a harbour in the islands to leeward, or return to Karakakooa. That bay was not so remarkably commodious, in any respect, but that a better might probably be expected, both for the purpose of repairing the masts, and for procuring refreshments, of which it was imagined that the neighbourhood of Karakakooa had been already pretty well drained. On the other hand, it was considered as too great a risk to leave a place that was tolerably sheltered, and which, once left, could not be regained, for the mere hopes of meeting with a better; the failure of which might perhaps have left us without resource. We therefore continued standing on toward the land, in order to give the natives an opportunity of releasing their friends on board from their confinement; and, at noon, being within a mile of the

shore, a few canoes came off to us, but so crowded with people, that there was not room in them for any of our guests; we therefore hoisted out the pinnace to carry them on shore; and the master, who went with them, had directions to examine the south coasts of the bay for water; but returned without finding any.

The winds being variable, and a current setting strong to the northward, we made but little progress in our return; and at eight o'clock in the evening of the 9th, it began to blow very hard from the south-east, which obliged us to close reef the topsails; and at two in the morning of the 10th, in a heavy squall, we found ourselves close in with the breakers that lie to the northward of the west point of Owhyhee. We had just room to haul off and avoid them, and fired several guns to apprise the Discovery of the danger. In the forenoon, the weather was more moderate, and a few canoes came off to us, from which we learned, that the late storms had done much mischief, and that several large canoes had been lost. During the remainder of the day we kept beating to windward, and, before night, we were within a mile of the bay; but not choosing to run on while it was dark, we stood off and on till daylight next morning, when we dropped anchor nearly in the same place as before.

CHAPTER III.—SUSPICIOUS BEHAVIOUR OF THE NATIVES, ON OUR RETURN TO KARAKAKOOA BAY.—THEFT ON BOARD THE DISCOVERY, AND ITS CONSEQUENCES.—THE PINNACE ATTACKED, AND THE CREW OBLIGED TO QUIT HER.—CAPTAIN COOK'S OBSERVATIONS ON THE OCCASION.—ATTEMPT AT THE OBSERVATORY.—THE CUTTER OF THE DISCOVERY STOLEN.—MEASURES TAKEN BY CAPTAIN COOK FOR ITS RECOVERY.—GOES ON SHORE, TO INVITE THE KING ON BOARD.—THE KING BEING STOPPED BY HIS WIFE AND THE CHIEFS, A CONTEST ARISES.—NEWS ARRIVE OF ONE OF THE CHIEFS BEING KILLED BY ONE OF OUR PEOPLE.—FERMENT ON THIS OCCASION.—ONE OF THE CHIEFS THREATENS CAPTAIN COOK, AND IS SHOT BY HIM.—GENERAL ATTACK BY THE NATIVES.—DEATH OF CAPTAIN COOK.—ACCOUNT OF THE CAPTAIN'S SERVICES, AND A SKETCH OF HIS CHARACTER.

WE were employed the whole of the 11th and part of the 12th in getting out the foremast, and sending it with the carpenters on shore. Besides the damage which the head of the mast had sustained, we found the heel exceedingly rotten, having a large hole up the middle of it, capable of holding four or five cocoa-nuts. It was not, however, thought necessary to shorten it; and fortunately, the logs of red toa-wood, which had been cut at Eimeo, for anchor-stocks, were found fit to replace the sprung parts of the fishes. As these repairs were likely to take up several days, Mr. Bayly and myself got the astronomical apparatus on shore, and pitched our tents on the Morai; having with us a guard of a corporal and six marines. We renewed our friendly correspondence with the priests, who, for the greater security of the workmen and their tools, tabooed the place where the mast lay, sticking their wands round it, as before. The sailmakers were also sent on shore, to repair the damages which had taken place in their department during the late gales. They were lodged in a house adjoining to the Morai, that was lent us by the priests. Such were our arrangements on shore. I shall now proceed to the account of those other transactions with the natives which led, by degrees, to the fatal catastrophe of the 14th.

Upon coming to anchor, we were surprised to find our reception very different from what it had been on our first arrival; no shouts, no bustle, no confusion; but a solitary bay, with only here and there a canoe stealing close along the shore. The impulse of curiosity, which had before operated to so great a degree, might now indeed be supposed to have ceased; but the hospitable treatment we had invariably met with, and the friendly footing on which we parted, gave us some reason to expect that they would again have flocked about us with great joy on our return. We were forming various conjectures upon the occasion of this extraordinary appearance, when our anxiety was at length relieved by the return of a boat, which had been sent on shore, and brought us word, that Terreeoboo was absent, and had left the bay under the taboo. Though this account appeared very satisfactory to most of us, yet others were of opinion, or rather, perhaps, have been led, by subsequent events, to

imagine, that there was something at this time very suspicious in the behaviour of the natives; and that the interdiction of all intercourse with us, on pretence of the king's absence, was only to give him time to consult with his chiefs in what manner it might be proper to treat us. Whether these suspicions were well founded, or the account given by the natives was the truth, we were never able to ascertain. For though it is not improbable that our sudden return, for which they could see no apparent cause, and the necessity of which we afterward found it very difficult to make them comprehend, might occasion some alarm; yet the unsuspicious conduct of Terreeoboo, who, on his supposed arrival, the next morning, came immediately to visit Captain Cook, and the consequent return of the natives to their former friendly intercourse with us, are strong proofs that they neither meant nor apprehended any change of conduct.

In support of this opinion, I may add the account of another accident, precisely of the same kind, which happened to us on our first visit, the day before the arrival of the king. A native had sold a hog on board the Resolution, and taken the price agreed on, when Pareea passing by, advised the man not to part with the hog without an advanced price. For this he was sharply spoken to, and pushed away; and the taboo being soon after laid on the bay, we had at first no doubt but that it was in consequence of the offence given to the chief. Both these accidents serve to show how very difficult it is to draw any certain conclusion from the actions of people with whose customs, as well as language, we are so imperfectly acquainted; at the same time, some idea may be formed from them of the difficulties, at the first view, perhaps, not very apparent, which those have to encounter who, in all their transactions with these strangers, have to steer their course amidst so much uncertainty, where a trifling error may be attended with even the most fatal consequences. However true or false our conjectures may be, things went on in their usual quiet course, till the afternoon of the 13th.

Toward the evening of that day, the officer who commanded the watering-party of the Discovery came to inform me, that several chiefs had assembled at the well near the beach, driving away the natives whom he had hired to assist the sailors in rolling down the casks to the shore. He told me, at the same time, that he thought their behaviour extremely suspicious, and that they meant to give him some farther disturbance. At his request, therefore, I sent a marine along with him, but suffered him to take only his side-arms. In a short time the officer returned, and, on his acquainting me that the islanders had armed themselves with stones and were growing very tumultuous, I went myself to the spot, attended by a marine with his musket. Seeing us approach, they threw away their stones, and, on my speaking to some of the chiefs, the mob were driven away, and those who chose it were suffered to assist in filling the casks. Having left things quiet here, I went to meet Captain Cook, whom I saw coming on shore, in the pinnace. I related to him what had just passed; and he ordered me, in case of their beginning to throw stones or behave insolently, immediately to fire a ball at the offenders. I accordingly gave orders to the corporal, to have the pieces of the sentinels loaded with ball, instead of small-shot.

Soon after our return to the tents, we were alarmed by a continued fire of muskets from the Discovery, which we observed to be directed at a canoe, that we saw paddling toward the shore in great haste, pursued by one of our small boats. We immediately concluded that the firing was in consequence of some theft, and Captain Cook ordered me to follow him with a marine armed, and to endeavour to seize the people as they came on shore. Accordingly we ran toward the place where we supposed the canoe would land, but were too late; the people having quitted it, and made their escape into the country before our arrival. We were at this time ignorant that the goods had been already restored; and as we thought it probable, from the circumstances we had at first observed, that they might be of importance, were unwilling to relinquish our hopes of recovering them. Having therefore inquired of the natives which way the people had fled, we followed them till it was near dark, when judging ourselves to be about three miles from the tents, and suspecting that the natives, who frequently encouraged us in the pursuit, were amusing us with false information, we thought it in vain to continue our search any longer, and returned to the beach.

During our absence, a difference of a more serious and unpleasant nature had happened. The officer, who had been sent in the small boat, and was returning on board with the goods which had been restored, observing Captain Cook and me engaged in the pursuit of the offenders, thought it his duty to seize the canoe, which was left drawn up on the shore. Unfortunately, this canoe belonged to Pareea, who arriving, at the same moment, from on board the Discovery, claimed his property, with many protestations of his innocence. The officer refusing to give it up, and being joined by the crew of the pinnace, which was waiting for Captain Cook, a scuffle ensued, in which Pareea was knocked down by a violent blow on the head with an oar. The natives, who were collected about the spot, and had hitherto been peaceable spectators, immediately attacked our people with such a shower of stones as forced them to retreat with great precipitation, and swim off to a rock, at some distance from the shore. The pinnace was immediately ransacked by the islanders; and, but for the timely interposition of Pareea, who seemed to have recovered from the blow, and forgot it at the same instant, would soon have been entirely demolished. Having driven away the crowd, he made signs to our people, that they might come and take possession of the pinnace, and that he would endeavour to get back the things which had been taken out of it. After their departure, he followed them in his canoe, with a midshipman's cap, and some other trifling articles of the plunder, and with much apparent concern at what had happened, asked, if the Orono would kill him, and whether he would permit him to come on board the next day? On being assured that he should be well received, he joined noses (as their custom is) with the officers, in token of friendship, and paddled over to the village of Kowrowa.

When Captain Cook was informed of what had passed, he expressed much uneasiness at it, and as we were returning on board, "I am afraid," said he, "that these people will oblige me to use some violent measures; for," he added, "they must not be left to imagine that they have gained an advantage over us." However, as it was too late to take any steps this evening, he contented himself with giving orders, that every man and woman on board should be immediately turned out of the ship. As soon as this order was executed, I returned on shore; and our former confidence in the natives being now much abated by the events of the day, I posted a double guard on the Morai, with orders to call me if they saw any men lurking about the beach. At about eleven o'clock, five islanders were observed creeping round the bottom of the Morai; they seemed very cautious in approaching us, and, at last, finding themselves discovered, retired out of sight. About midnight, one of them venturing up close to the observatory, the sentinel fired over him; on which the men fled, and we passed the remainder of the night without further disturbance.

Next morning, at daylight, I went on board the Resolution for the timekeeper, and, in my way, was hailed by the Discovery, and informed that their cutter had been stolen during the night from the buoy where it was moored. When I arrived on board, I found the marines arming, and Captain Cook loading his double-barrelled gun. Whilst I was relating to him what had happened to us in the night, he interrupted me with some eagerness, and acquainted me with the loss of the Discovery's cutter, and with the preparations he was making for its recovery. It had been his usual practice, whenever anything of consequence was lost at any of the islands in this ocean, to get the king, or some of the principal Erees, on board, and to keep them as hostages till it was restored. This method, which had been always attended with success, he meant to pursue on the present occasion; and, at the same time, had given orders to stop all the canoes that should attempt to leave the bay, with an intention of seizing and destroying them, if he could not recover the cutter by peaceable means. Accordingly the boats of both ships, well manned and armed, were stationed across the bay; and, before I left the ship, some great-guns had been fired at two large canoes, that were attempting to make their escape.

It was between seven and eight o'clock when we quitted the ship together; Captain Cook in the pinnace, having Mr. Phillips and nine marines with him; and myself in the small boat. The last orders I received from him were, to quiet the minds of the natives on our side of the bay, by assuring them they should not be hurt; to keep my people together; and to be on my guard. We then parted: the captain went toward Kowrowa, where the king resided; and I proceeded to the beach. My first care, on going ashore, was to give

strict orders to the marines to remain within their tent, to load their pieces with ball, and not to quit their arms. Afterward I took a walk to the huts of old Kaoo and the priests, and explained to them, as well as I could, the object of the hostile preparations, which had exceedingly alarmed them. I found that they had already heard of the cutter's being stolen, and I assured them, that though Captain Cook was resolved to recover it, and to punish the authors of the theft, yet that they, and the people of the village on our side, need not be under the smallest apprehension of suffering any evil from us. I desired the priests to explain this to the people, and to tell them not to be alarmed, but to continue peaceable and quiet. Kaoo asked me, with great earnestness, if Terreeoboo was to be hurt? I assured him, he was not; and both he and the rest of his brethren seemed much satisfied with this assurance.

In the mean time, Captain Cook having called off the launch, which was stationed at the north point of the bay, and taken it along with him, proceeded to Kowrowa, and landed with the lieutenant and nine marines. He immediately marched into the village, where he was received with the usual marks of respect; the people prostrating themselves before him, and bringing their accustomed offerings of small hogs. Finding that there was no suspicion of his design, his next step was to inquire for Terreeoboo and the two boys, his sons, who had been his constant guests on board the Resolution. In a short time the boys returned along with the natives, who had been sent in search of them, and immediately led Captain Cook to the house where the king had slept. They found the old man just awoke from sleep; and after a short conversation about the loss of the cutter, from which Captain Cook was convinced that he was in no wise privy to it, he invited him to return in the boat, and spend the day on board the Resolution. To this proposal the king readily consented, and immediately got up to accompany him.

Things were in this prosperous train, the two boys being already in the pinnace, and the rest of the party having advanced near the water-side, when an elderly woman called Kaneekabareea, the mother of the boys, and one of the king's favourite wives, came after him, and, with many tears and entreaties, besought him not to go on board. At the same time, two chiefs who came along with her laid hold of him, and insisting that he should go no farther, forced him to sit down. The natives, who were collecting in prodigious numbers along the shore, and had probably been alarmed by the firing of the great-guns and the appearances of hostility in the bay, began to throng round Captain Cook and their king. In this situation, the lieutenant of marines observing that his men were huddled close together in the crowd, and thus incapable of using their arms, if any occasion should require it, proposed to the captain to draw them up along the rocks, close to the water's edge; and the crowd readily making way for them to pass, they were drawn up in a line, at the distance of about thirty yards from the place where the king was sitting. All this time the old king remained on the ground, with the strongest marks of terror and dejection in his countenance; Captain Cook, not willing to abandon the object for which he had come on shore, continuing to urge him in the most pressing manner, to proceed; whilst, on the other hand, whenever the king appeared inclined to follow him, the chiefs, who stood round him, interposed at first with prayers and entreaties, but afterward, having recourse to force and violence, insisted on his staying where he was. Captain Cook, therefore, finding that the alarm had spread too generally, and that it was in vain to think any longer of getting him off without bloodshed, at last gave up the point; observing to Mr. Phillips, that it would be impossible to compel him to go on board, without the risk of killing a great number of the inhabitants.

Though the enterprise which had carried Captain Cook on shore had now failed, and was abandoned, yet his person did not appear to have been in the least danger, till an accident happened, which gave a fatal turn to the affair. The boats which had been stationed across the bay, having fired at some canoes that were attempting to get out, unfortunately had killed a chief of the first rank. The news of his death arrived at the village where Captain Cook was, just as he had left the king, and was walking slowly toward the shore. The ferment it occasioned was very conspicuous; the women and children were immediately sent off; and the men put on their war-mats, and armed themselves with

spears and stones. One of the natives, having in his hands a stone, and a long iron spike (which they call a *pahooa*), came up to the captain, flourishing his weapon, by way of defiance, and threatening to throw the stone. The captain desired him to desist; but the man persisting in his insolence, he was at length provoked to fire a load of small-shot. The man having his mat on, which the shot were not able to penetrate, this had no other effect than to irritate and encourage them. Several stones were thrown at the marines; and one of the Erees attempted to stab Mr. Phillips with his *pahooa*, but failed in the attempt, and received from him a blow with the butt end of his musket. Captain Cook now fired his second barrel, loaded with ball, and killed one of the foremost of the natives. A general attack with stones immediately followed, which was answered by a discharge of musketry from the marines and the people in the boats. The islanders, contrary to the expectations of every one, stood the fire with great firmness; and before the marines had time to reload, they broke in upon them with dreadful shouts and yells. What followed was a scene of the utmost horror and confusion.

Four of the marines were cut off amongst the rocks in their retreat, and fell a sacrifice to the fury of the enemy; three more were dangerously wounded; and the lieutenant, who had received a stab between the shoulders with a *pahooa*, having fortunately reserved his fire, shot the man who had wounded him just as he was going to repeat his blow. Our unfortunate commander, the last time he was seen distinctly, was standing at the water's edge, and calling out to the boats to cease firing, and to pull in. If it be true, as some of those who were present have imagined, that the marines and boatmen had fired without his orders, and that he was desirous of preventing any further bloodshed, it is not improbable that his humanity, on this occasion, proved fatal to him. For it was remarked, that whilst he faced the natives, none of them had offered him any violence, but that having turned about to give his orders to the boats, he was stabbed in the back, and fell with his face into the water. On seeing him fall, the islanders set up a great shout, and his body was immediately dragged on shore, and surrounded by the enemy, who snatching the daggers out of each other's hands, showed a savage eagerness to have a share in his destruction.

Thus fell our great and excellent commander! After a life of so much distinguished and successful enterprise, his death, as far as regards himself, cannot be reckoned premature; since he lived to finish the great work for which he seems to have been designed; and was rather removed from the enjoyment, than cut off from the acquisition of glory. How sincerely his loss was felt and lamented by those who had so long found their general security in his skill and conduct, and every consolation, under their hardships, in his tenderness and humanity, it is neither necessary nor possible for me to describe; much less shall I attempt to paint the horror with which we were struck, and the universal dejection and dismay which followed so dreadful and unexpected a calamity. The reader will not be displeased to turn from so sad a scene, to the contemplation of his character and virtues, whilst I am paying my last tribute to the memory of a dear and honoured friend, in a short history of his life and public services.

Captain James Cook was born near Whitby, in Yorkshire, in the year 1727; and, at an early age, was put apprentice to a shopkeeper in a neighbouring village. His natural inclination not having been consulted on this occasion, he soon quitted the counter from disgust, and bound himself for nine years, to the master of a vessel in the coal trade. At the breaking out of the war in 1755, he entered into the King's service on board the Eagle, at that time commanded by Captain Hamer, and afterward by Sir Hugh Palliser, who soon discovered his merit, and introduced him on the quarter-deck. In the year 1758, we find him master of the Northumberland, the flag-ship of Lord Colville, who had then the command of the squadron stationed on the coast of America. It was here, as I have often heard him say, that, during a hard winter, he first read Euclid, and applied himself to the study of mathematics and astronomy, without any other assistance than what a few books and his own industry afforded him. At the same time that he thus found means to cultivate and improve his mind and to supply the deficiencies of an early education, he was engaged in most of the busy and active scenes of the war in America. At the siege of Quebec, Sir Charles Saunders committed to his charge the execution of services of the first importance in the naval department. He

piloted the boats to the attack of Montmorency; conducted the embarkation to the Heights of Abraham; examined the passage, and laid buoys for the security of the large ships in proceeding up the river. The courage and address with which he acquitted himself in these services, gained him the warm friendship of Sir Charles Saunders and Lord Colville, who continued to patronise him during the rest of their lives with the greatest zeal and affection. At the conclusion of the war, he was appointed, through the recommendation of Lord Colville and Sir Hugh Palliser, to survey the Gulf of St. Lawrence, and the coasts of Newfoundland. In this employment he continued till the year 1767, when he was fixed on by Sir Edward Hawke, to command an expedition to the South Seas; for the purpose of observing the transit of Venus, and prosecuting discoveries in that part of the globe.

From this period, as his services are too well known to require a recital here, so his reputation has proportionably advanced to a height too great to be affected by my panegyric. Indeed, he appears to have been most eminently and peculiarly qualified for this species of enterprise. The earliest habits of his life, the course of his services, and the constant application of his mind, all conspired to fit him for it, and gave him a degree of professional knowledge which can fall to the lot of very few. The constitution of his body was robust, inured to labour, and capable of undergoing the severest hardships. His stomach bore, without difficulty, the coarsest and most ungrateful food. Indeed, temperance in him was scarcely a virtue; so great was the indifference with which he submitted to every kind of self-denial. The qualities of his mind were of the same hardy, vigorous kind with those of his body. His understanding was strong and perspicacious; his judgment, in whatever related to the services he was engaged in, quick and sure. His designs were bold and manly; and both in the conception, and in the mode of execution, bore evident marks of a great original genius. His courage was cool and determined, and accompanied with an admirable presence of mind in the moment of danger. His manners were plain and unaffected. His temper might perhaps have been justly blamed as subject to hastiness and passion, had not these been disarmed by a disposition the most benevolent and humane.

Such were the outlines of Captain Cook's character; but its most distinguishing feature was that unremitting perseverance in the pursuit of his object, which was not only superior to the opposition of dangers and the pressure of hardships, but even exempt from the want of ordinary relaxation. During the long and tedious voyages in which he was engaged, his eagerness and activity were never in the least abated. No incidental temptation could detain him for a moment; even those intervals of recreation, which sometimes unavoidably occurred, and were looked for by us with a longing, that persons who have experienced the fatigues of service will readily excuse, were submitted to by him with a certain impatience, whenever they could not be employed in making further provision for the more effectual prosecution of his designs.

It is not necessary, here, to enumerate the instances in which these qualities were displayed, during the great and important enterprises in which he was engaged. I shall content myself with stating the result of those services, under the two principal heads to which they may be referred, those of geography and navigation, placing each in a separate and distinct point of view. Perhaps no science ever received greater additions from the labour of a single man than geography has done from those of Captain Cook. In his first voyage to the South Seas, he discovered the Society Islands; determined the insularity of New Zealand; discovered the straits which separate the two islands, and are called after his name; and made a complete survey of both. He afterward explored the eastern coast of New Holland, hitherto unknown; an extent of twenty-seven degrees of latitude, or upward of two thousand miles. In his second expedition he resolved the great problem of a southern continent; having traversed that hemisphere between the latitudes of 40° and 70°, in such a manner as not to leave a possibility of its existence, unless near the pole, and out of the reach of navigation. During this voyage he discovered New Caledonia, the largest island in the Southern Pacific, except New Zealand; the island of Georgia; and an unknown coast, which he named Sandwich Land, the Thule of the southern hemisphere; and having twice visited the tropical seas, he settled the situations of the old, and made several new discoveries.

But the voyage we are now relating is distinguished above all the rest by the extent and importance of its discoveries. Besides several smaller islands in the Southern Pacific, he discovered, to the north of the equinoctial line, the group called the Sandwich Islands; which, from their situation and productions, bid fairer for becoming an object of consequence, in the system of European navigation, than any other discovery in the South Sea. He afterward explored what had hitherto remained unknown of the western coast of America, from the latitude of 43° to 70° north, containing an extent of three thousand five hundred miles; ascertained the proximity of the two great continents of Asia and America; passed the straits between them, and surveyed the coast, on each side, to such a height of northern latitude as to demonstrate the impracticability of a passage in that hemisphere, from the Atlantic into the Pacific Ocean, either by an eastern or a western course. In short, if we except the sea of Amur, and the Japanese Archipelago, which still remain imperfectly known to Europeans, he has completed the hydrography of the habitable globe.

As a navigator, his services were not perhaps less splendid; certainly not less important and meritorious. The method which he discovered, and so successfully pursued, of preserving the health of seamen, forms a new era in navigation, and will transmit his name to future ages amongst the friends and benefactors of mankind. Those who are conversant in naval history need not be told at how dear a rate the advantages which have been sought through the medium of long voyages at sea have always been purchased. That dreadful disorder which is peculiar to this service, and whose ravages have marked the tracks of discoverers with circumstances almost too shocking to relate, must, without exercising an unwarrantable tyranny over the lives of our seamen, have proved an insuperable obstacle to the prosecution of such enterprises. It was reserved for Captain Cook to show the world, by repeated trials, that voyages might be protracted to the unusual length of three or even four years, in unknown regions, and under every change and rigour of climate, not only without affecting the health, but even without diminishing the probability of life in the smallest degree. The method he pursued has been fully explained by himself in a paper which was read before the Royal Society, in the year 1776*; and whatever improvements the experience of the present voyage has suggested are mentioned in their proper places.

With respect to his professional abilities, I shall leave them to the judgment of those who are best acquainted with the nature of the services in which he was engaged. They will readily acknowledge, that to have conducted three expeditions of so much danger and difficulty, of so unusual a length, and in such a variety of situation, with uniform and invariable success, must have required not only a thorough and accurate knowledge of his business, but a powerful and comprehensive genius, fruitful in resources, and equally ready in the application of whatever the higher and inferior calls of the service required.

Having given the most faithful account I have been able to collect, both from my own observation, and the relations of others, of the death of my ever-honoured friend, and also of his character and services, I shall now leave his memory to the gratitude and admiration of posterity; accepting, with a melancholy satisfaction, the honour, which the loss of him hath procured me, of seeing my name joined with his; and of testifying that affection and respect for his memory, which, whilst he lived, it was no less my inclination, than my constant study to show him.

* Sir Godfrey Copley's gold medal was adjudged to him on that occasion.

CHAPTER IV.—TRANSACTIONS AT OWHYHEE SUBSEQUENT TO THE DEATH OF CAPTAIN COOK.—GALLANT BEHAVIOUR OF THE LIEUTENANT OF MARINES.—DANGEROUS SITUATION OF THE PARTY AT THE MORAI.—BRAVERY OF ONE OF THE NATIVES.—CONSULTATION RESPECTING FUTURE MEASURES.—DEMAND OF THE BODY OF CAPTAIN COOK.—EVASIVE AND INSIDIOUS CONDUCT OF KOAH, AND THE CHIEFS.—INSOLENT BEHAVIOUR OF THE NATIVES.—PROMOTION OF OFFICERS.—ARRIVAL OF TWO PRIESTS WITH PART OF THE BODY.—EXTRAORDINARY BEHAVIOUR OF TWO BOYS.—BURNING OF THE VILLAGE OF KAKOOA.—UNFORTUNATE DESTRUCTION OF THE DWELLINGS OF THE PRIESTS.—RECOVERY OF THE BONES OF CAPTAIN COOK.—DEPARTURE FROM KARAKAKOOA BAY.

It has been already related that four of the marines who attended Captain Cook were killed by the islanders on the spot. The rest, with Mr. Phillips, their lieutenant, threw themselves into the water, and escaped, under cover of a smart fire from the boats. On this occasion, a remarkable instance of gallant behaviour, and of affection for his men, was shown by that officer. For he had scarcely got into the boat, when, seeing one of the marines, who was a bad swimmer, struggling in the water, and in danger of being taken by the enemy, he immediately jumped into the sea to his assistance, though much wounded himself; and after receiving a blow on the head from a stone, which had nearly sent him to the bottom, he caught the man by the hair, and brought him safe off. Our people continued for some time to keep up a constant fire from the boats (which during the whole transaction were not more than twenty yards from the land), in order to afford their unfortunate companions, if any of them should still remain alive, an opportunity of escaping. These efforts, seconded by a few guns, that were fired at the same time from the Resolution, having forced the natives at last to retire, a small boat, manned by five of our young midshipmen, pulled toward the shore, where they saw the bodies, without any signs of life, lying on the ground; but judging it dangerous to attempt to bring them off with so small a force, and their ammunition being nearly expended, they returned to the ships, leaving them in possession of the islanders, together with ten stand of arms.

As soon as the general consternation, which the news of this calamity occasioned throughout both crews had a little subsided, their attention was called to our party at the Morai, where the mast and sails were on shore, with a guard of only six marines. It is impossible for me to describe the emotions of my own mind, during the time these transactions had been carrying on at the other side of the bay. Being at the distance only of a short mile from the village of Kowrowa, we could see distinctly an immense crowd collected on the spot where Captain Cook had just before landed. We heard the firing of the musketry, and could perceive some extraordinary bustle and agitation in the multitude. We afterwards saw the natives flying, the boats retire from the shore, and passing and repassing, in great stillness, between the ships. I must confess that my heart soon misgave me. Where a life so dear and valuable was concerned, it was impossible not to be alarmed, by appearances both new and threatening. But, besides this, I knew that a long and uninterrupted course of success, in his transactions with the natives of these seas, had given the Captain a degree of confidence, that I was always fearful might, at some unlucky moment, put him too much off his guard; and I now saw all the dangers to which that confidence might lead, without receiving much consolation from considering the experience that had given rise to it.

My first care on hearing the muskets fired, was, to assure the people, who were assembled in considerable numbers round the wall of our consecrated field, and seemed equally at a loss with ourselves how to account for what they had seen and heard, that they should not be molested; and that, at all events, I was desirous of continuing on peaceable terms with them. We remained in this posture, till the boats had returned on board, when Captain Clerke, observing, through his telescope, that we were surrounded by the natives, and apprehending they meant to attack us, ordered two four-pounders to be fired at them. Fortunately these guns, though well aimed, did no mischief, and yet gave the natives a convincing proof of their power. One of the balls broke a cocoa-nut tree in the middle, under which a party of them were sitting; and the other shivered a rock, that stood in an

exact line with them. As I had, just before, given them the strongest assurances of their safety, I was exceedingly mortified at this act of hostility; and, to prevent a repetition of it, immediately despatched a boat to acquaint Captain Clerke, that at present I was on the most friendly terms with the natives; and that, if occasion should hereafter arise for altering my conduct towards them, I would hoist a jack as a signal for him to afford us all the assistance in his power.

We expected the return of the boat with the utmost impatience; and after remaining a quarter of an hour under the most torturing anxiety and suspense, our fears were at length confirmed, by the arrival of Mr. Bligh, with orders to strike the tents as quickly as possible, and to send the sails that were repairing, on board. Just at the same moment, our friend Kaireekeea, having also received intelligence of the death of Captain Cook from a native, who had arrived from the other side of the bay, came to me, with great sorrow and dejection in his countenance, to inquire if it was true. Our situation was at this time extremely critical and important; not only our own lives, but the event of the expedition, and the return of at least one of the ships, being involved in the same common danger. We had the mast of the Resolution, and the greater part of our sails, on shore, under the protection of only six marines: their loss would have been irreparable; and though the natives had not as yet shown the smallest disposition to molest us, yet it was impossible to answer for the alteration which the news of the transaction at Kowrowa might produce. I therefore thought it prudent to dissemble my belief of the death of Captain Cook, and to desire Kaireekeea to discourage the report; lest either the fear of our resentment, or the successful example of their countrymen, might lead them to seize the favourable opportunity which at this time offered itself of giving us a second blow. At the same time, I advised him to bring old Kaoo, and the rest of the priests, into a large house that was close to the Morai; partly out of regard to their safety, in case it should have been found necessary to proceed to extremities; and partly to have him near us, in order to make use of his authority with the people, if it could be instrumental in preserving peace.

Having placed the marines on the top of the Morai, which formed a strong and advantageous post, and left the command with Mr. Bligh, giving him the most positive directions to act entirely on the defensive, I went on board the Discovery, in order to represent to Captain Clerke the dangerous situation of our affairs. As soon as I quitted the spot, the natives began to annoy our people with stones; and I had scarcely reached the ship, before I heard the firing of the marines. I therefore returned instantly on shore, where I found things growing every moment more alarming. The natives were arming, and putting on their mats; and their numbers increased very fast. I could also perceive several large bodies marching toward us, along the cliff which separates the village of Kakooa from the north side of the bay, where the village of Kowrowa is situated.

They began, at first, to attack us with stones from behind the walls of their inclosures, and finding no resistance on our part, they soon grew more daring. A few resolute fellows having crept along the beach under cover of the rocks, suddenly made their appearance at the foot of the Morai, with a design, as it seemed, of storming it on the side next the sea, which was its only accessible part; and were not dislodged till after they had stood a considerable number of shot, and seen one of their party fall. The bravery of one of these assailants well deserves to be particularly mentioned; for having returned to carry off his companion, amidst the fire of our whole party, a wound which he received made him quit the body and retire; but in a few minutes, he again appeared, and being again wounded, he was obliged a second time to retreat. At this moment I arrived at the Morai, and saw him return the third time, bleeding and faint; and being informed of what had happened, I forbade the soldiers to fire, and he was suffered to carry off his friend; which he was just able to perform, and then fell down himself and expired.

About this time, a strong reinforcement from both ships having landed, the natives retreated behind their walls; which giving me access to our friendly priests, I sent one of them to endeavour to bring their countrymen to some terms, and to propose to them, that if they would desist from throwing stones, I would not permit our men to fire. This truce was agreed to, and we were suffered to launch the mast, and carry off the sails and our

astronomical apparatus unmolested. As soon as we had quitted the Morai, they took possession of it, and some of them threw a few stones, but without doing us any mischief.

It was half an hour past eleven o'clock when I got on board the Discovery, where I found no decisive plan had been adopted for our future proceedings. The restitution of the boat, and the recovery of the body of Captain Cook, were the objects which, on all hands, we agreed to insist on; and it was my opinion that some vigorous steps should be taken, in case the demand of them was not immediately complied with. Though my feelings, on the death of a beloved and honoured friend, may be suspected to have had some share in this opinion, yet there were certainly other reasons, and those of the most serious kind, that had considerable weight with me. The confidence which their success in killing our chief, and forcing us to quit the shore, must naturally have inspired; and the advantage, however trifling, which they had obtained over us the preceding day; would, I had no doubt, encourage them to make some further dangerous attempts; and the more especially, as they had little reason, from what they had hitherto seen, to dread the effects of our fire-arms. Indeed, contrary to the expectations of every one, this sort of weapon had produced no signs of terror in them. On our side, such was the condition of the ships, and the state of discipline amongst us, that had a vigorous attack been made on us in the night, it would have been impossible to answer for the consequences. In these apprehensions, I was supported by the opinion of most of the officers on board; and nothing seemed to me so likely to encourage the natives to make the attempt, as the appearance of our being inclined to an accommodation, which they could only attribute to weakness or fear. In favour of more conciliatory measures, it was justly urged, that the mischief was done, and irreparable; that the natives had a strong claim to our regard on account of their former friendship and kindness; and the more especially, as the late melancholy accident did not appear to have arisen from any premeditated design; that, on the part of Terreeoboo, his ignorance of the theft, his readiness to accompany Captain Cook on board, and his having actually sent his two sons into the boat, must free him from the smallest degree of suspicion; that the conduct of his women and the Erees might easily be accounted for, from the apprehensions occasioned by the armed force with which Captain Cook came on shore, and the hostile preparations in the bay; appearances so different from the terms of friendship and confidence in which both parties had hitherto lived, that the arming of the natives was evidently with a design to resist the attempt, which they had some reason to imagine would be made, to carry off their king by force, and was naturally to be expected from a people full of affection and attachment to their chiefs. To these motives of humanity, others of a prudential nature were added: that we were in want of water, and other refreshments; that our foremast would require six or eight days' work before it could be stepped; that the spring was advancing apace; and that the speedy prosecution of our next northern expedition ought now to be our sole object; that therefore to engage in a vindictive contest with the inhabitants might not only lay us under the imputation of unnecessary cruelty, but would occasion an unavoidable delay in the equipment of the ships.

In this latter opinion Captain Clerke concurred; and though I was convinced that an early display of vigorous resentment would more effectually have answered every object both of prudence and humanity, I was not sorry that the measures I had recommended were rejected. For though the contemptuous behaviour of the natives, and their subsequent opposition to our necessary operations on shore, arising, I have no doubt, from a misconstruction of our lenity, compelled us at last to have recourse to violence in our own defence; yet I am not so sure that the circumstances of the case would, in the opinion of the world, have justified the use of force on our part in the first instance. Cautionary rigour is at all times invidious, and has this additional objection to it, that the severity of a preventive course, when it best succeeds, leaves its expediency the least apparent.

During the time we were thus engaged in concerting some plan for our future conduct, a prodigious concourse of natives still kept possession of the shore; and some of them came off in canoes, and had the boldness to approach within pistol-shot of the ships, and to insult us by various marks of contempt and defiance. It was with great difficulty we could restrain the sailors from the use of their arms on these occasions; but as pacific measures

had been resolved on, the canoes were suffered to return unmolested. In pursuance of this plan, it was determined that I should proceed toward the shore, with the boats of both ships well manned and armed, with a view to bring the natives to a parley, and, if possible, to obtain a conference with some of the chiefs. If this attempt succeeded, I was to demand the dead bodies, and particularly that of Captain Cook; to threaten them with our vengeance in case of a refusal; but, by no means, to fire unless attacked; and not to land on any account whatever. These orders were delivered to me before the whole party, and in the most positive manner.

I left the ships about four o'clock in the afternoon; and, as we approached the shore, I perceived every indication of a hostile reception. The whole crowd of natives was in motion; the women and children retiring; the men putting on their war mats, and arming themselves with long spears and daggers. We also observed, that, since the morning, they had thrown up stone breast-works along the beach, where Captain Cook had landed, probably in expectation of an attack at that place; and, as soon as we were within reach, they began to throw stones at us with slings, but without doing any mischief. Concluding, therefore, that all attempts to bring them to a parley would be in vain, unless I first gave them some ground for mutual confidence; I ordered the armed boats to stop, and went on, in the small boat, alone, with a white flag in my hand, which, by a general cry of joy from the natives, I had the satisfaction to find was instantly understood. The women immediately returned from the side of the hill, whither they had retired; the men threw off their mats; and all sat down together by the water-side, extending their arms, and inviting me to come on shore. Though this behaviour was very expressive of a friendly disposition, yet I could not help entertaining some suspicions of its sincerity. But when I saw Koah, with a boldness and assurance altogether unaccountable, swimming off toward the boat, with a white flag in his hand, I thought it necessary to return this mark of confidence, and therefore received him into the boat, though armed; a circumstance which did not tend to lessen my suspicions. I must confess, I had long harboured an unfavourable opinion of this man. The priests had always told us, that he was of a malicious disposition, and no friend of ours; and the repeated detections of his fraud and treachery had convinced us of the truth of their representations. Add to all this, the shocking transaction of the morning, in which he was seen acting a principal part, made me feel the utmost horror at finding myself so near him; and as he came up to me with feigned tears, and embraced me, I was so distrustful of his intentions, that I could not help taking hold of the point of the pahooah, which he held in his hand, and turning it from me. I told him, that I had come to demand the body of Captain Cook; and to declare war against them, unless it was instantly restored. He assured me this should be done as soon as possible; and that he would go himself for that purpose; and, after begging of me a piece of iron, with much assurance, as if nothing extraordinary had happened, he leaped into the sea, and swam ashore, calling out to his countrymen, that we were all friends again.

We waited near an hour, with great anxiety for his return; during which time the rest of the boats had approached so near the shore, as to enter into conversation with a party of the natives at some distance from us; by whom they were plainly given to understand, that the body had been cut to pieces and carried up the country; but of this circumstance I was not informed till our return to the ships. I began now to express some impatience at Koah's delay, upon which the chiefs pressed me exceedingly to come on shore; assuring me, that if I would go myself to Terreeoboo, the body would certainly be restored to me. When they found they could not prevail on me to land, they attempted, under a pretence of wishing to converse with more ease, to decoy our boat among some rocks, where they would have had it in their power to cut us off from the rest. It was no difficult matter to see through these artifices; and I was, therefore, strongly inclined to break off all further communication with them, when a chief came to us who was the particular friend of Captain Clerke, and of the officers of the Discovery, on board which ship he had sailed when we last left the bay, intending to take his passage to Mowee. He told us he came from Terreeoboo to acquaint us that the body was carried up the country; but that it should be brought to us the next morning. There appeared a great deal of sincerity in his manner; and being asked if he

told a falsehood, he hooked his two fore-fingers together, which is understood amongst these islanders as the sign of truth, in the use of which they are very scrupulous.

As I was now at a loss in what manner to proceed, I sent Mr. Vancouver to acquaint Captain Clerke with all that had passed; that my opinion was, they meant not to keep their word with us, and were so far from being sorry at what had happened, that, on the contrary, they were full of spirits and confidence on account of their late success, and sought only to gain time, till they could contrive some scheme for getting us into their power. Mr. Vancouver came back with orders for me to return on board; having first given the natives to understand, that if the body was not brought the next morning, the town should be destroyed. When they saw that we were going off, they endeavoured to provoke us by the most insulting and contemptuous gestures. Some of our people said, they could distinguish several of the natives parading about in the clothes of our unfortunate comrades; and, among them, a chief brandishing Captain Cook's hanger, and a woman holding the scabbard. Indeed, there can be no doubt but that our behaviour had given them a mean opinion of our courage; for they could have but little notion of the motives of humanity that directed it.

In consequence of the report I made to Captain Clerke, of what I conceived to be the present temper and disposition of the islanders, the most effectual measures were taken to guard against any attack they might make in the night. The boats were moored with top-chains; additional sentinels were posted on both ships; and guard-boats were stationed to row round them, in order to prevent the natives from cutting the cables. During the night we observed a prodigious number of lights on the hills, which made some of us imagine they were removing their effects back into the country, in consequence of our threats. But I rather believed them to have been the sacrifices that were performing on account of the war in which they imagined themselves about to be engaged; and most probably the bodies of our slain countrymen were at that time burning. We afterward saw fires of the same kind, as we passed the island of Morotoi; and which, we were told by some natives then on board, were made on account of the war they had declared against a neighbouring island. And this agrees with what we learned amongst the Friendly and Society Isles, that, previous to any expedition against an enemy, the chiefs always endeavoured to animate and inflame the courage of the people by feasts and rejoicings in the night.

We remained the whole night undisturbed, except by the howlings and lamentations which were heard on shore; and early the next morning, Koah came alongside the Resolution, with a present of cloth and a small pig, which he desired leave to present to me. I have mentioned before, that I was supposed by the natives to be the son of Captain Cook; and as he, in his lifetime, had always suffered them to believe it, I was probably considered as the chief after his death. As soon as I came on deck, I questioned him about the body; and, on his returning me nothing but evasive answers, I refused to accept his presents; and was going to dismiss him with some expressions of anger and resentment, had not Captain Clerke, judging it best at all events to keep up the appearance of friendship, thought it more proper that he should be treated with the usual respect. This treacherous fellow came frequently to us during the course of the forenoon, with some trifling present or other; and as I always observed him eyeing every part of the ship with great attention, I took care he should see we were well prepared for our defence.

He was exceedingly urgent, both with Captain Clerke and myself, to go on shore, laying all the blame of the detention of the bodies on the other chiefs; and, assuring us that everything might be settled to our satisfaction, by a personal interview with Terreeoboo. However, his conduct was too suspicious to make it prudent to comply with this request; and, indeed, a fact came afterward to our knowledge, which proved the entire falsehood of his pretensions. For we were told, that immediately after the action in which Captain Cook was killed, the old king had retired to a cave in the steep part of the mountain, that hangs over the bay, which was accessible only by the help of ropes, and where he remained for many days, having his victuals let down to him by cords.

When Koah returned from the ships, we could perceive that his countrymen, who had been collected by break of day in vast crowds on the shore, thronged about him with great

eagerness, as if to learn the intelligence he had acquired, and what was to be done in consequence of it. It is very probable, that they expected we should attempt to put our threats in execution; and they seemed fully resolved to stand their ground. During the whole morning, we heard conchs blowing in different parts of the coast; large parties were seen marching over the hills; and, in short, appearances were so alarming, that we carried out a stream anchor, to enable us to haul the ship abreast of the town, in case of an attack; and stationed boats off the north point of the bay, to prevent a surprise from that quarter. The breach of their engagement to restore the bodies of the slain, and the warlike posture in which they at this time appeared, occasioned fresh debates amongst us concerning the measures next to be pursued. It was at last determined, that nothing should be suffered to interfere with the repair of the mast, and the preparations for our departure; but that we should, nevertheless, continue our negotiations for the recovery of the bodies.

The greatest part of the day was taken up in getting the fore-mast into a proper situation on deck, for the carpenters to work upon it; and in making the necessary alterations in the commissions of the officers. The command of the expedition having devolved on Captain Clerke, he removed on board the Resolution, appointed Lieutenant Gore to be Captain of the Discovery, and promoted Mr. Harvey, a midshipman, who had been with Captain Cook in his two last voyages, to the vacant Lieutenancy. During the whole day, we met with no interruption from the natives; and, at night, the launch was again moored with a top chain, and guard-boats stationed round both ships as before.

About eight o'clock, it being very dark, a canoe was heard paddling toward the ship; and as soon as it was seen, both the sentinels on deck fired into it. There were two persons in the canoe, and they immediately roared out "Tinnee" (which was the way in which they pronounced my name), and said they were friends, and had something for me belonging to Captain Cook. When they came on board, they threw themselves at our feet, and appeared exceeding frightened. Luckily neither of them was hurt, notwithstanding the balls of both pieces had gone through the canoe. One of them was the person, whom I have before mentioned under the name of the Taboo man, who constantly attended Captain Cook with the circumstances of ceremony I have already described; and who, though a man of rank in the island, could scarcely be hindered from performing for him the lowest offices of a menial servant. After lamenting, with abundance of tears, the loss of the Orono, he told us that he had brought us a part of his body. He then presented to us a small bundle wrapped up in cloth, which he brought under his arm; and it is impossible to describe the horror which seized us, on finding in it a piece of human flesh, about nine or ten pounds' weight. This, he said, was all that remained of the body; that the rest was cut to pieces, and burnt; but that the head and all the bones, except what belonged to the trunk, were in the possession of Terreeoboo, and the other Erees: that what we saw had been allotted to Kaoo, the chief of the priests, to be made use of in some religious ceremony; and that he had sent it as a proof of his innocence and attachment to us. This afforded an opportunity of informing ourselves, whether they were cannibals; and we did not neglect it. We first tried, by many indirect questions, put to each of them apart, to learn in what manner the rest of the bodies had been disposed of; and finding them very constant in one story, that after the flesh had been cut off, it was all burnt, we at last put the direct question, whether they had not ate some of it? They immediately showed as much horror at the idea as any European would have done, and asked, very naturally, if that was the custom amongst us? They afterwards asked us, with great earnestness and apparent apprehension, "when the Orono would come again? and what he would do to them on his return?" The same inquiry was frequently made afterward by others; and this idea agrees with the general tenor of their conduct toward him, which showed that they considered him as a being of a superior nature.

We pressed our two friendly visitors to remain on board till morning, but in vain. They told us, that if this transaction should come to the knowledge of the king or chiefs, it might be attended with the most fatal consequences to their whole society; in order to prevent which, they had been obliged to come off to us in the dark; and that the same precaution would be necessary in returning on shore. They informed us farther, that the chiefs were eager to revenge the death of their countrymen: and, particularly, cautioned us against trusting Koah,

who they said was our mortal and implacable enemy; and desired nothing more ardently, than an opportunity of fighting us; to which the blowing of the conchs we had heard in the morning was meant as a challenge. We learned from these men, that seventeen of their countrymen were killed in the first action at Kowrowa, of whom five were chiefs; and that Kaneena and his brother, our very particular friends, were unfortunately of that number. Eight, they said, were killed at the observatory; three of whom were also of the first rank. About eleven o'clock, our two friends left us, and took the precaution to desire that our guard-boat might attend them, till they had passed the Discovery, lest they should again be fired upon, which might alarm their countrymen on shore, and expose them to the danger of being discovered. This request was complied with; and we had the satisfaction to find, that they got safe and undiscovered to land.

During the remainder of this night, we heard the same loud howling and lamentations as in the preceding one. Early in the morning, we received another visit from Koah. I must confess, I was a little piqued to find, that, notwithstanding the most evident marks of treachery in his conduct, and the positive testimony of our friends the priests, he should still be permitted to carry on the same farce, and to make us at least appear to be the dupes of his hypocrisy. Indeed our situation was become extremely awkward and unpromising; none of the purposes for which this pacific course of proceeding had been adopted, having hitherto been in the least forwarded by it. No satisfactory answer whatever had been given to our demands; we did not seem to be at all advanced toward a reconciliation with the islanders; they still kept in force on the shore, as if determined to resist any attempts we might make to land; and yet the attempt was become absolutely necessary, as the completing our supply of water would not admit of any longer delay. However, it must be observed, in justice to the conduct of Captain Clerke, that it was very probable, from the great numbers of the natives, and from the resolution with which they seemed to expect us, an attack could not have been made without some danger; and that the loss of a very few men might have been severely felt by us, during the remaining course of our voyage. Whereas the delaying the execution of our threats, though, on the one hand, it lessened their opinion of our prowess, had the effect of causing them to disperse, on the other. For this day about noon, finding us persist in our inactivity, great bodies of them, after blowing their conchs, and using every mode of defiance, marched off over the hills and never appeared afterward. Those, however, who remained, were not the less daring and insolent. One man had the audacity to come within musket-shot ahead of the ship; and, after slinging several stones at us, he waved Captain Cook's hat over his head, whilst his countrymen on shore were exulting, and encouraging his boldness. Our people were all in a flame at this insult, and coming in a body on the quarter-deck, begged they might no longer be obliged to put up with these repeated provocations; and requested me to obtain permission for them, from Captain Clerke, to avail themselves of the first fair occasion of revenging the death of their commander. On my acquainting him with what was passing, he gave orders for some great-guns to be fired at the natives on shore; and promised the crew, that if they should meet with any molestation at the watering-place the next day, they should then be left at liberty to chastise them.

It is somewhat remarkable, that, before we could bring our guns to bear, the islanders had suspected our intentions, from the stir they saw in the ship, and had retired behind their houses and walls. We were therefore obliged to fire, in some measure at random; notwithstanding which, our shot produced all the effects that could have been desired. For, soon after, we saw Koah paddling toward us, with extreme haste, and on his arrival, we learned that some people had been killed, and amongst the rest Maiha-maiha, a principal chief, and a near relation of the king*.

Soon after the arrival of Koah, two boys swam off from the Morai toward the ships, having each a long spear in his hand; and after they had approached pretty near, they began to chant a song, in a very solemn manner: the subject of which, from their often mentioning the word Orono, and pointing to the village where Captain Cook was killed, we

* The word *matee*, is commonly used, in the language of these islands, to express either killing or wounding; and we were afterward told, that this chief had only received a slight blow on the face from a stone, which had been struck by one of the balls.

concluded to be the late calamitous disaster. Having sung in a plaintive strain for about twelve or fifteen minutes, during the whole of which time they remained in the water, they went on board the Discovery, and delivered their spears; and, after making a short stay, returned on shore. Who sent them, or what was the object of this ceremony, we were never able to learn. At night, the usual precautions were taken for the security of the ships; and as soon as it was dark, our two friends, who had visited us the night before, came off again. They assured us, that though the effects of our great-guns this afternoon had terrified the chiefs exceedingly, they had by no means laid aside their hostile intentions, and advised us to be on our guard.

The next morning, the boats of both ships were sent ashore for water; and the Discovery was warped close to the beach, in order to cover that service. We soon found that the intelligence which the priests had sent us was not without foundation; and that the natives were resolved to take every opportunity of annoying us, when it could be done without much risk. Throughout all this group of islands, the villages for the most part are situated near the sea; and the adjacent ground is inclosed with stone walls about three feet high. These, we at first imagined, were intended for the division of property; but we now discovered, that they served, and probably were principally designed, for a defence against invasion. They consist of loose stones, and the inhabitants are very dexterous in shifting them, with great quickness, to such situations as the direction of the attack may require. In the sides of the mountain, which hangs over the bay, they have also little holes, or caves, of considerable depth, the entrance of which is secured by a fence of the same kind. From behind both these defences the natives kept perpetually harassing our waterers with stones; nor could the small force we had on shore, with the advantage of muskets, compel them to retreat.

In this exposed situation our people were so taken up in attending to their own safety, that they employed the whole forenoon in filling only one ton of water. As it was therefore impossible to perform this service, till their assailants were driven to a greater distance, the Discovery was ordered to dislodge them, with her great-guns; which being effected by a few discharges, the men landed without molestation. However, the natives soon after made their appearance again, in their usual mode of attack; and it was now found absolutely necessary to burn down some straggling houses near the wall, behind which they had taken shelter. In executing these orders, I am sorry to add, that our people were hurried into acts of unnecessary cruelty and devastation. Something ought certainly to be allowed to their resentment of the repeated insults, and contemptuous behaviour of the islanders, and to the natural desire of revenging the loss of their commander. But at the same time, their conduct served strongly to convince me, that the utmost precaution is necessary in trusting, though but for a moment, the discretionary use of arms, in the hands of private seamen or soldiers on such occasions. The rigour of discipline, and the habits of obedience, by which their force is kept directed to its proper objects, lead them naturally enough to conceive, that whatever they have the power, they have also the right, to do. Actual disobedience being almost the only crime for which they are accustomed to expect punishment, they learn to consider it as the only measure of right and wrong; and hence are apt to conclude, that what they can do with impunity, they may do with justice and honour. So that the feelings of humanity, which are inseparable from us all, and that generosity toward an unresisting enemy, which, at other times, is the distinguishing mark of brave men, become but weak restraints to the exercise of violence, when opposed to the desire they naturally have of showing their own independence and power.

I have already mentioned, that orders had been given to burn only a few straggling huts, which afforded shelter to the natives. We were therefore a good deal surprised to see the whole village on fire; and before a boat that was sent to stop the progress of the mischief could reach the shore, the houses of our old and constant friends the priests were all in flames. I cannot enough lament the illness that confined me on board this day. The priests had always been under my protection; and, unluckily, the officers who were then on duty, having been seldom on shore at the Morai, were not much acquainted with the circumstances

of the place. Had I been present myself, I might probably have been the means of saving their little society from destruction.

Several of the natives were shot, in making their escape from the flames; and our people cut off the heads of two of them, and brought them on board. The fate of one poor islander was much lamented by us all. As he was coming to the well for water, he was shot at by one of the marines. The ball struck his calibash, which he immediately threw from him and fled. He was pursued into one of the caves I have before described, and no lion could have defended his den with greater courage and fierceness; till at last, after having kept two of our people at bay for a considerable time, he expired, covered with wounds. It was this accident, that first brought us acquainted with the use of these caverns. At this time, an elderly man was taken prisoner, bound, and sent on board in the same boat with the heads of his two countrymen. I never saw horror so strongly pictured as in the face of this man, nor so violent a transition to extravagant joy, as when he was untied, and told he might go away in safety. He showed us he did not want gratitude, as he frequently afterward returned with presents of provisions; and also did us other services.

Soon after the village was destroyed, we saw, coming down the hill, a man, attended by fifteen or twenty boys, holding pieces of white cloth, green boughs, plantains, &c., in their hands. I knew not how it happened, that this peaceful embassy, as soon as they were within reach, received the fire of a party of our men. This, however, did not stop them. They continued the procession; and the officer on duty came up in time to prevent a second discharge. As they approached nearer, it was found to be our much-esteemed friend Kaireekeea, who had fled on our first setting fire to the village, and had now returned, and desired to be sent on board the Resolution. When he arrived, we found him exceedingly grave and thoughtful. We endeavoured to make him understand the necessity we were under of setting fire to the village, by which his house, and those of his brethren, were unintentionally consumed. He expostulated a little with us on our want of friendship, and on our ingratitude. And, indeed, it was not till now that we learned the whole extent of the injury we had done them. He told us, that, relying on the promises I had made them, and on the assurances they had afterwards received from the men, who had brought us the remains of Captain Cook, they had not removed their effects back into the country, with the rest of the inhabitants, but had put everything that was valuable of their own, as well what they had collected from us, into a house close to the Morai, where they had the mortification to see it all set on fire by ourselves. On coming on board, he had seen the heads of his countrymen lying on the deck, at which he was exceedingly shocked, and desired, with great earnestness, that they might be thrown overboard. This request Captain Clerke instantly ordered to be complied with. In the evening, the watering party returned on board, having met with no farther interruption. We passed a gloomy night; the cries and lamentations we heard on shore being far more dreadful than ever. Our only consolation was, the hope that we should have no occasion in future for a repetition of such severities. It is very extraordinary, that amidst all these disturbances, the women of the island, who were on board, never offered to leave us, nor discovered the smallest apprehensions, either for themselves or their friends ashore. So entirely unconcerned did they appear, that some of them, who were on deck when the town was in flames, seemed to admire the sight, and frequently cried out, that it was *maitai*, or very fine.

The next morning Koah came off as usual to the ships. As there existed no longer any necessity for keeping terms with him, I was allowed to have my own way. When he approached toward the side of the ship, singing his song, and offering me a hog and some plantains, I ordered him to keep off, cautioning him never to appear again without Captain Cook's bones, lest his life should pay the forfeit of his frequent breach of promise. He did not appear much mortified with his reception, but went immediately on shore, and joined a party of his countrymen, who were pelting the waterers with stones. The body of the young man, who had been killed the day before, was found this morning lying at the entrance of the cave; and some of our people went and threw a mat over it. Soon after which they saw some men carrying him off on their shoulders, and could hear them singing, as they marched, a mournful song.

The natives, being at last convinced that it was not the want of ability to punish them, which had hitherto made us tolerate their provocations, desisted from giving us any farther molestation; and, in the evening, a chief called Eappo, who had seldom visited us, but whom we knew to be a man of the very first consequence, came with presents from Terreeoboo to sue for peace. These presents were received, and he was dismissed with the same answer which had before been given, that, until the remains of Captain Cook should be restored, no peace would be granted. We learned from this person, that the flesh of all the bodies of our people, together with the bones of the trunks, had been burnt; that the limb bones of the marines had been divided amongst the inferior chiefs; and that those of Captain Cook had been disposed of in the following manner: the head to a great chief, called Kahoo-opeon; the hair to Maia-maia; and the legs, thighs, and arms to Terreeoboo. After it was dark, many of the inhabitants came off with roots and other vegetables; and we also received two large presents of the same articles from Kaireekeea. The 19th was chiefly taken up in sending and receiving the messages which passed between Captain Clerke and Terreeoboo. Eappo was very pressing, that one of our officers should go on shore; and in the mean time, offered to remain as an hostage on board. This request, however, it was not thought proper to comply with; and he left us with a promise of bringing the bones the next day. At the beach, the waterers did not meet with the least opposition from the natives; who, notwithstanding our cautious behaviour, came amongst us again, without the smallest appearance of diffidence or apprehension.

Early in the morning of the 20th, we had the satisfaction of getting the fore-mast stepped. It was an operation attended with great difficulty, and some danger; our ropes being so exceedingly rotten, that the purchase gave way several times. Between ten and eleven o'clock, we saw a great number of people descending the hill, which is over the beach, in a kind of procession, each man carrying a sugar-cane or two on his shoulders, and bread-fruit, taro, and plantains in his hand. They were preceded by two drummers, who, when t' ey came to the water-side, sat down by a white flag, and began to beat their drums, while those who had followed them, advanced one by one; and, having deposited the presents they had brought, retired in the same order. Soon after, Eappo came in sight, in his long feathered cloak, bearing something with great solemnity in his hands; and having placed himself on a rock, he made signs for a boat to be sent him.

Captain Clerke, conjecturing that he had brought the bones of Captain Cook, which proved to be the fact, went himself in the pinnace, to receive them; and ordered me to attend him in the cutter. When we arrived at the beach, Eappo came into the pinnace, and delivered to the captain the bones wrapped up in a large quantity of fine new cloth, and covered with a spotted cloak of black and white feathers. He afterward attended us to the Resolution, but could not be prevailed upon to go on board; probably not choosing, from a sense of decency, to be present at the opening of the bundle. We found in it both the hands of Captain Cook entire, which were well known from a remarkable scar on one of them, that divided the thumb from the fore-finger, the whole length of the metacarpal bone; the skull, but with the scalp separated from it, and the bones that form the face wanting; the scalp, with the hair upon it cut short, and the ears adhering to it; the bones of both arms, with the skin of the fore-arms hanging to them; the thigh and leg-bones joined together, but without the feet. The ligaments of the joints were entire; and the whole bore evident marks of having been in the fire, except the hands, which had the flesh left upon them, and were cut in several places, and crammed with salt, apparently with an intention of preserving them. The scalp had a cut in the back part of it, but the skull was free from any fracture. The lower jaw and feet, which were wanting, Eappo told us, had been seized by different chiefs, and that Terreeoboo was using every means to recover them.

The next morning, Eappo, and the king's son, came on board, and brought with them the remaining bones of Captain Cook; the barrels of his gun, his shoes, and some other trifles that belonged to him. Eappo took great pains to convince us, that Terreeoboo, Maiha-maiha, and himself, were most heartily desirous of peace; that they had given us the most convincing proof of it in their power; and that they had been prevented from giving it sooner by the other chiefs, many of whom were still our enemies. He lamented, with the greatest sorrow,

the death of six chiefs we had killed, some of whom, he said, were amongst our best friends. The cutter, he told us, was taken away by Pareea's people; very probably in revenge for the blow that had been given him; and that it had broken up the next day. The arms of the marines, which we had also demanded, he assured us, had been carried off by the common people, and were irrecoverable; the bones of the chief alone having been preserved, as belonging to Terreeoboo and the Erees. Nothing now remained but to perform the last offices to our great and unfortunate commander. Eappo was dismised with orders to taboo all the bay; and, in the afternoon, the bones having been put into a coffin, and the service read over them, they were committed to the deep with the usual military honours. What our feelings were on this occasion, I leave the world to conceive; those who were present know, that it is not in my power to express them*.

During the forenoon of the 22nd, not a canoe was seen paddling in the bay; the taboo, which Eappo had laid on it the day before, at our request, not being yet taken off. At length Eappo came off to us. We assured him, that we were now entirely satisfied; and that, as the Orono was buried, all remembrance of what had passed was buried with him. We afterward desired him to take off the taboo, and to make it known, that the people might bring their provisions as usual. The ships were soon surrounded with canoes, and many of the chiefs came on board, expressing great sorrow at what happened, and their satisfaction at our reconciliation. Several of our friends, who did not visit us, sent presents of large hogs, and other provisions. Amongst the rest came the old treacherous Koah, but was refused admittance. As we had now everything ready for sea, Captain Clerke imagining that if the news of our proceedings should reach the islands to leeward before us, it might have a bad effect, gave orders to unmoor. About eight in the evening we dismissed all the

* The account which the natives have given to the Missionaries of this unfortunate affair, exactly tallies with that given by Captain King. They do not refer it to any previous offence, but ascribe it to the sudden announcement of the death of the chief who had been shot in the canoe, which was taken by them as a direct declaration of hostilities. Ledyard, who formed one of the party of marines who accompanied Captain Cook, confirms Captain King's account of the manner of his death, but considers that the natives had previously been much exasperated by many petty quarrels, and especially by the desecration of the Morai in carrying off the railing for firewood; an act which he, in direct contradiction to Captain King, represents as having been done in opposition to the wishes of the natives, and to have been accompanied with violence, both of words and actions.

The mutilation of Captain Cook's body was at first considered as a proof of disgusting revenge, but it was in fact only an evidence of the high honour in which he had been held. Mr. Ellis, who took great pains to ascertain all the facts attending this melancholy occurrence, was informed by one of the natives, who was present at the time, that after Cook's death "they all wailed. His bones were separated—the flesh was scraped off and burnt, as was the practice in regard to their own chiefs when they died. They thought he was the god Rono, worshipped him as such, and, after his death, reverenced his bones."

It has already been mentioned that the extraordinary honours paid to Cook, at the Sandwich Islands, were rendered in the belief that he was their god Rono, or Orono. "But," says Mr. Ellis, "when in the attack made upon him, they saw his blood running, and heard his groans, they said, 'No this is not Rono.' Some, however, after his death, still supposed him to be Rono, and expected he would appear again. Some of his bones, his ribs, and breast-bone, were considered sacred, as part of Rono, and deposited in a heiau (temple) dedicated to Rono, on the opposite side of the island. There religious homage was paid to them, and from thence they were annually carried in procession to several other heiaus, or borne by the priests round the island, to collect the offerings of the people, for the support of the worship of the god Rono. The bones were preserved in a small basket of wicker-work, completely covered over with red feathers; which in those days were considered to be the most valuable articles the natives possessed.

"The Missionaries in the Society Islands had, by means of some Sandwich Islanders, been long acquainted with the circumstance of some of Captain Cook's bones being preserved in one of their temples, and receiving religious worship; and since the time of my arrival, in company with the deputation from the London Missionary Society, in 1822, every endeavour has been made to learn, though without success, whether they were still in existence, and where they were kept. All those of whom inquiry has been made, have uniformly asserted, that they were formerly kept by the priests of Rono, and worshipped, but have never given any satisfactory information as to where they are now. Whenever we have asked the king, or Hevaheva the chief priest, or any of the chiefs, they have either told us they were under the care of those who had themselves said they knew nothing about them, or that they were now lost.

"The best conclusion we may form is, that part of Captain Cook's bones were preserved by the priests, and were considered sacred by the people, probably till the abolition of idolatry in 1819: that, at that period they were committed to the secret care of some chief, or deposited by the priests who had charge of them, in a cave, unknown to all besides themselves. The manner in which they were then disposed of, will, it is presumed, remain a secret, till the knowledge of it is entirely lost. The priests and chiefs always appear unwilling to enter into conversation on the subject, and desirous to avoid the recollection of the unhappy circumstance.

"From the above account, as well as every other statement given by the natives, it is evident that the death of Captain Cook was unpremeditated, and resulted from their dread of his anger; a sense of danger, or the momentary impulse of passion, exciting them to revenge the death of the chief who had been shot."—Ed.

natives; and Eappo, and the friendly Kaireekeea, took an affectionate leave of us. We immediately weighed, and stood out of the bay. The natives were collected on the shore in great numbers; and, as we passed along, received our last farewells with every mark of affection and good-will.

CHAPTER V.—DEPARTURE FROM KARAKAKOOA IN SEARCH OF A HARBOUR ON THE SOUTH-EAST SIDE OF MOWEE.—DRIVEN TO LEEWARD BY THE EASTERLY WINDS AND CURRENT.—PASS THE ISLAND OF TAHOOROWA.—DESCRIPTION OF THE SOUTH-WEST SIDE OF MOWEE.—RUN ALONG THE COASTS OF RANAI AND MOROTOI TO WOAHOO.—DESCRIPTION OF THE NORTH-EAST COAST OF WOAHOO.—UNSUCCESSFUL ATTEMPT TO WATER.—PASSAGE TO ATOOI.—ANCHOR IN WYMOA BAY.—DANGEROUS SITUATION OF THE WATERING-PARTY ON SHORE.—CIVIL DISSENSIONS IN THE ISLANDS.—VISIT FROM THE CONTENDING CHIEFS.—ANCHOR OFF ONEEHEOW.—FINAL DEPARTURE FROM THE SANDWICH ISLANDS.

WE got clear of the land about ten; and, hoisting in the boats, stood to the northward, with the intention of searching for a harbour on the south-east side of Mowee, which we had heard frequently mentioned by the natives. The next morning we found ourselves driven to the leeward by a heavy swell from the north-east; and a fresh gale springing up from the same quarter carried us still farther to the westward. At midnight we tacked, and stood to the south for four hours, in order to keep clear of the land; and, at daybreak, we found ourselves standing toward a small barren island, called Tahoorowa, which lies seven or eight miles to the south-west of Mowee. All prospect of examining more nearly the south-east parts of Mowee being now destroyed, we bore away, and ran along the south-east side of Tahoorowa. As we were steering close round its western extremity, with an intention of fetching the west side of Mowee, we suddenly shoaled our water, and observed the sea breaking on some detached rocks, almost right a-head. This obliged us to keep away a league and a half, when we again steered to the northward; and, after passing over a bank with nineteen fathoms' water, stood for a passage between Mowee and an island called Ranai. At noon, the latitude was, by observation, 20° 42′ north, and the longitude 203° 22′ east; the southern extremity of Mowee bearing east south-east, quarter east; the southern extremity of Ranai west north-west, quarter west; Morotoi, north-west and by north; and the western extremity of Tahoorowa, south by east, seven miles distant. Our longitude was accurately deduced from observations made by the timekeeper before and after noon, compared with the longitude found by a great many distances of the moon from the sun and stars, which were also observed the same day. In the afternoon, the weather being calm, with light airs from the west, we stood on to the north north-west; but, at sunset, observing a shoal which appeared to stretch to a considerable distance from the west point of Mowee, toward the middle of the passage, and the weather being unsettled, we tacked, and stood toward the south.

The south-west side of this island, which we now had passed without being able to get near the shore, forms the same distant view with the north-east, as seen on our return from the north, in November 1778; the mountainous parts, which are connected by a low, flat isthmus, appearing at first like two separate islands. This deception continued on the south-west side, till we approached within eight or ten leagues of the coast, which, bending inward to a great depth, formed a fine capacious bay. The westernmost point, off which the shoal we have just mentioned runs, is made remarkable by a small hillock, to the southward of which there is a fine sandy bay, with several huts on the shore, and a number of cocoa-nut trees growing about them.

During the course of the day, we were visited by several of the natives, who came off to sell provisions; and we soon found that they had heard of our late unfortunate transactions at Owhyhee. They were very curious to learn the particulars from a woman who had concealed herself on board the Resolution, in order to take her passage to Atooi; inquiring eagerly after Pareea, and some other chiefs, and appearing much shocked at the death of Kaneena and his brother. We had, however, the satisfaction to find, that in whatever light

the woman might have represented this business, it had no bad effect on their behaviour, which was remarkably civil and submissive.

The weather continued variable during the night; but in the morning of the 25th, having the wind at east, we ran along the south side of Ranai till near noon; after which, we had calms and baffling winds till evening, when we steered, with a light easterly breeze, for the west part of Morotoi. In the course of the day, the current, which from the time we left Karakakooa Bay had set from the north-east, changed its direction to the south-east. During the night the wind was again variable; but early next morning it settled at east, and blew so fresh as to oblige us to double-reef the topsails. At seven, on hauling round the west point of Morotoi, we opened a small bay, at the distance of about two leagues, with a fine sandy beach; but seeing no appearance of fresh water, we stood on to the north, in order to get to the windward of Woahoo, an island which we had seen at our first visit, in January 1778. At two in the afternoon, we saw the land bearing west by north, eight leagues distant; and having tacked as soon as it was dark, we again bore away at daylight on the 27th; and at half past ten were within a league of the shore, near the middle of the north-east side of the island.

The coast to the northward is formed of detached hills, rising perpendicularly from the sea, with ragged and broken summits; the sides covered with wood, and the valleys between them of a fertile and well cultivated appearance. To the southward we saw an extensive bay, bounded by a low point of land to the south-east, which was covered with cocoa-nut trees; and off it stood a high insulated rock, about a mile from the shore. The haziness of the weather prevented our seeing distinctly the land to the southward of the point; we could only perceive that it was high and broken.

As the wind continued to blow very fresh, we thought it dangerous to entangle ourselves with a lee-shore; and therefore did not attempt to examine the bay, but hauled up, and steered to the northward, in the direction of the coast. At noon we were abreast of the north point of the island, about two leagues from the land, which is low and flat, and has a reef stretching off it to the distance of near a mile and a half. The latitude, by observation, 21° 50′ north, longitude 202° 15′ east; the extreme parts of the island in sight bearing south south-east, quarter east, and south-west by south, three-quarters west. Between the north point and a distant headland, which we saw to the south-west, the land bends inward considerably, and appeared likely to afford a good road. We therefore directed our course along the shore, at the distance of about a mile, carrying regular soundings from twenty to thirteen fathoms. At a quarter past two, the sight of a fine river, running through a deep valley, induced us to come to an anchor in thirteen fathoms water, with a sandy bottom; the extreme points of the bay bearing south-west by west half west, and north-east by east three-quarters east; and the mouth of the river south-east half east, one mile distant. In the afternoon, I attended the two captains on shore, where we found but few of the natives, and those mostly women; the men, they told us, were gone to Morotoi to fight Tahyterree; but that their chief Perreeoranee, who had staid behind, would certainly visit us as soon as he heard of our arrival.

We were much disappointed to find the water had a brackish taste for two hundred yards up the river, owing to the marshy ground through which it empties itself into the sea. Beyond this it was perfectly fresh, and formed a fine running stream, along the side of which I walked till I came to the conflux of two small rivulets, that branched off to the right and left of a remarkably steep and romantic mountain. The banks of this river, and indeed the whole we saw of the north-west part of Woahoo, are well cultivated, and full of villages; and the face of the country is uncommonly beautiful and picturesque. As the watering at this place would have been attended with great labour, I was sent to examine the coast to leeward; but not being able to land on account of a reef of coral, which stretched along the shore to the distance of half a mile, Captain Clerke determined, without farther loss of time, to proceed to Atooi. At eight in the morning we weighed, and stood to the northward, till daylight on the 28th, when we bore away for that island, which we were in sight of by noon; and, about sunset, were off its eastern extremity, which shows itself in a fine, green, flat point.

It being too late to run for the road on the south-west side of the island, where we had been the last year, we passed the night in plying on and off, and at nine the next morning came to an anchor in twenty-five fathoms' water, and moored with the best bower in thirty-eight fathoms, the bluff-head on the west side of the village bearing north-east by north three-quarters east, two miles distant; the extremes of the island, north-west by west three-quarters west, and south-east by east half east; the island of Oneeheow west by south half west. In running down to the road, from the south-east point of the island, we saw the appearance of shoal water in several places, at a considerable distance from the land; and when we were about two miles to the eastward of the anchoring-place, and two or three miles from the shore, we got into four and a half fathoms' water, although our soundings had usually been seven and eight fathoms. We had no sooner anchored in our old station, than several canoes came alongside of us; but we could observe, that they did not welcome us with the same cordiality in their manner, and satisfaction in their countenances, as when we were here before. As soon as they got on board, one of the men began to tell us, that we had left a disorder amongst their women of which several persons of both sexes had died. He was himself afflicted with the venereal disease, and gave a very full and minute account of the various symptoms with which it had been attended. As there was not the slightest appearance of that disorder amongst them on our first arrival, I am afraid it is not to be denied that we were the authors of this irreparable mischief.

Our principal object here was to water the ships with the utmost expedition; and I was sent on shore early in the afternoon, with the pinnace and launch laden with casks. The gunner of the Resolution accompanied me to trade for provisions; and we had a guard of five marines. We found a considerable number of people collected upon the beach, who received us at first with great kindness; but as soon as we had got the casks on shore, began to be exceedingly troublesome. Former experience having taught me how difficult it was to repress this disposition, without having recourse to the authority of their chiefs, I was very sorry to find, that they were all at another part of the island. Indeed we soon felt the want of their assistance; for it was with great difficulty I was able to form a circle, according to our usual practice, for the convenience and security of the trading party; and had no sooner done it, and posted guards to keep off the crowd, than I saw a man laying hold of the bayonet of one of the soldiers' muskets, and endeavouring, with all his force, to wrench it out of his hand. On my coming up to them, the native let go his hold and retired; but returned in a moment with a spear in one hand, and dagger in the other; and his countrymen had much ado to restrain him from trying his prowess with the soldier. This fray was occasioned by the latter's having given the man a slight prick with his bayonet, in order to make him keep without the line.

I now perceived, that our situation required great circumspection and management; and accordingly gave the strictest orders, that no one should fire, nor have recourse to any other act of violence, without positive commands. As soon as I had given these directions, I was called to the assistance of the watering party, where I found the natives equally inclined to mischief. They had demanded from our people a large hatchet for every cask of water; and this not being complied with, they would not suffer the sailors to roll them down to the boats. I had no sooner joined them, than one of the natives advanced up to me with great insolence, and made the same claim. I told him that, as a friend, I was very willing to present him with a hatchet, but that I should certainly carry off the water without paying anything for it; and I immediately ordered the pinnace men to proceed in their business, and called three marines from the traders to protect them.

Though this show of spirit succeeded so far as to make the natives desist from any open attempt to interrupt us, they still continued to behave in the most teasing and provoking manner. While some of them, under pretence of assisting the men in rolling down the casks, turned them out of their course, and gave them a wrong direction, others were stealing the hats from off the sailors' heads, pulling them backward by their clothes, or tripping up their heels; the whole crowd all this time shouting and laughing, with a strange mixture of childishness and malice. They afterward found means to steal the cooper's bucket, and took away his bag by force; but the objects they were most eager to possess

themselves of, were the muskets of the marines, who were every instant complaining of their attempts to force them out of their hands. Though they continued, for the most part, to pay great deference and respect to me, yet they did not suffer me to escape without contributing my share to their stock of plunder. One of them came up to me with a familiar air, and with great management diverted my attention, whilst another, wrenching the hanger which I held carelessly in my hand, from me, ran off with it like lightning.

It was in vain to think of repelling this insolence by force; guarding, therefore, against its effects, in the best manner we were able, we had nothing to do but to submit patiently to it. My apprehensions were, however, a little alarmed, by the information I soon after received from the serjeant of marines, who told me, that, turning suddenly round, he saw a man behind me holding a dagger in the position of striking. In this he might possibly be mistaken; yet our situation was certainly alarming and critical, and the smallest error on our side might have been fatal to us. As our people were separated into three small parties, one at the lake, filling casks, another rolling them down to the shore, and the third, at some distance, purchasing provisions, it had once occurred to me, that it might be proper to collect them all together, and to execute and protect one duty at a time. But on second thoughts, I judged it more advisable to let them continue as they were. In case of a real attack, our whole force, however advantageously disposed, could have made but a poor resistance. On the other hand, I thought it of some consequence to show the natives, that we were under no fears; and, what was still more material, the crowd was, by this means, kept divided, and a considerable part of them fully employed in bartering provisions.

It is probable that their dread of the effects of our arms, was the principal cause of their backwardness in attacking us; and, indeed, the confidence we appeared to place in this advantage, by opposing only five marines to their whole force, must have raised in them a very high idea of our superiority. It was our business to keep up this opinion as much as possible; and in justice to the whole party, I must observe, that no men could possibly behave better, for the purpose of strengthening these impressions. Whatever could be taken in jest, they bore with the utmost temper and patience; and whenever any serious attempt was made to interrupt them, they opposed it with bold looks and menaces. By this management, we succeeded so far, as to get all the casks down to the water side, without any material accident. While we were getting them into the launch, the natives, perceiving the opportunity of plundering would soon be over, became every moment more daring and insolent. On this occasion, I was indebted to the serjeant of marines for suggesting to me, the advantage that would arise from sending off his party first into the boats; by which means, the muskets of the soldiers, which, as I have already mentioned, were the objects the islanders had principally in view, would be removed out of their reach; and in case of an attack, the marines themselves might be employed more effectually in our defence, than if they were on shore.

We had now got everything into the boats, and only Mr. Anderson the gunner, a seaman of the boat's crew, and myself, remained on shore. As the pinnace lay beyond the surf, through which we were obliged to swim, I told them to make the best of their way to it, and that I should follow them.

With this order I was surprised to find them both refuse to comply; and the consequence was a contest amongst us who should be the last on shore. It seems, that some hasty words I had just before used to the sailor, which he thought reflected on his courage, was the cause of this odd fancy in him; and the old gunner, finding a point of honour started, thought he could not well avoid taking a part in it. In this ridiculous situation we might have remained some time, had not our dispute been soon settled by the stones that began to fly about us, and by the cries of the people from the boats, to make haste, as the natives were following us into the water with clubs and spears. I reached the side of the pinnace first, and finding Mr. Anderson was at some distance behind, and not yet entirely out of danger, I called out to the marines to fire one musket. In the hurry of executing my orders, they fired two; and when I got into the boat, I saw the natives running away, and one man, with a woman sitting by him, left behind on the beach. The man made several

attempts to rise, without being able; and it was with much regret, I perceived him to be wounded in the groin. The natives soon after returned, and surrounded the wounded man, brandishing their spears and daggers at us, with an air of threatening and defiance; but before we reached the ships, we saw some persons, whom we supposed to be the chiefs, now arrived, driving them away from the shore.

During our absence, Captain Clerke had been under the greatest anxiety for our safety. And these apprehensions were considerably increased, from his having entirely mistaken the drift of the conversation he had held with some natives who had been on board. The frequent mention of the name of Captain Cook, with other strong and circumstantial descriptions of death and destruction, made him conclude, that the knowledge of the unfortunate events at Owhyhee had reached them, and that these were what they alluded to; whereas all they had in view was, to make known to him the wars that had arisen, in consequence of the goats that Captain Cook had left at Oneeheow, and the slaughter of the poor goats themselves during the struggle for the property of them. Captain Clerke, applying this earnestness of conversation, and these terrible representations, to our calamitous transactions at Owhyhee, and to an indication of revenge, kept his telescope fixed upon us, and the moment he saw the smoke of the muskets, ordered the boats to be manned and armed, and to put off to our assistance.

The next morning I was again ordered on shore with the watering party. The risk we had run the preceding day determined Captain Clerke to send a considerable force from both ships for our guard, amounting in all to forty men under arms. This precaution, however, was now unnecessary; for we found the beach left entirely to ourselves, and the ground between the landing-place and the lake, *tabooed*, with small white flags. We concluded, from this appearance, that some of the chiefs had certainly visited this quarter; and that, not being able to stay, they had kindly and considerately taken this step for our greater security and convenience. We saw several men armed with long spears and daggers on the other side of the river on our right; but they did not offer to give us the least molestation. Their women came over, and sat down on the banks close by us, and at noon we prevailed on some of the men to bring hogs and roots for our people, and to dress them for us. As soon as we had left the beach, they came down to the sea side, and one of them threw a stone at us; but his conduct seeming to be highly disapproved of by all the rest, we did not think it proper to show any resentment.

The next day we completed our watering without meeting with any material difficulty. On our return to the ships, we found that several chiefs had been on board, and had made excuses for the behaviour of their countrymen, attributing their riotous conduct to the quarrels which subsisted at that time amongst the principal people of the island, and which had occasioned a general want of order and subordination amongst them. The government of Atooi was in dispute between Toneoneo, who had the supreme power when we were here last year, and a boy named Teavee. They are both, by different fathers, the grandsons of Pereeorannee, king of Woahoo, who had given the government of Atooi to the former, and that of Oneeheow to the latter. The quarrel had arisen about the goats we had left at Oneeheow the last year: the right of property in which was claimed by Toneoneo, on the pretence of that island's being a dependency of his. The friends of Teavee insisting on the right of possession, both parties prepared to maintain their pretensions by force; and a few days before our arrival, a battle had been fought, in which Toneoneo had been worsted. The consequence of this victory was likely to affect Toneoneo in a much deeper manner than by the mere loss of the objects in dispute; for the mother of Teavee, having married a second husband, who was a chief of Atooi, and at the head of a powerful faction there, he thought that the present opportunity was not to be neglected of driving Toneoneo entirely out of the island, and of advancing his son-in-law to the government. I have already had occasion to mention that the goats, which had increased to the number of six, and would probably in a few years have stocked all these islands, were destroyed in the contest.

On the 4th, the mother and sister of the young prince and his father-in-law, with many other chiefs of that party, came on board the Resolution, and made several curious and valuable presents to Captain Clerke. Amongst the former, were some fish-hooks, which

they assured us were made of the bones of our old friend Terreeoboo's father, who had been killed in an unsuccessful descent upon the island of Woahoo; and a fly-flap, presented to him by the prince's sister, the handle of which was a human bone, that had been given her as a trophy by her father-in-law. Young Teavee was not of the company, being engaged, as we were told, in performing some religious ceremonies, in consequence of the victory he had obtained, which were to last twenty days.

This and the two following days were employed on shore in completing the Discovery's water; and the carpenters were busy on board, in caulking the ships, and in making other preparations for our next cruise. The natives desisted from giving us any further disturbance; and we procured from them a plentiful supply of pork and vegetables. At this time, an Indian brought a piece of iron on board the Discovery, to be fashioned into the shape of *pahooa*. It was carefully examined both by the officers and men, and appeared to be the bolt of some large ship timbers. They were not able to discover to what nation it belonged; but from the pale colour * of the iron, and its not corresponding in shape to our bolts, they concluded that it certainly was not English. This led them to make a strict inquiry of the native, when and where he got it; and if they comprehended him right, it had been taken out of a piece of timber, larger than the cable bit, to which he pointed. This piece of wood, they farther understood from him, to have been driven upon their island, since we were here in January 1778.

On the 7th, we were surprised with a visit from Toneoneo. When he heard the dowager princess was in the ship, it was with great difficulty we could prevail on him to come on board, not from any apprehension that he appeared to entertain of his safety, but from an unwillingness to see her. Their meeting was with sulky and lowering looks on both sides. He staid but a short time, and seemed much dejected; but we remarked, with some surprise, that the women, both at his coming and going away, prostrated themselves before him; and that he was treated by all the natives on board with the respect usually paid to those of his rank. Indeed, it must appear somewhat extraordinary, that a person who [illegible] at this time in a state of actual hostility with Teavee's party, and was even prepared f[illegible] other battle, should trust himself almost alone within the power of his enemies. It [illegible] therefore to be observed, that the civil dissensions, which are very frequent throughout all the South Sea Islands, seem to be carried on without much acrimony or bloodshed; and that the deposed governor still continues to enjoy the rank of an Eree, and is left to make use of such means as may arise for the regaining his lost consequence. But I shall have occasion to speak more particularly on this subject in the next chapter; in which the best account will be given, which we were able to collect, of the political state of those countries.

On the 8th, at nine in the morning, we weighed, and sailed toward Oneeheow; and at three in the afternoon, anchored in twenty fathoms water, nearly on the same spot as in the year 1778. We moored with the other anchor in twenty-six fathoms' water. The high bluff, on the south end of the island, bore east south-east; the north point of the road, north half east; and a bluff head to the south of it, north-east by north. During the night we had a strong gale from the eastward; and, in the morning of the 9th, found the ship had driven a whole cable's length, and brought both anchors almost ahead. We shortened in the best bower cable; but the wind blowing too fresh to unmoor, we were obliged to remain this and the two following days, with the anchors still ahead.

On the 12th, the weather being moderate, the master was sent to the north-west side of the island to look for a more convenient place for anchoring. He returned in the evening, having found, close round the west point of the road where we now lay, which is also the westernmost point of the island, a fine bay, with good anchorage, in eighteen fathoms' water, a clear sandy bottom, not a mile from the beach, on which the surf beats, but not so as to hinder landing. The direction of the points of the bay were north by east, and south by west; and, in that line, the soundings seven, eight, and nine fathoms. On the north side of the bay was a small village; and a quarter of a mile to the eastward, were four small

* It was evident, that the iron we found in possession of the natives at Nootka Sound, and which was mostly made into knives, was of a much paler sort than ours.

wells of good water; the road to them level, and fit for rolling casks. Mr. Bligh went afterward so far to the north as to satisfy himself, that Orehoua was a separate island from Oneeheow; and that there was a passage between them; which, before, we only conjectured to exist. In the afternoon we hoisted in all the boats, and made ready for going to sea in the morning.

CHAPTER VI.—GENERAL ACCOUNT OF THE SANDWICH ISLANDS.—THEIR NUMBER, NAMES, AND SITUATION.—OWHYHEE.—ITS EXTENT AND DIVISION INTO DISTRICTS.—ACCOUNT OF ITS COASTS, AND THE ADJACENT COUNTRY.—VOLCANIC APPEARANCES.—SNOWY MOUNTAINS.—THEIR HEIGHT DETERMINED.—ACCOUNT OF A JOURNEY INTO THE INTERIOR PARTS OF THE COUNTRY. — MOWEE. — TAHOOROWA. — MOROTOI. — RANAI. — WOAHOO. — ATOOI. — ONEEHEOW. — OREEHOUA. — TAHOORA. — CLIMATE. — WINDS. — CURRENTS. — TIDES. — ANIMALS AND VEGETABLES. — ASTRONOMICAL OBSERVATIONS.

As we are now about to take our final leave of the Sandwich Islands, it will not be improper to introduce here some general account of their situation and natural history, and of the manners and customs of the inhabitants. This subject has indeed been, in some measure, pre-occupied by persons far more capable of doing it justice than I can pretend to be. Had Captain Cook and Mr. Anderson lived to avail themselves of the advantages which we enjoyed by a return to these islands, it cannot be questioned, that the public would have derived much additional information from the skill and diligence of two such accurate observers. The reader will therefore lament with me our common misfortune, which hath deprived him of the labours of such superior abilities, and imposed on me the task of presenting him with the best supplementary account the various duties of my station permitted me to furnish *.

This group consists of eleven islands, extending in latitude from 18° 54′ to 22° 15′ north; and in longitude from 199° 36′ to 205° 06′ east. They are called by the natives; 1. Owhyhee. 2. Mowee. 3. Ranai, or Oranai. 4. Morotinnee, or Morokinnee. 5. Kahowrowee, or Tahoorowa. 6. Morotoi, or Morokoi. 7. Woahoo, or Oahoo. 8. Atooi, Atowi, or Towi, and sometimes Kowi †. 9. Neeheehow, or Oneeheow. 10. Oreehoua, or Reehoua; and, 11. Tahoora; and are all inhabited, except Morotinnee and Tahoora. Besides the islands above enumerated, we are told by the Indians, that there is another called Modoopapapa ‡, or Komodoopapapa, lying to the west south-west of Tahoora, which is low and sandy, and visited only for the purpose of catching turtle and sea-fowl; and, as I could never learn that they knew of any others, it is probable that none exist in their neighbourhood.

They were named by Captain Cook the Sandwich Islands in honour of the Earl of Sandwich, under whose administration he had enriched geography with so many splendid and important discoveries; a tribute justly due to that noble person for the liberal support these voyages derived from his power, in whatever could extend their utility, or promote their success; for the zeal with which he seconded the views of that great navigator; and if I may be allowed to add the voice of private gratitude, for the generous protection, which, since the death of their unfortunate commander, he has afforded all the officers that served under him.

* "The descriptions which Captain Cook's voyages contained, were, I am convinced, faithful transcripts of the first impressions made on the minds of Captain Cook and his companions, and in every respect correct, so far as their partial observation extended. A residence of eight years in the Society and Sandwich Islands, has afforded me an opportunity of becoming familiar with many of the scenes and usages described in their Voyages, and I have often been struck with the fidelity with which they are uniformly portrayed. In the inferences they draw, and the reasons they assign, they are sometimes mistaken; but in the description of what they saw and heard, there is throughout a degree of accuracy, seldom if ever exceeded in accounts equally minute and extended. Still their acquaintance with the islands and the people was superficial, and the state of society which they witnessed was different from what generally existed." Ellis's Polynesian Researches, vol. iv., 12mo ed., p. 2.

† It is to be observed, that, among the windward islands, the *k* is used instead of the *t* as *Morokoi* instead of *Morotoi*, &c. [The orthography of all these names varies from that adopted by the missionaries.—Ed.]

‡ *Modoo* signifies island; *papapa*, flat. This island is called Tammatapappa, by Captain Cook, vol. ii. p. 244.

Owhyhee, the easternmost, and by much the largest of these islands, is of a triangular shape, and nearly equilateral. The angular points make the north, east, and south extremities, of which the northern is in latitude 20° 17′ north, longitude 204° 02′ east: the eastern in latitude 19° 34′ north, longitude 205° 06′ east: and the southern extremity in latitude 18° 54′ north, longitude 204° 15′ east. Its greatest length, which lies in a direction nearly north and south, is 28½ leagues; its breadth is 24 leagues; and it is about 255 geographical, or 293 English miles, in circumference. The whole island is divided into six large districts; Amakooa and Aheedoo, which lie on the north-east side; Apoona and Kaoo, on the south-east; Akoona and Kooarra, on the west.

The districts of Amakooa and Aheedoo are separated by a mountain, called Mouna Kaah (or the mountain Kaah), which rises in three peaks, perpetually covered with snow, and may be clearly seen at 40 leagues' distance. To the north of this mountain the coast consists of high and abrupt cliffs, down which fall many beautiful cascades of water. We were once flattered with the hopes of meeting with a harbour round a bluff head, in latitude 20° 10′ north, and longitude 204° 26′ east; but on doubling the point, and standing close in, we found it connected by a low valley with another high head to the north-west. The country rises inland with a gentle ascent, is intersected by deep narrow glens, or rather chasms, and appeared to be well cultivated and sprinkled over with a number of villages. The snowy mountain is very steep, and the lower part of it covered with wood.

The coast of Aheedoo, which lies to the south of Mouna Kaah, is of a moderate height and the interior parts appear more even than the country to the north-west, and less broken by ravines. Off these two districts we cruised for almost a month; and, whenever our distance from shore would permit it, were sure of being surrounded by canoes laden with all kinds of refreshments. We had frequently a very heavy sea, and great swell on this side of the island, and as we had no soundings, and could observe much foul ground off the shore, we never approached nearer the land than two or three leagues, excepting on the occasion already mentioned.

The coast to the north-east of Apoona, which forms the eastern extremity of the island, is low, and flat; the acclivity of the inland parts is very gradual, and the whole country covered with cocoa-nut and bread-fruit trees. This, as far as we could judge, is the finest part of the island, and we were afterward told that the king had a place of residence here. At the south-west extremity the hills rise abruptly from the sea-side, leaving but a narrow border of low ground toward the beach. We were pretty near the shore at this part of the island, and found the sides of the hills covered with a fine verdure; but the country seemed to be very thinly inhabited. On doubling the east point of the island, we came in sight of another snowy mountain, called Mouna Roa (or the extensive mountain), which continued to be a very conspicuous object all the while we were sailing along the south-east side. It is flat at the top, making what is called by mariners table-land: the summit was constantly buried in snow, and we once saw its sides also slightly covered for a considerable way down; but the greatest part of this disappeared again in a few days.

According to the tropical line of snow, as determined by Mr. Condamine, from observations taken on the Cordilleras, this mountain must be at least 16,020 feet high, which exceeds the height of the Pico de Teyde, or Peak of Teneriffe, by 724 feet, according to Dr. Heberden's computation, or 3680, according to that of the Chevalier de Borda. The peaks of Mouna Kaah appeared to be about half a mile high; and as they are entirely covered with snow, the altitude of their summits cannot be less than 18,400 feet. But it is probable that both these mountains may be considerably higher. For, in insular situations, the effects of the warm sea air must necessarily remove the line of snow, in equal latitudes, to a greater height than where the atmosphere is chilled on all sides by an immense tract of perpetual snow *.

The coast of Kaoo presents a prospect of the most horrid and dreary kind: the whole country appearing to have undergone a total change from the effects of some dreadful con-

* Mr. Ellis considers Captain King's estimate of the heights of these mountains exaggerated, but he gives them a height of at least 15,000 feet.—Ed.

vulsion, the ground is everywhere covered with cinders, and intersected in many places with black streaks, which seem to mark the course of a lava that has flowed, not many ages back, from the mountain Roa to the shore. The southern promontory looks like the mere dregs of a volcano. The projecting head-land is composed of broken and craggy rocks, piled irregularly on one another and terminating in sharp points.

Notwithstanding the dismal aspect of this part of the island, there are many villages scattered over it; and it certainly is much more populous than the verdant mountains of Apoona. Nor is this circumstance hard to be accounted for. As these islanders have no cattle, they have consequently no use for pasturage, and therefore naturally prefer such ground as either lies more convenient for fishing, or is best suited to the cultivation of yams and plantains. Now, amidst these ruins, there are many patches of rich soil, which are carefully laid out in plantations, and the neighbouring sea abounds with a variety of most excellent fish, with which, as well as with other provisions, we were always plentifully supplied. Off this part of the coast, we could find no ground at less than a cable's length from the shore, with a hundred and sixty fathoms of line, excepting in a small bight to the eastward of the south point, where we had regular soundings of fifty and fifty-eight fathoms over a bottom of fine sand. Before we proceed to the western districts, it may be necessary to remark, that the whole coast side of the island, from the northern to the southern extremity, does not afford the smallest harbour, or shelter for shipping.

The south-west parts of Akona are in the same state with the adjoining district of Kaoo; but farther to the north, the country has been cultivated with great pains, and is extremely populous. In this part of the island is situate Karakakooa Bay, which has been already described. Along the coast nothing is seen but large masses of slag, and the fragments of black scorched rocks; behind which, the ground rises gradually for about two miles and a half, and appears to have been formerly covered with loose burnt stones. These the natives have taken the pains of clearing away, frequently to the depth of three feet and upward; which labour, great as it is, the fertility of the soil amply repays. Here, in a rich ashy mould, they cultivate sweet potatoes, and the cloth-plant. The fields are inclosed with stone fences, and are interspersed with groves of cocoa-nut trees. On the rising ground beyond these, the bread-fruit trees are planted, and flourish with the greatest luxuriance.

Koaara extends from the westernmost point to the northern extremity of the island; the whole coast between them forming an extensive bay, called Toe-yah-yah, which is bounded to the north by two very conspicuous hills. Toward the bottom of this bay there is foul, corally ground, extending upward of a mile from the shore, without which the soundings are regular, with good anchorage, in twenty fathoms. The country, as far as the eye could reach, seemed fruitful and well inhabited, the soil being in appearance of the same kind with the district of Kaoo; but no fresh water is to be got here.

I have hitherto confined myself to the coasts of this island, and the adjacent country, which is all that I had an opportunity of being acquainted with from my own observation. The only account I can give of the interior parts, is from the information I obtained from a party who set out on the afternoon of the 26th of January, on an expedition up the country, with an intention of penetrating as far as they could; and principally of reaching, if possible, the snowy mountains.

Having procured two natives to serve them as guides, they left the village about four o'clock in the afternoon, directing their course a little to the southward of the east. To the distance of three or four miles from the bay, they found the country as before described; the hills afterward rose with a more sudden ascent, which brought them to the extensive plantations, that terminate the view of the country, as seen from the ships. These plantations consist of the tarrow * or eddy root, and the sweet potato, with plants of the cloth-

* Both the sweet potatoes, and the tarrow, are here planted four feet from each other; the former was earthed up almost to the top of the stalk, with about half a bushel of light mould; the latter is left bare to the root, and the mould round it is made in the form of a basin, in order to hold the rain-water, as this root requires a certain degree of moisture. It has been before observed, that the tarrow, at the Friendly and Society Islands, was always planted in low and moist situations, and generally where there was the conveniency of a rivulet to flood it. It was

tree, neatly set out in rows. The walls that separate them are made of the loose burnt stones which are got in clearing the ground; and being entirely concealed by sugar-canes, planted close on each side, make the most beautiful fences that can be conceived. The party stopped for the night at the second hut they found amongst the plantations, where they judged themselves to be about six or seven miles from the ships. They described the prospect from this spot as very delightful; they saw the ships in the bay before them; to the left a continued range of villages, interspersed with groves of cocoa-nut trees spreading along the sea-shore; a thick wood stretching out of sight behind them; and to the right, an extent of ground laid out in regular and well-cultivated plantations, as far as the eye could reach.

Near this spot, at a distance from any other dwelling, the natives pointed out to them the residence of a hermit, who, they said, had formerly been a great chief and warrior, but had long ago quitted the shores of the island, and now never stirred from his cottage. They prostrated themselves as they approached him, and afterwards presented to him a part of such provisions as they had brought with them. His behaviour was easy and cheerful; he scarce showed any marks of astonishment at the sight of our people, and though pressed to accept some of our curiosities, he declined the offer, and soon withdrew to his cottage. He was described as by far the oldest person any of the party had ever seen, and judged to be, by those who computed his age at the lowest, upward of 100 years old.

As our people had imagined the mountain not to be more than ten or twelve miles from the bay, and consequently, that they should reach it with ease early the next morning, an error into which its great height had probably led them, they were now much surprised to find the distance scarce perceptibly diminished. This circumstance, together with the uninhabited state of the country they were going to enter, made it necessary to procure a supply of provisions; and for that purpose they despatched one of their guides back to the village. Whilst they were waiting his return, they were joined by some of Kaoo's servants, whom that benevolent old man had sent after them, as soon as he heard of their journey, laden with refreshments, and authorised, as their route lay through his grounds, to demand and take away whatever they might have occasion for.

Our travellers were much astonished to find the cold here so intense; but having no thermometer with them, could judge of it only by their feelings; which, from the warm atmosphere they had left, must have been a very fallacious measure. They found it, however, so cold that they could get but little sleep, and the natives none at all; both parties being disturbed the whole night by continued coughing. As they could not at this time be at any very considerable height, the distance from the sea being only six or seven miles, and part of the road on a very moderate ascent, this extraordinary degree of cold must be ascribed to the easterly wind blowing fresh over the snowy mountains. Early on the 27th they set out again, and filled their calibashes at an excellent well, about half a mile from their hut. Having passed the plantations, they came to a thick wood, which they entered by a path made for the convenience of the natives, who go thither to fetch the wild or horse plantain, and to catch birds. Their progress now became very slow, and attended with much labour; the ground being either swampy, or covered with large stones; the path narrow, and frequently interrupted by trees lying across it, which it was necessary to climb over, the thickness of the under-wood on both sides making it impossible to pass round them. In these woods they observed, at small distances, pieces of white cloth fixed on poles, which they supposed to be landmarks for the division of property, as they only met with them where the wild plantains grew. The trees, which are of the same kind with those we called the spice-tree at New Holland, were lofty and straight, and from two to four feet in circumference.

After they had advanced about ten miles in the wood, they had the mortification to find themselves on a sudden within sight of the sea, and at no great distance from it; the path having turned imperceptibly to the southward, and carried them to the right of the mountain,

imagined that this mode of culture was absolutely necessary; but we now found, that, with the precaution above mentioned, it succeeds equally well in a drier situation: indeed, we all remarked, that the tarrow of the Sandwich Islands the best we had ever tasted. The plantains are not admitted in these plantations, but grow amongst the bread-fruit trees.

which it was their object to reach. Their disappointment was greatly increased by the uncertainty they were now under of its true bearings, since they could not, at this time, get a view of it from the top of the highest trees. They, therefore, found themselves obliged to walk back six or seven miles to an unoccupied hut, where they had left three of the natives, and two of their own people, with the small stock that remained of their provisions. Here they spent the second night; and the air was so very sharp and so little to the liking of their guides, that, by the morning, they had all taken themselves off, except one.

The want of provisions now making it necessary to return to some of the cultivated parts of the island, they quitted the wood by the same path they had entered it; and, on their arrival at the plantations, were surrounded by the natives, of whom they purchased a fresh stock of necessaries; and prevailed upon two of them to supply the place of the guides that were gone away. Having obtained the best information in their power, with regard to the direction of their road, the party, being now nine in number, marched along the skirts of the wood for six or seven miles, and then entered it again by a path that bore to the eastward. For the first three miles they passed through a forest of lofty spice-trees, growing on a strong rich loam; at the back of which they found an equal extent of low shrubby trees, with much thick underwood, on a bottom of loose burnt stones. This led them to a second forest of spice-trees, and the same rich brown soil, which was again succeeded by a barren ridge of the same nature with the former. This alternate succession may, perhaps, afford matter of curious speculation to naturalists. The only additional circumstance I could learn relating to it, was that these ridges appeared, as far as they could be seen, to run in directions parallel to the sea-shore, and to have Mouna Roa for their centre.

In passing through the woods, they found many canoes half finished, and here and there a hut; but saw none of the inhabitants. Having penetrated near three miles into the second wood, they came to two huts, where they stopped, exceedingly fatigued with the day's journey, having walked not less than twenty miles, according to their own computation. As they had met with no springs from the time they left the plantation-ground, and began to suffer much from the violence of their thirst, they were obliged, before the night came on, to separate into parties, and go in search of water; and at last found some left by rain in the bottom of an unfinished canoe; which, though of the colour of red wine, was to them no unwelcome discovery. In the night, the cold was still more intense than they had found it before; and, though they had wrapped themselves up in mats and cloths of the country, and kept a large fire between the two huts, they could yet sleep but very little; and were obliged to walk about the greatest part of the night. Their elevation was now probably pretty considerable, as the ground on which they had travelled, had been generally on the ascent.

On the 29th, at daybreak, they set out, intending to make their last and utmost effort to reach the snowy mountain; but their spirits were much depressed, when they found they had expended the miserable pittance of water, they had found the night before. The path, which extended no farther than where canoes had been built, was now at an end; and they were therefore obliged to make their way as well as they could; every now and then climbing up into the highest trees to explore the country round. At eleven o'clock, they came to a ridge of burnt stones, from the top of which they saw the snowy mountain, appearing to be about twelve or fourteen miles from them. It was here deliberated whether they should proceed any further, or rest satisfied with the view they now had of Mouna Roa. The road, ever since the path ceased, had become exceedingly fatiguing; and every moment they advanced, was growing still more so. The deep chinks, with which the ground was everywhere broken, being slightly covered with moss, made them stumble at almost every step; and the intermediate space was a surface of loose burnt stones, which broke under their feet like potsherds. They threw stones into several of these chinks; which, by the noise they made, seemed to fall to a considerable depth, and the ground sounded hollow under their feet. Besides these discouraging circumstances, they found their guides so averse to going on, that they believed, whatever their own determinations might have been, they could not have prevailed on them to remain out another night. They, therefore, at last agreed to return to the ships, after taking a view of the country from the highest trees which the place afforded. From this elevation they saw themselves surrounded on all sides with wood toward

the sea; they could not distinguish, in the horizon, the sky from the water; and between them and the snowy mountain, was a valley about seven or eight miles broad, above which the mountain appeared only as a hill of a moderate size.

They rested this night at a hut in the second wood, and on the 30th, before noon, they had got clear of the first, and found themselves about nine miles to the north-east of the ships, toward which they directed their march through the plantations. As they passed along, they did not observe a single spot of ground, that was capable of improvement, left unplanted; and, indeed, it appeared, from their account, hardly possible for the country to be cultivated to greater advantage for the purposes of the inhabitants, or made to yield them a larger supply of necessaries for their subsistence. They were surprised to meet with several fields of hay; and on inquiring to what uses it was applied, were told it was designed to cover the young tarrow grounds, in order to preserve them from being scorched by the sun. They saw a few scattered huts amongst the plantations, which served for occasional shelter to the labourers; but no villages at a greater distance than four or five miles from the sea. Near one of them, about four miles from the bay, they found a cave forty fathoms long, three broad, and of the same height. It was open at both ends; the sides were fluted, as if wrought with a chisel, and the surface glazed over, probably by the action of fire. Having given this account of the most material circumstances that occurred on the expedition to the snowy mountain, I shall now return to the other islands that remain to be described.

The island next in size, and nearest in situation, to Owhyhee, is Mowee; which lies at the distance of eight leagues north north-west from the former, and is 140 geographical miles in circumference. A low isthmus divides it into two circular peninsulas, of which that to the east is called Whamadooa, and is double the size of the western peninsula, called Owhyrookoo. The mountains in both rise to an exceeding great height, having been seen by us at the distance of upward of thirty leagues. The northern shores, like those of Owhyhee, afford no soundings; and the country presents the same appearance of verdure and fertility. To the south-east, between this and the adjacent isles, we had regular depths, with a hundred and fifty fathoms, with a sandy bottom. From the west point, which is low, runs a shoal, stretching out toward Ranai, to a considerable distance; and to the southward of this is a fine spacious bay, with a sandy beach, shaded with cocoa-nut trees. It is probable that good anchorage might be found here, with shelter from the prevailing winds, and that the beach affords a convenient place for landing. The country behind presents a most romantic appearance. The hills rise almost perpendicularly, in a great variety of peaked forms; and their steep sides, and the deep chasms between them, are covered with trees, amongst which those of the bread-fruit were observed particularly to abound. The tops of these hills are entirely bare, and of a reddish brown colour. We were informed by the natives, that there is a harbour to the southward of the east point, which they affirmed to be superior to that of Karakakooa; and we were also told, that, on the north-west side, there was another harbour, called Keepoo-keepoo.

Tahoorowa is a small island lying off the south-west part of Mowee, from which it is distant three leagues. This island is destitute of wood, and the soil seems to be sandy and barren. Between Tahowrowa and Mowee, lies the small uninhabited island Morrotinnee.

Morotoi is only two leagues and a half from Mowee to the west north-west. The south-western coast, which was the only part near which we approached, is very low; but the land rises backward to a considerable height; and, at the distance from which we saw it, appeared to be entirely without wood. Its produce, we were told, consists chiefly of yams. It may, probably, have fresh water; and, on the south and west sides, the coast forms several bays, that promise good shelter from the trade winds.

Ranai is about three leagues distant from Mowee and Morotoi, and lies to the south-west of the passage between these islands. The country to the south is high and craggy; but the other parts of the island had a better aspect, and appeared to be well inhabited. We were told that it produces very few plantains and bread-fruit trees; but that it abounds in roots, such as yams, sweet potatoes, and tarrow.

Woahoo lies to the north-west of Morotoi, at the distance of about seven leagues. As far as we could judge, from the appearance of the north-east and north-west parts (for we saw

nothing of the southern side), it is by far the finest island of the whole group. Nothing can exceed the verdure of the hills, the variety of wood and lawn, and rich cultivated valleys, which the whole face of the country displayed. Having already given a description of the bay, formed by the north and west extremities, in which we came to anchor, I have only to observe, that in the bight of the bay, to the south of the anchoring-place, we found rocky foul ground, two miles from the shore. Should the ground tackling of a ship be weak, and the wind blow strong from the north, to which quarter the road is entirely open, this circumstance might be attended with some danger; but with good cables there would be little risk, as the ground from the anchoring-place, which is opposite to the valley through which the river runs to the north point, is a fine sand.

Atooi lies to the north-west of Woahoo, and is distant from it about twenty-five leagues. The face of the country to the north-east and north-west is broken and ragged; but to the south it is more even; the hills rise with a gentle slope from the sea-side, and, at some distance back, are covered with wood. Its productions are the same with those of the other islands; but the inhabitants far surpass all the neighbouring islanders in the management of their plantations. In the low grounds, adjoining to the bay where we lay at anchor, these plantations were divided by deep and regular ditches; the fences were made with a neatness approaching to elegance, and the roads through them were thrown up and finished, in a manner that would have done credit to any European engineer.

Oneeheow lies five leagues to the westward of Atooi. The eastern coast is high, and rises abruptly from the sea, but the rest of the island consists of low ground; excepting a round bluff head on the south-east point. It produces abundance of yams, and of the sweet root called *Tee;* but we got from it no other sort of provisions.

Oreehoua and Tahoora are two small islands in the neighbourhood of Oneeheow. The former is a single high hummock, joined by a reef of coral rocks, to the northern extremity of Oneeheow. The latter lies to the south-east, and is uninhabited.

The climate of the Sandwich Islands differs very little from that of the West India Islands, which lie in the same latitude. Upon the whole, perhaps, it may be rather more temperate. The thermometer on shore in Karakakooa Bay never rose higher than 88°, and that but one day; its mean height, at noon, was 83°. In Wymoa Bay, its mean height at noon was 76°, and when out at sea, 75°. The mean height of the thermometer at noon, in Jamaica, is about 86°, at sea 80°.*

Whether they be subject to the same violent winds and hurricanes, we could not discover, as we were not there in any of the stormy months. However, as the natives gave us no positive testimony of the fact, and no traces of their effects were anywhere visible, it is probable that, in this respect, they resemble the Society and Friendly Islands, which are in a great measure free from these dreadful visitations. During the four winter months that we remained amongst these islands, there was more rain, especially in the interior parts, than usually falls during the dry season in the islands of the West Indies. We generally saw clouds collecting round the tops of the hills, and producing rain to leeward; but after they are separated from the land by the wind, they disperse, and are lost, and others succeed in their place. This happened daily at Owhyhee: the mountainous parts being generally enveloped in a cloud; successive showers falling in the inland country; with fine weather, and a clear sky, at the sea-shore.

The winds in general were, from east south-east to north-east; though this sometimes varied a few points each way to the north and south; but these were light, and of short duration. In the harbour of Karakakooa, we had a constant land and sea breeze every day and night.

The currents seemed very uncertain, sometimes setting to windward, and at other times to leeward, without any regularity. They did not appear to be governed by the winds, nor any other cause that I can assign: they frequently set to windward against a fresh breeze. The tides are very regular, flowing and ebbing six hours each. The flood comes from the

* The mean height of the thermometer in the Sandwich Islands is stated by Mr. Ellis at 75°, the extreme heat 88°, the least 61°; these being the result of one year's accurate observations.—Ed.

eastward; and it is high-water at the full and change of the moon, forty-five minutes past three, apparent time. Their greatest rise is two feet seven inches; and we always observed the water to be four inches higher when the moon was above the horizon than when it was below.

The quadrupeds in these, as in all the other islands that have been discovered in the South Sea, are confined to three sorts—dogs, hogs, and rats. The dogs are of the same species with those of Otaheite, having short crooked legs, long backs, and pricked ears. I did not observe any variety in them, except in their skins; some having long and rough hair, and others being quite smooth. They are about the size of a common turnspit; exceedingly sluggish in their nature, though perhaps this may be more owing to the manner in which they are treated, than to any natural disposition in them. They are, in general, fed and left to herd with the hogs; and I do not recollect one instance in which a dog was made a companion, in the manner we do in Europe. Indeed, the custom of eating them is an insuperable bar to their admission into society; and, as there are neither beasts of prey in the island, nor objects of chace, it is probable that the social qualities of the dog, its fidelity, attachment, and sagacity, will remain unknown to the natives.

The number of dogs in these islands did not appear to be nearly equal in proportion to those in Otaheite. But, on the other hand, they abound much more in hogs; and the breed is of a larger and weightier kind. The supply of provisions of this kind, which we got from them, was really astonishing. We were near four months, either cruising off the coast, or in harbour at Owhyhee. During all this time, a large allowance of fresh pork was constantly served to both crews; so that our consumption was computed at about sixty puncheons of five hundred-weight each. Besides this, and the incredible waste which, in the midst of such plenty, was not to be guarded against, sixty puncheons more were salted for sea store. The greatest part of this supply was drawn from the island of Owhyhee alone, and yet we could not perceive that it was at all drained, or even that the abundance had any way decreased.

The birds of these islands are as beautiful as any we have seen during the voyage, and are numerous, though not various. There are four which seem to belong to the *Trochili*, or honeysuckers, of Linnæus; one of which is something larger than a bullfinch; its colour is a fine glossy black, the rump-vent and thighs a deep yellow. It is called by the natives *hoohoo*. Another is of an exceeding bright scarlet colour; the wings black, and edged with white, and the tail black; its native name is *eeeere*. A third, which seems to be either a young bird, or a variety of the foregoing, is variegated with red, brown, and yellow. The fourth is entirely green, with a tinge of yellow, and is called *akaiearooa*. There is a species of thrush, with a grey breast; and a small bird of the flycatcher kind; a rail, with very short wings and no tail, which on that account we named *Rallus ecaudatus*. Ravens are found here, but they are very scarce; their colour is dark brown, inclining to black, and their note is different from the European. Here are two small birds, both of one genus, that are very common; one is red, and generally seen about the cocoa-nut trees, particularly when they are in flower, from whence it seems to derive great part of its subsistence; the other is green: the tongues of both are long and ciliated, or fringed at the tip. A bird with a yellow head, which, from the structure of its beak, we called a perroquet, is likewise very common. It, however, by no means belongs to that tribe, but greatly resembles the yellow cross-bill, *Loxia flavicans* of Linnæus. Here are also owls, plovers of two sorts, one very like the whistling plover of Europe; a large white pigeon; a bird with a long tail, whose colour is black, the vent and feathers under the wing (which is much longer than is usually seen in the generality of birds, except the birds of paradise) are yellow; and the common water or darker hen.

Their vegetable productions are nearly the same with the rest of the South Sea Islands. I have before mentioned, that the tarrow root is much superior to any we had before tasted, and that we attributed this excellence to the dry method of cultivating it. The bread-fruit trees thrive here, not in such abundance, but produce double the quantity of fruit they do on the rich plains of Otaheite. The trees are nearly of the same height, but the branches begin to strike out from the trunk much lower, and with greater luxuriance.

Their sugar-canes are also of a very unusual size. One of them was brought to us at Atooi, measuring eleven inches and a quarter in circumference, and having fourteen feet eatable.

At Oneeheow, they brought us several large roots of a brown colour, shaped like a yam, and from six to ten pounds in weight. The juice, which it yields in great abundance, is very sweet, and of a pleasant taste, and was found to be an excellent substitute for sugar. The natives are very fond of it, and use it as an article of their common diet; and our people also found it very palatable and wholesome. We could not learn to what species of plant it belonged, having never been able to procure the leaves; but it was supposed by our botanists to be the root of some kind of fern.

TARO, OR SWEET POTATOE.

Agreeably to the practice of Captain Cook, I shall subjoin an abstract of the astronomical observations which were made at the observatory in Karakakooa Bay, for determining its latitude and longitude, and for finding the rate and error of the timekeeper. To these are subjoined the mean variation of the compass, the dip of the magnetic needle, and a table of the latitude and longitude of the Sandwich Islands.

The latitude of the observatory deduced from meridian zenith distances of the sun, eleven stars to the south, and four stars to the north of the zenith	19°	28′	0″	north.
The longitude of the observatory, deduced from 253 sets of lunar observations; each set consisting of six observed distances of the sun from the moon, or stars; fourteen of the above sets were only taken at the observatory, 105 sets being taken whilst cruising off Owhyhee; and 134 sets, when at Atooi and Oneeheow; all these being reduced to the observatory, by means of the timekeeper	204	0	0	east.
The longitude of the observatory, by the timekeeper, on the 19th January, 1779, according to its rate, as found at Greenwich	214	7	15	east.
The longitude of the observatory, by the timekeeper, on the 19th January, 1779, according to its rate, corrected at different places, and last at Samganoodha Harbour, in Oonalaschka	203	37	22	east.
The daily rate of the timekeeper losing on mean time, was 9″ .6; and on the 2d February, 1779, it was 14ʰ 41′ 1″ slow for mean time.				
The variation of the compass by azimuths, observed on shore with four different compasses	8	6	0	east.
The variation of the compass, by azimuths, observed on board the Resolution with four different compasses	7	32	0	east.
Dip of the north pole of the magnetic needle on shore, with — Balanced needle	40	22	30	
Dip of the north pole of the magnetic needle on shore, with — Unbalanced, or plain needle	40	41	15	
Dip of the north pole of the magnetic needle on board, with — Balanced needle	41	50	0	
Dip of the north pole of the magnetic needle on board, with — Unbalanced needle	40	30	45	

A TABLE OF THE LATITUDE AND LONGITUDE OF THE SANDWICH ISLANDS.

		Latitude.		Longitude.			Latitude.		Longitude.	
Owhyhee	The north point	20°	17′	204°	2′	Tahoorowa	20°	38′	203°	27′
	South point	18	54	204	15	Ranai. South point	20	46	203	8
	East point	19	34	205	6	Morotoi. West point	21	10	202	46
	Karakakooa Bay	19	28	204	0	Woahoo. Anchoring-place	21	43	202	9
Mowee	East point	20	50	204	4	Atooi. Wymoa Bay	21	57	200	20
	South point	20	34	203	48	Oneeheow. Anchoring-place	21	50	199	45
	West point	20	54	203	24	Oreehoua	22	2	199	52
Morokinnee		20	39	203	33	Tahoora	21	43	199	36

CHAPTER VII.—GENERAL ACCOUNT OF THE SANDWICH ISLANDS CONTINUED.—OF THE INHABITANTS.—THEIR ORIGIN.—PERSONS.—PERNICIOUS EFFECTS OF THE AVA.—NUMBERS.—DISPOSITION AND MANNERS. — REASONS FOR SUPPOSING THEM NOT CANNIBALS.—DRESS AND ORNAMENTS.—VILLAGES AND HOUSES.—FOOD.—OCCUPATIONS AND AMUSEMENTS.—ADDICTED TO GAMING.—THEIR EXTRAORDINARY DEXTERITY IN SWIMMING.—ARTS AND MANUFACTURES.— CURIOUS SPECIMENS OF THEIR SCULPTURE.—KIPPAREE, OR METHOD OF PAINTING CLOTH. — MATS. — FISHING-HOOKS. — CORDAGE. — SALT-PANS. — WARLIKE INSTRUMENTS.

The inhabitants of the Sandwich Islands are undoubtedly of the same race with those of New Zealand, the Society and Friendly Islands, Easter Island, and the Marquesas; a race that possesses, without any intermixture, all the known lands between the latitudes of 47° south and 20' north, and between the longitudes of 184° and 260° east. This fact, which, extraordinary as it is, might be thought sufficiently proved by the striking similarity of their manners and customs, and the general resemblance of their persons, is established, beyond all controversy, by the absolute identity of their language. From what continent they originally emigrated, and by what steps they have spread through so vast a space, those who are curious in disquisitions of this nature may perhaps not find it very difficult to conjecture. It has been already observed that they bear strong marks of affinity to some of the Indian tribes that inhabit the Ladrones and Caroline Islands; and the same affinity may again be traced amongst the Battas and the Malays. When these events happened, is not so easy to ascertain; it was probably not very lately, as they are extremely populous, and have no tradition of their own origin but what is perfectly fabulous; whilst, on the other hand, the unadulterated state of their general language, and the simplicity which still prevails in their customs and manners, seem to indicate that it could not have been at any very distant period.

The natives of these islands are, in general, above the middle size, and well made; they walk very gracefully, run nimbly, and are capable of bearing great fatigue; though, upon the whole, the men are somewhat inferior, in point of strength and activity, to the Friendly Islanders, and the women less delicately limbed than those of Otaheite. Their complexion is rather darker than that of the Otaheiteans, and they are not altogether so handsome a people. However, many of both sexes had fine o[illegible] countenances; and the women, in particular, had good eyes and teeth, and a sweetness and sensibility of look, which rendered them very engaging. Their hair is of a brownish black, and neither uniformly straight, like that of the Indians of America, nor uniformly curling, as amongst the African negroes, but varying, in this respect, like the hair of Europeans. One striking peculiarity in the features of every part of this great nation, I do not remember to have seen anywhere mentioned; which is, that even in the handsomest faces, there is always a fulness of the nostril, without any flatness or spreading of the nose, that distinguishes them from Europeans. It is not improbable that this may be the effect of their usual mode of salutation, which is performing by pressing the ends of their noses together.

The same superiority that is observable in the persons of the Erees, through all the other islands, is found also here. These whom we saw were, without exception, perfectly well formed; whereas the lower sort, besides their general inferiority, are subject to all the variety of make and figure that is seen in the populace of other countries. Instances of deformity are more frequent here than in any of the other islands. Whilst we were cruising off Owhyhee, two dwarfs came on board, one an old man, four feet two inches high, but exactly proportioned, and the other a woman, nearly of the same height. We afterward saw three natives who were hump-backed, and a young man, born without hands or feet. Squinting is also very common amongst them; and a man who, they said, had been born blind, was brought to us to be cured. Besides these particular imperfections, they are, in general, very subject to boils and ulcers, which we attributed to the great quantity of salt they eat with their flesh and fish. The Erees are very free from these complaints; but many of them suffer still more dreadful effects from the immoderate use of the *ava*. Those who were

the most affected by it had their bodies covered with a white scurf, their eyes red and inflamed, their limbs emaciated, the whole frame trembling and paralytic, accompanied with a disability to raise the head. Though this drug does not appear universally to shorten life, as was evident from the cases of Terreeoboo, Kaoo, and some other chiefs, who were very old men; yet it invariably brings on an early and decrepit old age. It is fortunate that the use of it is made one of the peculiar privileges of the chiefs. The young son of Terreeoboo, who was about twelve years old, used to boast of his being admitted to drink *ava*, and showed us, with great triumph, a small spot in his side that was growing scaly.

There is something very singular in the history of this pernicious drug. When Captain Cook first visited the Society Islands, it was very little known among them. On his second voyage, he found the use of it very prevalent at Ulietea; but it had still gained very little ground at Otaheite. When we were last there, the dreadful havoc it had made was beyond belief, insomuch that the Captain scarce knew many of his old acquaintances. At the Friendly Islands, it is also constantly drunk by the chiefs, but so much diluted with water, that it does not appear to produce any bad effects. At Atooi, also, it is used with great moderation, and the chiefs are, in consequence, a much finer set of men there than in any of the neighbouring islands. We remarked, that by discontinuing the use of this root, the noxious effects of it soon wore off. Our good friends Kaireekeea and old Kaoo, were persuaded by us to refrain from it; and they recovered amazingly during the short time we afterwards remained in the island.

It may be thought extremely difficult to form any probable conjectures respecting the population of islands, with many parts of which we are but imperfectly acquainted. There are, however, two circumstances, that take away much of this objection: the first is, that the interior parts of the country are entirely uninhabited; so that, if the number of the inhabitants along the coast be known, the whole will be pretty accurately determined. The other is, that there are no towns of any considerable size, the habitations of the natives being pretty equally dispersed in small villages, round all their coasts. It is on this ground, that I shall venture at a rough calculation of the number of persons in this group of islands.

The bay of Karakakooa, in Owhyhee, is three miles in extent, and contains four villages of about eighty houses each; upon an average, in all three hundred and twenty; besides a number of straggling houses; which may make the whole amount to three hundred and fifty. From the frequent opportunities I had of informing myself on this head, I am convinced, that six persons to a house is a very moderate allowance; so that, on this calculation, the country about the bay contains two thousand one hundred souls. To these may be added fifty families, or three hundred persons, which I conceive to be nearly the number employed in the interior parts of the country, amongst their plantations; making in all two thousand four hundred. If, therefore, this number be applied to the whole extent of coast round the island, deducting a quarter for the uninhabited parts, it will be found to contain one hundred and fifty thousand. By the same mode of calculation, the rest of the islands will be found to contain the following numbers:—

Owhyhee	150,000
Mowee	65,400
Woahoo	60,200
Atooi	54,000
Morotoi	36,000
Onecheow	10,000
Ranai	20,400
Orcehoua	4,000
Total of inhabitants	400,000

I am pretty confident that, in this calculation, I have not exceeded the truth in the total amount. If we compare the numbers supposed to be in Owhyhee, with the population of Otaheite, as settled by Dr. Foster, this computation will be found very low. The proportion of coast in the latter island is, to that of Owhyhee, only as one to three: the

number of inhabitants in Otaheite, he states to be one hundred and twenty-one thousand five hundred; though, according to his own principles, it should be double that amount. Again, if we compare it with the medium population of the countries in Europe, the proportion will be in favour of the latter nearly as two to one.

Notwithstanding the irreparable loss we suffered from the sudden resentment and violence of these people, yet, in justice to their general conduct, it must be acknowledged, that they are of the most mild and affectionate disposition; equally remote from the extreme levity and fickleness of the Otaheiteans, and the distant gravity and reserve of the inhabitants of the Friendly Islands. They appear to live in the utmost harmony and friendship with one another. The women, who had children, were remarkable for their tender and constant attention to them; and the men would often lend their assistance in those domestic offices, with a willingness that does credit to their feelings. It must, however, be observed, that they fall very short of the other islanders, in that best test of civilisation, the respect paid to the women. Here they are not only deprived of the privilege of eating with the men, but the best sorts of food are *tabooed*, or forbidden them. They are not allowed to eat pork, turtle, several kinds of fish, and some species of the plantains; and we were told that a poor girl got a terrible beating for having eaten on board our ship one of these interdicted articles. In their domestic life, they appear to live almost entirely by themselves, and though we did not observe any instances of personal ill-treatment, yet it was evident they had little regard or attention paid them.

The great hospitality and kindness with which we were received by them, have been already frequently remarked; and, indeed, they make the principal part of our transactions with them. Whenever we came on shore, there was a constant struggle who should be most forward in making us little presents, bringing refreshments, or showing some other mark of their respect. The whole people never failed of receiving us with tears of joy; seemed highly gratified with being allowed to touch us, and were constantly making comparisons between themselves and us, with the strongest marks of humility. The young women were not less kind and engaging, and, till they found, notwithstanding our utmost endeavours to prevent it, that they had reason to repent of our acquaintance, attached themselves to us without the least reserve. In justice, however, to the sex, it must be observed, that these ladies were probably all of the lower class of the people; for I am strongly inclined to believe, that, excepting the few whose names are mentioned in the course of our narrative, we did not see any woman of rank during our stay amongst them.

Their natural capacity seems, in no respect, below the common standard of mankind. Their improvements in agriculture, and the perfection of their manufactures, are certainly adequate to the circumstances of their situation, and the natural advantages they enjoy. The eager curiosity with which they attended the armourer's forge, and the many expedients they had invented, even before we left the islands, for working the iron they had procured from us, into such forms as were best adapted to their purposes, were strong proofs of docility and ingenuity. Our unfortunate friend, Kaneena, possessed a degree of judicious curiosity, and a quickness of conception, which was rarely met with amongst these people. He was very inquisitive after our customs and manners; asked after our king; the nature of our government; our numbers; the method of building our ships; our houses; the produce of our country; whether we had wars; with whom, and on what occasions, and in what manner they were carried on; who was our God; and many other questions of the same nature, which indicated an understanding of great comprehension.

We met with two instances of persons disordered in their minds, the one a man at Owhyhee, the other a woman at Onecheow. It appeared, from the particular attention and respect paid to them, that the opinion of their being inspired by the Divinity, which obtains among most of the nations of the East, is also received here.

Though the custom of eating the bodies of their enemies be not known, by positive evidence, to exist in any of the South Sea Islands, except New Zealand, yet it is extremely probable, that it was originally prevalent in them all. The sacrificing human victims, which seems evidently to be a relic of this horrid practice, still obtains universally amongst these islanders; and it is easy to conceive, why the New Zealanders should retain the repast, which was

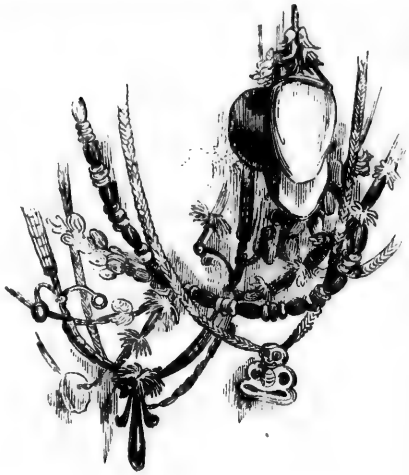
probably the last act of these shocking rites, longer than the rest of their tribe, who were situated in more mild and fruitful climates. As the inhabitants of the Sandwich Islands certainly bear a nearer resemblance to those of New Zealand, both in their persons and dispositions, than to any other people of this family, so it was strongly suspected, by Mr. Anderson, that, like them, they still continue to feast on human flesh. The evidence on which he founds this opinion has been stated very fully in the eleventh chapter of the third book *; but, as I always entertained great doubts of the justice of his conclusions, it may not be improper to take this occasion of mentioning the grounds on which I venture to differ from him. With respect to the information derived from the natives themselves, I shall only observe, that great pains were taken, by almost every officer on board, to come at the knowledge of so curious a circumstance; and that, except in the two instances mentioned by Mr. Anderson, we found them invariably denying the existence of any such custom amongst them. It must be allowed, that Mr. Anderson's knowledge of their language, which was superior to that of any other person in either ship, ought certainly to give his opinion great weight; at the same time, I must beg leave to remark, that, being present when he examined the man who had the small piece of salted flesh wrapped in cloth, it struck me very forcibly, that the signs he made use of meant nothing more, than that it was intended to be ate, and that it was very pleasant or wholesome to the stomach. In this opinion I was confirmed by a circumstance which came to our knowledge, after the death of my worthy and ingenious friend, viz. that almost every native of these islands carried about with him, either in his calabash, or wrapped up in a piece of cloth, and tied about his waist, a small piece of raw pork, highly salted, which they considered as a great delicacy, and used now and then to taste of. With respect to the confusion the young lad was in (for he was not more than sixteen or eighteen years of age,) no one could have been surprised at it who had seen the eager and earnest manner in which Mr. Anderson questioned him.

The argument drawn from the instrument made with shark's teeth, and which is nearly of the same form with those used at New Zealand for cutting up the bodies of their enemies, is much more difficult to controvert. I believe it to be an undoubted fact, that this knife, if it may be so called, is never used by them in cutting the flesh of other animals. However, as the custom of offering human sacrifices, and of burning the bodies of the slain, is still prevalent here, it is not improbable that the use of this instrument is retained in those ceremonies. Upon the whole, I am strongly inclined to think, and particularly from this last circumstance, that the horrid practice in question has but lately ceased amongst these and other islands of the South Sea. Omai, when pressed on this subject, confessed, that, in the rage and fury of revenge, they would sometimes tear the flesh of their enemies, that were slain, with their teeth; but positively denied that they ever eat it. This was certainly approaching as near the fact as could be; but, on the other hand, the denial is a strong proof that the practice has actually ceased; since in New Zealand, where it still exists, the inhabitants never made the smallest scruple of confessing it.

The inhabitants of these islands differ from those of the Friendly Isles, in suffering, almost universally, their beards to grow. There were, indeed, a few, amongst whom was the old king, that cut it off entirely; and others that wore it only upon the upper lip. The same variety in the manner of wearing the hair is also observable here, as among the other islanders of the South Sea; besides which, they have a fashion, as far as we know, peculiar to themselves. They cut it close on each side the head, down to the ears, leaving a ridge, of about a small hand's breadth, running from the forehead to the neck; which, when the hair is thick and curling, has the form of the crest of the ancient helmet. Others wear large quantities of false hair, flowing down their backs in long ringlets, like the figure of the inhabitants of Horn Island, as seen in Dalrymple's Voyages; and others, again, tie it into a single round bunch on the top of the head, almost as large as the head itself; and some into five or six distinct bunches. They daub their hair with a grey clay, mixed with powdered shells, which they keep in balls, and chew into a kind of soft paste, when they have occasion to make use of it. This keeps the hair smooth; and, in time, changes it to a pale yellow colour.

* See Vol. II. pp. 224. 239—240.

Both sexes wear necklaces, made of strings of small variegated shells; and an ornament, in the form of the handle of a cup, about two inches long, and half an inch broad, made of wood, stone, or ivory, finely polished, which is hung about the neck, by fine threads, of twisted hair, doubled sometimes an hundred fold. Instead of this ornament, some of them wear, on their breast, a small human figure, made of bone, suspended in the same manner. The fan, or fly-flap, is also an ornament used by both sexes. The most ordinary kind are made of the fibres of the cocoa-nut, tied loose, in bunches, to the top of a smooth polished handle. The tail-feathers of the cock, and of the tropic-bird, are also used in the same manner; but the most valuable are those which have the handle made of the arm or leg bones of an enemy slain in battle, and which are preserved with great care, and handed down, from father to son, as trophies of inestimable value.



NECKLACE AND PENDANT.

The custom of tattowing the body, they have in common with the rest of the natives of the South Sea Islands; but it is only at New Zealand and the Sandwich Islands that they tattow the face. There is also this difference between the two last, that, in the former, it is done in elegant spiral volutes, and in the latter, in straight lines, crossing each other at right angles. The hands and arms of the women are also very neatly marked, and they have a singular custom amongst them, the meaning of which we could never learn, that of tattowing the tip of the tongues of the females. From some information we received, relative to the custom of tattowing, we were inclined to think that it is frequently intended as a sign of mourning on the death of a chief, or any other calamitous event. For we were often told, that such a particular mark was in memory of such a chief; and so of the rest. It may be here, too, observed, that the lowest class are often tattowed with a mark that distinguishes them as the property of the several chiefs to whom they belong*.

FLY-FLAP.

The dress of the men generally consists only of a piece of thick cloth, called the *maro*, about ten or twelve inches broad, which they pass between the legs, and tie round the waist. This is the common dress of all ranks of people. Their mats, some of which are beautifully manufactured, are of various sizes, but mostly about five feet long and four broad. These they throw over their shoulders, and bring forward before; but they are seldom used, except in time of war, for which purpose they seem better adapted than for ordinary use, being of a thick and cumbersome texture, and capable of breaking the blow of a stone, or any blunt

* This is a singular circumstance, worthy of notice. We know that the New Zealanders affix an accurate copy of their *Amoco*, the tattooing of the face, to formal deeds, grants of lands, as their most binding signature, or evidence of the act; and this practice of tattooing the slaves with the master's mark may lead us to the true origin of heraldic signs, which not improbably originated in the sheep-folds.—Ed.

weapon. Their feet are generally bare, except when they have occasion to travel over the burnt stones, when they secure them with a sort of sandal, made of cords, twisted from the fibres of the cocoa-nut. Such is the ordinary dress of these islanders; but they have another, appropriated to their chiefs, and used on ceremonious occasions, consisting of a feathered cloak and helmet, which, in point of beauty and magnificence, is perhaps nearly equal to that of any nation in the world. As this dress has been already described with great accuracy and minuteness, I have only to add, that these cloaks are made of different lengths, in proportion to the rank of the wearer, some of them reaching no lower than the middle, others trailing on the ground. The inferior chiefs have also a short cloak, resembling the former, made of the long tail-feathers of the cock, the tropic and man-of-war birds, with a broad border of the small red and yellow feathers, and a collar of the same. Others again are made of feathers entirely white, with variegated borders. The helmet has a strong lining of wicker-work, capable of breaking the blow of any warlike instrument, and seems evidently designed for that purpose. These feathered dresses seemed to be exceedingly scarce, appropriated to persons of the highest rank, and worn by the men only. During the whole time we lay in Karakakooa Bay, we never saw them used but on three occasions: in the curious ceremony of Terreeoboo's first visit to the ships; by some chiefs who were seen among the crowd on shore when Captain Cook was killed; and afterward when Eappo brought his bones to us.

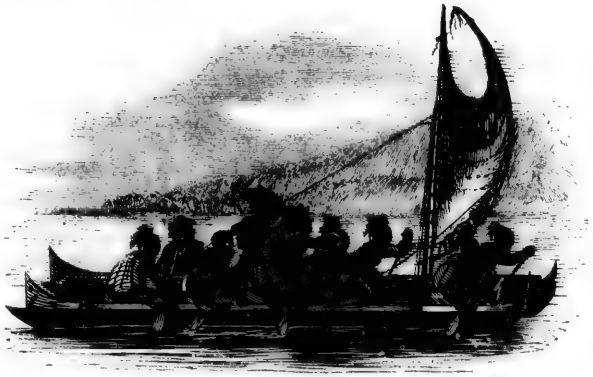
The exact resemblance between this habit, and the cloak and helmet formerly worn by the Spaniards, was too striking not to excite our curiosity to inquire whether there were any probable grounds for supposing it to have been borrowed from them. After exerting every means in our power of obtaining information on this subject, we found that they had no immediate knowledge of any other nation whatever; nor any tradition remaining among them of these islands having been ever visited before by such ships as ours. But notwithstanding the result of these inquiries, the uncommon form of this habit appears to me a sufficient proof of its European origin; especially when added to another circumstance, that it is a singular deviation from the general resemblance in dress which prevails amongst all the branches of this tribe dispersed through the South Sea. We were driven indeed, by this conclusion, to a supposition of the shipwreck of some Buccaneer or Spanish ship in the neighbourhood of these islands. But when it is recollected, that the course of the Spanish trade from Acapulco to the Manillas is but a few degrees to the southward of the Sandwich Islands, in their passage out, and to the northward, on their return, this supposition will not appear in the least improbable.

The common dress of the women bears a close resemblance to that of the men. They wrap round the waist a piece of cloth, that reaches half-way down the thighs; and sometimes, in the cool of the evening, they appeared with loose pieces of fine cloth thrown over their shoulders, like the women of Otaheite. The *pau* is another dress very frequently worn by the younger part of the sex. It is made of the thinnest and finest sort of cloth, wrapt several times round the waist, and descending to the leg; so as to have exactly the appearance of a full short petticoat. Their hair is cut short behind, and turned up before, as is the fashion among the Otaheiteans and New Zealanders; all of whom differ, in this respect, from the women of the Friendly Islands, who wear their hair long. We saw, indeed, one woman in Karakakooa Bay, whose hair was arranged in a very singular manner; it was turned up behind, and brought over the forehead, and then doubled back, so as to form a sort of shade to the face, like a small bonnet.

Their necklaces are made of shells, or of a hard, shining red berry. Besides which, they wear wreaths of dried flowers of the Indian mallow; and another beautiful ornament called *eraie*, which is generally put about the neck, but is sometimes tied like a garland round the hair, and sometimes worn in both these ways at once. It is a ruff of the thickness of a finger, made, in a curious manner, of exceedingly small feathers, woven so close together as to form a surface as smooth as that of the richest velvet. The ground was generally of a red colour, with alternate circles of green, yellow, and black. Their bracelets, which were also of great variety, and very peculiar kinds, have been already described. At Atooi, some of the women wore little figures of the turtle, neatly formed of wood or ivory, tied on their fingers

in the manner we wear rings. Why this animal is thus particularly distinguished, I leave to the conjectures of the curious. There is also an ornament made of shells, fastened in rows on a ground of strong netting, so as to strike each other when in motion; which both men and women, when they dance, tie either round the arm or the ankle, or below the knee. Instead of shells, they sometimes make use of dogs' teeth, and a hard red berry resembling that of the holly.

There remains to be mentioned another ornament, if such it may be called. It is a kind of mask, made of a large gourd, with holes cut in it for the eyes and nose. The top was stuck full of small green twigs, which, at a distance, had the appearance of an elegant waving plume: and from the lower part hung narrow strips of cloth, resembling a beard. We never saw these masks worn but twice, and both times by a number of people together in



MASKS IN A BOAT.

a canoe, who came to the side of the ship laughing and drolling, with an air of masquerading. Whether they may not likewise be used as a defence for the head against stones, for which they seem best designed, or in some of their public games, or be merely intended for the purposes of mummery, we could never inform ourselves.

It has already been remarked, in a few instances, that the natives of the Sandwich Islands approach nearer to the New Zealanders, in their manners and customs, than to either of their less distant neighbours of the Society or Friendly Islands. This is in nothing more observable, than in their method of living together in small towns or villages, containing from about one hundred to two hundred houses, built pretty close together, without any order, and having a winding path leading through them. They are generally flanked toward the sea, with loose detached walls, which probably are meant both for the purposes of shelter and defence. The figure of their houses has been already described. They are of different sizes, from eighteen feet by twelve, to forty-five by twenty-four. There are some of a larger kind; being fifty feet long and thirty broad, and quite open at one end. These, they told us, were designed for travellers or strangers, who were only making a short stay.

In addition to the furniture of their houses, which has been accurately described by Captain Cook, I have only to add, that at one end are mats on which they sleep, with wooden pillows, or sleeping stools, exactly like those of the Chinese. Some of the better sort of houses have a court-yard before them, neatly railed in, with smaller houses built round it, for their servants. In this area they generally eat, and sit during the day-time. In the sides of the hills, and among the steep rocks, we also observed several holes or caves, which appeared to be inhabited; but as the entrance was defended with wicker-work, and we also found, in the only one that was visited, a stone fence running across it within,

we imagine they are principally designed for places of retreat, in case of an attack from an enemy.

The food of the lower class of people consists principally of fish and vegetables; such as yams, sweet potatoes, tarrow, plantains, sugar-canes, and bread-fruit. To these, the people of a higher rank add the flesh of hogs and dogs, dressed in the same manner as at the Society Islands. They also eat fowls of the same domestic kind with ours; but they are neither plentiful nor much esteemed by them. It is remarked by Captain Cook, that the bread-fruit and yams appeared scarce amongst them, and were reckoned great rarities. We found this not to be the case on our second visit; and it is therefore most probable, that, as these vegetables were generally planted in the interior parts of the country, the natives had not had time to bring them down to us, during the short stay we made in Wymoa Bay. Their fish they salt, and preserve in gourd-shells; not, as we at first imagined, for the purpose of providing against any temporary scarcity, but from the preference they give to salted meats. For we also found that the *Erees* used to pickle pieces of pork in the same manner, and esteemed it a great delicacy.

Their cookery is exactly of the same sort with that already described in the accounts that have been published of the other South Sea Islands: and though Captain Cook complains of the sourness of their tarrow puddings, yet, in justice to the many excellent meals they afforded us in Karakakooa Bay, I must be permitted to rescue them from this general censure, and to declare, that I never ate better, even in the Friendly Islands. It is, however, remarkable, that they had not got the art of preserving the bread-fruit, and making the sour paste of it called *Maihee*, as at the Society Islands; and it was some satisfaction to us, in return for their great kindness and hospitality, to have it in our power to teach them this useful secret. They are exceedingly cleanly at their meals; and their mode of dressing both their animal and vegetable food was universally allowed to be greatly superior to ours. The chiefs constantly begin their meal with a dose of the extract of pepper-root, brewed after the usual manner. The women eat apart from the men, and are *tabooed*, or forbidden, as has been already mentioned, the use of pork, turtle, and particular kinds of plantains. However, they would eat pork with us in private; but we could never prevail upon them to touch the two last articles.

The way of spending their time appears to be very simple, and to admit of little variety. They rise with the sun; and, after enjoying the cool of the evening, retire to rest a few hours after sunset. The making of canoes and mats forms the occupations of the *Erees;* the women are employed in manufacturing cloth; and the *Towtows* are principally engaged in the plantations and fishing. Their idle hours are filled up with various amusements. Their young men and women are fond of dancing; and, on more solemn occasions, they have boxing and wrestling matches, after the manner of the Friendly Islands; though, in all these respects, they are much inferior to the latter.

Their dances have a much nearer resemblance to those of the New Zealanders, than of the Otaheiteans or Friendly Islanders. They are prefaced with a slow, solemn song, in which all the party join, moving their legs, and gently striking their breasts, in a manner and with attitudes that are perfectly easy and graceful; and so far they are the same with the dances of the Society Islands. When this has lasted about ten minutes, both the tune and the motions gradually quicken, and end only by their inability to support their fatigue; which part of the performance is the exact counterpart of that of the New Zealanders; and (as it is among them) the person who uses the most violent action, and holds out the longest, is applauded as the best dancer. It is to be observed, that, in this dance, the women only take a part, and that the dancing of the men is nearly of the same kind with what we saw of the small parties at the Friendly Islands; and which may, perhaps, with more propriety, be called the accompaniment of songs, with corresponding and graceful motions of the whole body. Yet, as we were spectators of boxing exhibitions of the same kind with those we were entertained with at the Friendly Islands, it is probable that they had likewise their grand ceremonious dances, in which numbers of both sexes assisted. Their music is also of a ruder kind, having neither flutes nor reeds, nor instruments of any other sort, that we saw, except drums of various sizes. But their songs, which they sung

in parts*, and accompany with a gentle motion of the arms, in the same manner as the Friendly Islanders, had a very pleasing effect.

It is very remarkable, that the people of these islands are great gamblers. They have a game very much like our draughts; but, if one may judge from the number of squares, it is much more intricate. The board is about two feet long, and is divided into two hundred and thirty-eight squares, of which there are fourteen in a row, and they make use of black and white pebbles, which they move from square to square. There is another game, which consists in hiding a stone under a piece of cloth, which one of the party spreads out, and rumples in such a manner, that the place where the stone lies is difficult to be distinguished. The antagonist, with a stick, then strikes the part of the cloth where he imagines the stone to be; and as the chances are, upon the whole, considerably against his hitting it, odds of all degrees, varying with the opinion of the skill of the parties, are laid on the side of him who hides.

Besides these games, they frequently amuse themselves with racing-matches between the boys and girls; and here again they wager with great spirit. I saw a man in a most violent rage, tearing his hair, and beating his breast, after losing three hatchets at one of these races which he had just before purchased from us with half his substance.

Swimming is not only a necessary art, in which both their men and women are more expert than any people we had hitherto seen, but a favourite diversion amongst them. One particular mode, in which they sometimes amused themselves with this exercise in Karakakooa Bay, appeared to us most perilous and extraordinary, and well deserving a distinct relation. The surf, which breaks on the coast round the bay, extends to the distance of about one hundred and fifty yards from the shore, within which space the surges of the sea, accumulating from the shallowness of the water, are dashed against the beach with prodigious violence. Whenever, from stormy weather, or any extraordinary swell at

* As this circumstance, of their singing in parts, has been much doubted by persons eminently skilled in music, and would be exceedingly curious if it was clearly ascertained, it is to be lamented that it cannot be more positively authenticated. Captain Burney and Captain Phillips of the Marines, who both have a tolerable knowledge of music, have given it as their opinion that they did sing in parts; that is to say, that they sung together in different notes, which formed a pleasing harmony. These gentlemen have fully testified, that the Friendly Islanders undoubtedly studied their performances before they were exhibited in public; that they had an idea of different notes being useful in harmony; and also, that they rehearsed their compositions in private, and threw out the inferior voices before they ventured to appear before those who were supposed to be judges of their skill in music.

In their regular concerts each man had a bamboo, which was of a different length, and gave a different tone: these they beat against the ground, and each performer, assisted by the note given by this instrument, repeated the same note, accompanying it by words, by which means it was rendered sometimes short and sometimes long. In this manner they sung in chorus, and not only produced octaves to each other, according to their different species of voice, but fell on concords, such as were not disagreeable to the ear.

Now, to overturn this fact by the reasoning of persons who did not hear those performances, is rather an arduous task. And yet there is great improbability that any uncivilised people should, by accident, arrive at this degree of perfection in the art of music, which we imagine can only be attained by dint of study, and knowledge of the system and theory upon which musical composition is founded. Such miserable jargon as our country psalm-singers practise, which may be justly deemed the lowest class of counterpoint, or singing in several parts, cannot be acquired in the coarse manner in which it is performed in the churches, without considerable time and practice. It is, therefore, scarcely credible, that a people semi-barbarous should naturally arrive at any perfection in that art which it is much doubted whether the Greeks and Romans, with all their refinements in music, ever attained, and which the Chinese, who have been longer civilised than any people on the globe, have not yet found out.

If Captain Burney (who, by the testimony of his father, perhaps the greatest musical theorist of this or any other age, was able to have done it) had written down, in European notes, the concords that these people sung, and if these concords had been such as European ears could tolerate, there would have been no longer doubt of the fact; but, as it is, it would, in my opinion, be a rash judgment to venture to affirm that they did or did not understand counterpoint; and therefore I fear that this curious matter must be considered as still remaining undecided.

[That the natives did sing in parts, and that although their knowledge was far from scientific, and depended wholly on the delicacy of ear which they possess, their songs were both pleasing and eloquent, is confirmed by the testimony of subsequent voyagers and resident missionaries. That their taste or their knowledge has been much improved by the introduction of English or American psalmody, is, and we are sorry to be obliged to say so, very doubtful. The sarcasm of Dr. Douglas, in the above note, when he refers to the church music of his day, is not wholly inapplicable to present times, but a better taste fortunately begins to prevail, and England may at length free herself from the stigma which, since the days of the Commonwealth, has too deservedly attached itself to her, that of being the most unmusical nation of Europe, and, instead of marring the native melodies of the natives of the South Seas, may help them to improve the harmonics of which they possessed some knowledge, however imperfect, when first we became acquainted with them.]—Ed.

sea, the impetuosity of the surf is increased to its utmost height, they choose that time for this amusement, which is performed in the following manner:—Twenty or thirty of the natives, taking each a long narrow board, rounded at the ends, set out together from the shore. The first wave they meet they plunge under, and suffering it to roll over them, rise again beyond it, and make the best of their way, by swimming, out into the sea. The second wave is encountered in the same manner with the first; the great difficulty consisting in seizing the proper moment of diving under it, which, if missed, the person is caught by the surf, and driven back again with great violence; and all his dexterity is then required to prevent himself from being dashed against the rocks. As soon as they have gained, by these repeated efforts, the smooth water beyond the surf, they lay themselves at length on their board, and prepare for their return. As the surf consists of a number of waves, of which every third is remarked to be always much larger than the others, and to flow higher on the shore, the rest breaking in the intermediate space, their first object is to place themselves on the summit of the largest surge, by which they are driven along with amazing rapidity toward the shore. If by mistake they should place themselves on one of the smaller waves, which breaks before they reach the land, or should not be able to keep their plank in a proper direction on the top of the swell, they are left exposed to the fury of the next, and, to avoid it, are obliged again to dive and regain the place from which they set out. Those who succeed in their object of reaching the shore, have still the greatest danger to encounter. The coast being guarded by a chain of rocks, with here and there a small opening between them, they are obliged to steer their board through one of these, or, in case of failure, to quit it before they reach the rocks, and, plunging under the wave, make the best of their way back again. This is reckoned very disgraceful, and is also attended with the loss of the board, which I have often seen, with great terror, dashed to pieces at the very moment the islander quitted it. The boldness and address with which we saw them perform these difficult and dangerous manœuvres was altogether astonishing, and is scarcely to be credited*. An accident, of which I was a near spectator, shows at how early a period they are so far familiarised to the water, as both to lose all fears of it, and to set its dangers at defiance. A canoe being overset, in which was a woman with her children, one of them an infant, who, I am convinced was not more than four years old, seemed highly delighted with what had happened, swimming about at its ease, and playing a hundred tricks, till the canoe was put to rights again.

Besides the amusements I have already mentioned, the young children have one which was much played at, and showed no small degree of dexterity. They take a short stick, with a peg sharpened at both ends, running through one extremity of it, and extending about an inch on each side; and throwing up a ball made of green leaves moulded together, and secured with twine, they catch it on the point of the peg; and immediately throwing it up again from the peg, they turn the stick round, and thus keep catching it on each peg alternately, without missing it, for a considerable time. They are not less expert at another game of the same nature, tossing up in the air and catching in their turns a number of these balls; so that we frequently saw little children thus keep in motion five at a time. With this latter play the young people likewise divert themselves at the Friendly Islands.

The great resemblance which prevails in the mode of agriculture and navigation amongst all the inhabitants of the South Sea Islands, leaves me very little to add on those heads. Captain Cook has already described the figure of the canoes we saw at Atooi. Those of the other islands were precisely the same; and the largest we saw was a double canoe belonging to Terreeoboo, which measured seventy feet in length, three and a half in depth, and twelve in breadth; and each was hollowed out of one tree.

The progress they have made in sculpture, their skill in painting cloth and the manufacturing of mats, have been all particularly described. The most curious specimens of the former which we saw during our second visit, are the bowls in which the chiefs drink *ava*. These are usually about eight or ten inches in diameter, perfectly round, and beautifully polished. They are supported by three, and sometimes four small human figures, in various

* An amusement somewhat similar to this at Otaheite has been described, Vol. II. p. 217.

attitudes. Some of them rest on the hands of their supporters, extended over the head; others on the head and hands, and some on the shoulders. The figures, I am told, are accurately proportioned and neatly finished, and even the anatomy of the muscles in supporting the weight well expressed.

Their cloth is made of the same materials and in the same manner as at the Friendly and Society Islands. That which is designed to be painted is of a thick and strong texture, several folds being beat and incorporated together; after which it is cut in breadths about two or three feet wide, and is painted in a variety of patterns, with a comprehensiveness and regularity of design that bespeaks infinite taste and fancy. The exactness with which the most intricate patterns are continued is the more surprising, when we consider that they have no stamps, and that the whole is done by the eye with pieces of bamboo cane dipped in paint, the hand being supported by another piece of the cane, in the manner practised by our painters. Their colours are extracted from the same berries and other vegetable substances as at Otaheite, which have been already described by former voyagers. The business of painting belongs entirely to the women, and is called *kipparee;* and it is remarkable, that they always gave the same name to our writing. The young women would often take the pen out of our hands, and show us that they knew the use of it as well as we did; at the same time telling us that our pens were not so good as theirs. They looked upon a sheet of written paper, as a piece of cloth striped after the fashion of our country; and it was not without the utmost difficulty, that we could make them understand, that our figures had a meaning in them which theirs had not.

Their mats are made of the leaves of the *pandanus*, and, as well as their cloths, are beautifully worked in a variety of patterns, and stained of different colours. Some have a ground of pale green, spotted with squares, or rhomboids of red; others are of a straw colour, spotted with green; and others are worked with beautiful stripes, either in straight or waving lines of red and brown. In this article of manufacture, whether we regard the strength, fineness, or beauty, they certainly excel the whole world.

Their fishing-hooks are made of mother-of-pearl, bone, or wood, pointed and barbed with small bones, or tortoise-shell. They are of various sizes and forms; but the most common are about two or three inches long, and made in the shape of a small fish, which serves as a bait, having a bunch of feathers tied to the head or tail. Those with which they fish for sharks are of a very large size, being generally six or eight inches long. Considering the materials of which these hooks are made, their strength and neatness are really astonishing; and in fact we found them upon trial much superior to our own. The line which they use for fishing, for making nets, and for other domestic purposes, is of different degrees of fineness, and is made of the bark of the *touta*, or cloth tree, neatly and evenly twisted, in the same manner as our common twine; and may be continued to any length. They have a finer sort, made of the bark of a small shrub called *areemah;* and the finest is made of human hair; but this last is chiefly used for things of ornament. They also make cordage of a stronger kind, for the rigging of their canoes, from the fibrous coatings of the cocoa-nuts. Some of this we purchased for our own use, and found it well adapted to the smaller kinds of running-rigging. They likewise make another sort of cordage, which is flat, and exceedingly strong, and used principally in lashing the roofing of their houses, or whatever they wish to fasten tight together. This last is not twisted like the former sorts, but is made of the fibrous strings of the cocoa-nut's coat, plaited with the fingers, in the manner our sailors make their points for the reefing of sails.

The gourds, which grow to so enormous a size, that some of them are capable of containing from ten to twelve gallons, are applied to all manner of domestic purposes; and in order to fit them the better to their respective uses, they have the ingenuity to give them different forms, by tying bandages round them during their growth. Thus, some of them are of a long cylindrical form, as best adapted to contain their fishing tackle; others are of a dish form, and these serve to hold their salt and salted provisions, their puddings, vegetables, &c.; which two sorts have neat close covers, made likewise of the gourd; others again are exactly the shape of a bottle with a long neck, and in these they keep their water. They have likewise a method of scoring them with a heated instrument, so as to give them the appearance of being painted, in a variety of neat and elegant designs.

Amongst their arts, we must not forget that of making salt, with which we were amply supplied, during our stay at these islands, and which was perfectly good of its kind. Their salt-pans are made of earth, lined with clay; being generally six or eight feet square, and about eight inches deep. They are raised upon a bank of stones near the high-water mark, from whence the salt water is conducted to the foot of them, in small trenches, out of which they are filled, and the sun quickly performs the necessary process of evaporation. The salt we procured at Atooi and Oneeheow, on our first visit, was of a brown and dirty sort; but that which we afterward got in Karakakooa Bay was white, and of a most excellent quality, and in great abundance. Besides the quantity we used in salting pork, we filled all our empty casks, amounting to sixteen puncheons, in the Resolution only.

Their instruments of war are spears; daggers, called pahooas; clubs, and slings. The spears are of two sorts, and made of a hard solid wood, which has much the appearance of mahogany. One sort is from six to eight feet in length, finely polished, and gradually increasing in thickness from the extremity till within about half a foot of the point, which tapers suddenly, and is furnished with four or six rows of barbs. It is not improbable, that these might be used in the way of darts. The other sort, with which we saw the warriors at Owhyhee and Atooi mostly armed, are twelve or fifteen feet long, and instead of being barbed, terminate toward the point, like their daggers. The dagger, or pahooa, is made of heavy black wood, resembling ebony. Its length is from one to two feet, with a string passing through the handle, for the purpose of suspending it to the arm. The clubs are made indifferently of several sorts of wood. They are of rude workmanship, and of a variety of shapes and sizes. The slings have nothing singular about them; and in no respect differ from our common slings, except that the stone is lodged on a piece of matting instead of leather.

CHAPTER VIII.—GENERAL ACCOUNT OF THE SANDWICH ISLANDS CONTINUED.—GOVERNMENT.—PEOPLE DIVIDED INTO THREE CLASSES.—POWER OF EREE-TABOO.—GENEALOGY OF THE KINGS OF OWHYHEE AND MOWEE.—POWER OF THE CHIEFS.—STATE OF THE INFERIOR CLASS. PUNISHMENT OF CRIMES.—RELIGION.—SOCIETY OF PRIESTS.—THE ORONO.—THEIR IDOLS. SONGS CHANTED BY THE CHIEFS, BEFORE THEY DRINK AVA.—HUMAN SACRIFICES.—CUSTOM OF KNOCKING OUT THE FORE-TEETH.—NOTIONS WITH REGARD TO A FUTURE STATE.—MARRIAGES.—REMARKABLE INSTANCE OF JEALOUSY.—FUNERAL RITES.

The people of these islands are manifestly divided into three classes. The first are the *Erees*, or chiefs, of each district; one of whom is superior to the rest, and is called at Owhyhee *Eree-taboo*, and *Eree Moee*. By the first of these words they express his absolute authority; and by the latter, that all are obliged to prostrate themselves (or put themselves to sleep, as the word signifies) in his presence. The second class are those who appear to enjoy a right of property, without authority. The third are the *towtows*, or servants, who have neither rank nor property. It is not possible to give anything like a systematical account of the subordination of these classes to each other, without departing from that strict veracity, which, in works of this nature, is more satisfactory than conjectures, however ingenious. I will therefore content myself with relating such facts as we were witnesses to ourselves, and such accounts as we thought could be depended upon; and shall leave the reader to form, from them, his own ideas of the nature of their government.

The great power and high rank of Terreeoboo, the *Eree-taboo* of Owhyhee, was very evident, from the manner in which he was received at Karakakooa on his first arrival. All the natives were seen prostrated at the entrance of their houses; and the canoes, for two days before, were *tabooed*, or forbidden to go out till he took off the restraint. He was, at this time, just returned from Mowee, for the possession of which he was contending in favour of his son Teewarro, who had married the daughter and only child of the late king of that island, against Taheeterree, his surviving brother. He was attended in this expedition by many of his warriors; but whether their service was voluntary, or the condition on which they hold their rank and property, we could not learn. That he collects tribute from the

subordinate chiefs, we had a very striking proof in the instance of Kaoo, which has been already related in our transactions of the 2d and 3d of February.

I have before mentioned, that the two most powerful chiefs of these islands are Terreeoboo of Owhyhee, and Perreeorannee of Woahoo; the rest of the smaller isles being subject to one or other of these; Mowee, and its dependencies, being, at this time, claimed, as we have just observed, by Terreeoboo for Teewarro his son and intended successor; Atooi and Oneeheow being governed by the grandsons of Perreeorannee.

The following genealogy of the Owhyhee and Mowee kings, which I collected from the priests, during our residence at the Morai in Karakakooa Bay, contains all the information I could procure relative to the political history of these islands. This account reaches to four chiefs, predecessors of the present; all of whom they represent to have lived to an old age. Their names and successions are as follow:

First, Poorahoo Awhykaia was king of Owhyhee, and had an only son, called Neerooagooa. At this time Mowee was governed by Mokoakea; who also an only son, named Papikaneeou. Secondly, Neerooagooa had three sons, the eldest named Kahavee; and Papikaneeou, of the Mowee race, had an only son, named Kaowreeka. Thirdly, Kahavee had an only son, Kayenewee a mummow; and Kaowreeka, the Mowee king, had two sons, Maiha-maiha, and Taheeterree; the latter of whom is now, by one party, acknowledged chief of Mowee. Fourthly, Kayenewee a mummow had two sons, Terreeoboo and Kaihooa; and Maiha-maiha, king of Mowee, had no son, bnt left a daughter, called Roaho. Fifthly, Terreeoboo, the present king of Owhyhee, had a son named Teewarro, by Rora-rora, the widow of Maiha-maiha, late king of Mowee; and this son has married Roaho, his half sister, in whose right he claims Mowee and its appendages.

Taheeterree, the brother of the late king, supported by a considerable party, who were not willing that the possessions should go into another family, took up arms, and opposed the rights of his niece. When we were first off Mowee, Terreeoboo was there with his warriors to support the claims of his wife, his son, and daughter-in-law, and had fought a battle with the opposite party, in which Taheeterree was worsted. We afterward understood, that matters had been compromised, and that Taheeterree is to have the possession of the three neighbouring islands during his life; that Teewarro is acknowledged the chief of Mowee, and will also succeed to the kingdom of Owhyhee on the death of Terreeoboo; and also to the sovereignty of the three islands, contiguous to Mowee, on the death of Taheeterree. Teewarro has been lately married to his half sister; and should he die without issue, the government of these islands descends to Maiha-maiha, whom we have often had occasion to mention, he being the son of Kaihooa, the deceased brother of Terreeoboo. Should he also die without issue, they could not tell who would succeed; for the two youngest sons of Terreeoboo, one of whom he appears to be exceedingly fond of, being born of a woman of no rank, would, from this circumstance, be debarred all right of succession. We had not an opportunity of seeing queen Rora-rora, whom Terreeoboo had left behind at Mowee; but we have already had occasion to take notice, that he was accompanied by Kanee Kaberaia, the mother of the two youths, to whom he was very much attached. From this account of the genealogy of the Owhyhee and Mowee monarchs, it is pretty clear that the government is hereditary; which also makes it very probable, that the inferior titles, and property itself, descend in the same course. With regard to Perreeorannee, we could only learn, that he is an *Eree-taboo;* that he was invading the possession of Taheeterree, but on what pretence we were not informed; and that his grandsons governed the islands to leeward.

The power of the *Erees* over the inferior classes of people appears to be very absolute. Many instances of this occurred daily during our stay amongst them, and have been already related. The people, on the other hand, pay them the most implicit obedience; and this state of servility has manifestly had a great effect in debasing both their minds and bodies. It is, however, remarkable, that the chiefs were never guilty, as far at least as came within my knowledge, of any acts of cruelty or injustice, or even of insolent behaviour toward them; though, at the same time, they exercised their power over one another in the most haughty and oppressive manner. Of this I shall give two instances. A chief of the lower order had

behaved with great civility to the master of the ship, when he went to examine Karakakooa bay, the day before the ship first arrived there; and, in return, I afterward carried him on board, and introduced him to Captain Cook, who invited him to dine with us. While we were at table, Pareea entered, whose face but too plainly manifested his indignation, at seeing our guest in so honourable a situation. He immediately seized him by the hair of the head, and was proceeding to drag him out of the cabin, when the captain interfered; and, after a great deal of altercation, all the indulgence we could obtain, without coming to a quarrel with Pareea, was, that our guest should be suffered to remain, being seated upon the floor, whilst Pareea filled his place at the table. At another time, when Terreeoboo first came on board the Resolution, Maiha-maiha, who attended him, finding Pareea on deck, turned him out of the ship in the most ignominious manner; and yet Pareea, we certainly knew, to be a man of the first consequence.

How far the property of the lower class is secured against the rapacity and despotism of the great chiefs, I cannot say; but it should seem, that it is sufficiently protected against private theft, or mutual depredation. For not only their plantations, which are spread over the whole country, but also their houses, their hogs, and their cloth, were left unguarded, without the smallest apprehensions. I have already remarked, that they not only separate their possessions by walls in the plain country, but that, in the woods likewise, wherever the horse-plantains grow, they make use of small white flags, in the same manner, and for the same purpose of discriminating property, as they do bunches of leaves at Otaheite. All which circumstances, if they do not amount to proofs, are strong indications that the power of the chiefs, where property is concerned, is not arbitrary; but, at least, so far circumscribed and ascertained, as to make it worth the while for the inferior orders to cultivate the soil, and to occupy their possessions distinct from each other. With respect to the administration of justice, all the information we could collect was very imperfect and confined. Whenever any of the lowest class of people had a quarrel amongst themselves, the matter in dispute was referred to the decision of some chief, probably the chief of the district, or the person to whom they appertained. If an inferior chief had given cause of offence to one of a higher rank, the feelings of the latter at the moment seemed the only measure of his punishment. If he had the good fortune to escape the first transports of his superior's rage, he generally found means, through the mediation of some third person, to compound for his crime by a part or the whole of his property and effects. These were the only facts that came to our knowledge on this head.

The religion of these people resembles, in most of its principal features, that of the Society and Friendly Islands. Their Morais, their Whattas, their idols, their sacrifices, and their sacred songs, all of which they have in common with each other, are convincing proofs, that their religious notions are derived from the same source. In the length and number of their ceremonies, this branch indeed far exceeds the rest; and though in all these countries, there is a certain class of men, to whose care the performance of their religious rites is committed; yet we had never met with a regular society of priests, till we discovered the cloisters of Kakooa in Karakakooa Bay. The head of this order was called Orono *; a title which we imagined to imply something highly sacred, and which, in the person of Omeeah, was honoured almost to adoration. It is probable, that the privilege of entering into this order (at least as to the principal offices in it,) is limited to certain families. Omeeah, the Orono, was the son of Kaoo, and the uncle of Kaireekeea; which last presided, during the absence of his grandfather, in all religious ceremonies at the Morai. It was also remarked, that the child of Omeeah, an only son, about five years old, was never suffered to appear without a number of attendants, and such other marks of care and solicitude, as we saw no other like instance of. This seemed to indicate, that his life was an object of the greatest moment, and that he was destined to succeed to the high rank of his father. It has been mentioned, that the title of Orono, with all its honours, was given to Captain Cook; and it is also certain, that they regarded us, generally, as a race of people superior to themselves; and used often

* The meaning of this word has been before explained, in note, page 372. These priests were attached to the service of Orono, and hence the title of their chief.—Ed.

to say, that great Eatooa dwelled in our country. The little image, which we have before described, as the favourite idol on the Morai in Karakakooa Bay, they call *Koonooraekaiee*, and said it was Terreeoboo's god; and that he also resided amongst us.

There are found an infinite variety of these images, both on the Morais, and within and without their houses, to which they gave different names; but it soon became obvious to us in how little estimation they were held, from their frequent expressions of contempt of them, and from their even offering them to sale for trifles. At the same time, there seldom failed to be some one particular figure in favour, to which, whilst this performance lasted, all their adoration was addressed. This consisted in arraying it in red cloth; beating their drums, and singing hymns before it; laying bunches of red feathers, and different sorts of vegetables, at its feet; and exposing a pig, or a dog, to rot on the whatta that stood near it. In a bay to the southward of Karakakooa, a party of our gentlemen were conducted to a large house, in which they found the black figure of a man, resting on his fingers and toes, with his head inclined backward; the limbs well formed and exactly proportioned, and the whole beautifully polished. This figure the natives called *Maee;* and round it were placed thirteen others of rude and distorted shapes, which they said were the Eatooas of several deceased chiefs, whose names they recounted. The place was full of whattas, on which lay the remains of their offerings. They likewise give a place in their houses to many ludicrous and some obscene idols, like the Priapus of the ancients.

It hath been remarked, by former voyagers, that both among the Society and Friendly Islanders, an adoration is paid to particular birds; and I am led to believe, that the same custom prevails here; and that, probably, the raven is the object of it, from seeing two of these birds tame at the village of Kakooa, which they told me were Eatooas; and, refusing everything I offered for them, cautioned me, at the same time, not to hurt or offend them. Amongst their religious ceremonies may be reckoned the prayers and offerings made by the priests before their meals. Whilst the ava is chewing, of which they always drink before they begin their repast, the person of the highest rank takes the lead, in a sort of hymn, in which he is presently joined by one, two, or more of the company; the rest moving their bodies, and striking their hands gently together, in concert with the singers. When the ava is ready, cups of it are handed about, to those who do not join in the song, which they keep in their hands till it is ended; when, uniting in one loud response, they drink off their cup. The performers of the hymn are then served with ava, who drink it after a repetition of the same ceremony; and, if there be present one of a very superior rank, a cup is, last of all presented to him, which, after chanting some time alone, and being answered by the rest, and pouring a little out on the ground, he drinks off. A piece of the flesh that is dressed is next cut off, without any selection of the part of the animal; which, together with some of the vegetables, being deposited at the foot of the image of the Eatooa, and a hymn chanted, their meal commences. A ceremony of much the same kind is also performed by the chiefs, whenever they drink ava, between their meals.

Human sacrifices are more frequent here, according to the account of the natives themselves, than in any other islands we visited. These horrid rites are not only had recourse to upon the commencement of war and preceding great battles, and other signal enterprises; but the death of any considerable chief calls for a sacrifice of one or more *Towtows*, according to his rank; and we were told, that ten men were destined to suffer on the death of Terreeoboo. What may (if anything possibly can) lessen, in some small degree, the horror of this practice, is, that the unhappy victims have not the most distant intimation of their fate. Those who are fixed upon to fall, are set upon with clubs wherever they happen to be; and, after being despatched, are brought dead to the place where the remainder of the rites are completed. The reader will here call to his remembrance the skulls of the captives that had been sacrificed at the death of some great chief, and which were fixed on the rails round the top of the Morai at Kakooa. We got a farther piece of intelligence upon this subject at the village of Kowrowa; where, on our inquiring into the use of a small piece of ground, inclosed with a stone wall, we were told that it was an *Here-eere*, or burying-ground of a chief; and there, added our informer, pointing to one of the corners, lie the *tangata* and *waheene taboo*, or the man and woman who were sacrificed at his funeral.

To this class of their customs may also be referred that of knocking out their fore-teeth. Scarce any of the lower people, and very few of the chiefs, were seen, who had not lost one or more of them; and we always understood, that this voluntary punishment, like the cutting off the joints of the finger at the Friendly Islands, was not inflicted on themselves from the violence of grief on the death of their friends, but was designed as a propitiatory sacrifice to the *Eatooa*, to avert any danger or mischief to which they might be exposed.

We were able to learn but little of their notions with regard to a future state. Whenever we asked them, whither the dead were gone? we were always answered, that the breath, which they appeared to consider as the soul, or immortal part, was gone to the *Eatooa;* and, on pushing our inquiries farther, they seemed to describe some particular place, where they imagined the abode of the deceased to be; but we could not perceive, that they thought, in this state, either rewards or punishments awaited them.

Having promised the reader, in the first chapter, an explanation of what was meant by the word *taboo,* I shall, in this place, lay before him the particular instances that fell under our observation, of its application and effects. On our inquiring into the reasons of the interdiction of all intercourse between us and the natives, the day preceding the arrival of Terreeoboo, we were told, that the bay was *tabooed.* The same restriction took place at our request, the day we interred the bones of Captain Cook. In these two instances the natives paid the most implicit and scrupulous obedience; but whether on any religious principle, or merely in deference to the civil authority of their chiefs, I cannot determine. When the ground near our observatories, and the place where our masts lay, were *tabooed,* by sticking small wands round them, this operated in a manner not less efficacious. But though this mode of consecration was performed by the priests only, yet still, as the men ventured to come within the space, when invited by us, it should seem, that they were under no religious apprehensions; and that their obedience was limited to our refusal only. The women could, by no means, be induced to come near us; but this was probably on account of the Morai adjoining; which they are prohibited, at all times, and in all the islands of those seas, from approaching. Mention hath been already made, that women are always *tabooed,* or forbidden to eat certain kind of meats. We also frequently saw several at their meals, who had the meat put into their mouths by others; and, on our asking the reason of this singularity, were told that they were *tabooed,* or forbidden to feed themselves. This prohibition, we understood, was always laid on them, after they had assisted at any funeral, or touched a dead body, and also on other occasions. It is necessary to observe, that, on these occasions, they apply the word *taboo* indifferently both to persons and things. Thus they say, the natives were *tabooed,* or the bay was *tabooed,* and so of the rest. This word is also used to express anything sacred, or eminent, or devoted. Thus the king of Owhyhee was called *Eree-taboo;* a human victim *tangata-taboo;* and, in the same manner, among the Friendly Islanders, Tonga, the island where the king resides, is named *Tonga-taboo.*

Concerning their marriages, I can afford the reader little farther satisfaction than informing him that such a relation or compact exists amongst them. I have already had occasion to mention, that at the time Terreeoboo had left his queen Rora-rora at Mowee, he was attended by another woman, by whom he had children, and to whom he was very much attached; but how far polygamy, properly speaking, is allowed, or how far it is mixed with concubinage, either with respect to the king, the chiefs, or among the inferior orders, too few facts came to our knowledge to justify any conclusions. It hath also been observed, that, except Kainee Kabareea, and the wife of the Orono, with three women whom I shall have occasion hereafter to mention, we never saw any female of high rank. From what I had an opportunity of observing of the domestic concerns of the lowest class, the house seemed to be under the direction of one man and woman, and the children in the like state of subordination as in civilised countries.

It will not be improper in this place to take notice, that we were eye-witnesses of a fact, which, as it was the only instance we saw of anything like jealousy among them, shows at the same time that not only fidelity but a degree of reserve is required from the married women of consequence. At one of the entertainments of boxing, Omeeah was observed to

rise from his place two or three times, and to go up to his wife with strong marks of displeasure, ordering her, as it appeared to us from his manner, to withdraw. Whether it was, that being very handsome he thought she drew too much of our attention; or without being able to determine what other reason he might have for his conduct, it is but justice to say that there existed no real cause of jealousy. However, she kept her place; and when the entertainment was over joined our party, and soliciting some trifling presents, was given to understand that we had none about us, but that if she would accompany us toward our tent she should return with such as she liked best. She was accordingly walking along with us, which Omeeah observing, followed in a violent rage, and seizing her by the hair began to inflict with his fists a severe corporal punishment. This sight, especially as we had innocently been the cause of it, gave us much concern, and yet we were told that it would be highly improper to interfere between man and wife of such high rank. We were, however, not left without the consolation of seeing the natives at last interpose; and had the farther satisfaction of meeting them together the next day, in perfect good humour with each other; and what is still more singular, the lady would not suffer us to remonstrate with her husband on his treatment of her, which we were much inclined to do, and plainly told us that he had done no more than he ought.

Whilst I was ashore at the observatory at Karakakooa Bay, I had twice an opportunity of seeing a considerable part of their funeral rites. Intelligence was brought me of the death of an old chief in a house near our observatories, soon after the event happened. On going to the place, I found a number of people assembled and seated round a square area, fronting the house in which the deceased lay, whilst a man in a red-feathered cap advanced from an interior part of the house to the door, and putting out his head, at almost every moment uttered a most lamentable howl, accompanied with the most singular grimaces and violent distortions of his face that can be conceived. After this had passed a short time, a large mat was spread upon the area, and two men and thirteen women came out of the house and seated themselves down upon it, in three equal rows, the two men and three of the women being in front. The necks and hands of the women were decorated with feathered ruffs, and broad green leaves, curiously scolloped, were spread over their shoulders. At one corner of this area, near a small hut, were half a dozen boys waving small white banners, and the tufted wands or *taboo* sticks which have been often mentioned in the former chapters, who would not permit us to approach them. This led me to imagine that the dead body might be deposited in this little hut; but I afterward understood that it was in the house where the man in the red cap opened the rites, by playing his tricks at the door. The company just mentioned being seated on the mat, began to sing a melancholy tune, accompanied with a slow and gentle motion of the body and arms. When this had continued some time, they raised themselves on their knees, and in a posture between kneeling and sitting, began by degrees to move their arms and their bodies with great rapidity, the tune always keeping pace with their motions. As these last exertions were too violent to continue long, they resumed at intervals their slower movements; and after this performance had lasted an hour, more mats were brought and spread upon the area, and four or five elderly women, amongst whom I was told was the dead chief's wife, advanced slowly out of the house, and seating themselves in the front of the first company, began to cry and wail most bitterly, the women in the three rows behind joining them, whilst the two men inclined their heads over them in a very melancholy and pensive attitude. At this period of the rites, I was obliged to leave them to attend at the observatory, but returning within half an hour found them in the same situation. I continued with them till late in the evening, and left them proceeding with little variation, as just described, resolving, however, to attend early in the morning to see the remainder of the ceremony. On my arrival at the house, as soon as it was day, I found to my mortification the crowd dispersed and everything quiet, and was given to understand that the corpse was removed, nor could I learn in what manner it was disposed of. I was interrupted in making farther inquiries for this purpose by the approach of three women of rank, who, whilst their attendants stood near them with their fly-flaps, sat down by us, and entering into conversation, soon made me comprehend that our presence was a hindrance to the performance of some necessary rites. I had hardly

got out of sight before I heard their cries and lamentations; and meeting them a few hours afterward, I found they had painted the lower part of their faces perfect black.

The other opportunity I had of observing these ceremonies was in the case of an ordinary person, when, on hearing some mournful female cries issue from a miserable-looking hut, I ventured into it, and found an old woman with her daughter weeping over the body of an elderly man who had but just expired, being still warm. The first step they took was to cover the body with cloth, after which, lying down by it, they drew the cloth over themselves, and then began a mournful kind of song, frequently repeating, *Aweh medoaah! Aweh tanee!* Oh my father! Oh my husband! A younger daughter was also at the same time lying prostrate in a corner of the house, covered over with black cloth, repeating the same words. On leaving this melancholy scene, I found at the door a number of their neighbours collected together, and listening to their cries with profound silence. I was resolved not to miss this opportunity of seeing in what manner they dispose of the body; and therefore, after satisfying myself before I went to bed that it was not then removed, I gave orders that the sentries should walk backward and forward before the house, and in case they suspected any measures were taking for the removal of the body, to give me immediate notice. However, the sentries had not kept a good look-out, for in the morning I found the body was gone. On inquiring what they had done with it? they pointed toward the sea, indicating most probably thereby that it had been committed to the deep, or perhaps that it had been carried beyond the bay, to some burying-ground in another part of the country. The chiefs are interred in the Morais, or *Heree-erees*, with the men sacrificed on the occasion by the side of them; and we observed that the Morai where the chief had been buried, who, as I have already mentioned, was killed in the cave after so stout a resistance, was hung round with red cloth.

BOOK VI.

TRANSACTIONS DURING THE SECOND EXPEDITION TO THE NORTH, BY THE WAY OF KAMTSCHATKA; AND ON THE RETURN HOME, BY THE WAY OF CANTON AND THE CAPE OF GOOD HOPE.

CHAPTER I.—DEPARTURE FROM ONEEHEOW.—FRUITLESS ATTEMPT TO DISCOVER MODOOPAPAPPA.—COURSE STEERED FOR AWATSKA BAY.—OCCURRENCES DURING THAT PASSAGE.—SUDDEN CHANGE FROM HEAT TO COLD.—DISTRESS OCCASIONED BY THE LEAKING OF THE RESOLUTION.—VIEW OF THE COAST OF KAMTSCHATKA.—EXTREME RIGOUR OF THE CLIMATE.—LOSE SIGHT OF THE DISCOVERY.—THE RESOLUTION ENTERS THE BAY OF AWATSK.—PROSPECT OF THE TOWN OF ST. PETER AND ST. PAUL.—PARTY SENT ASHORE.—THEIR RECEPTION BY THE COMMANDING OFFICER OF THE PORT.—MESSAGE DESPATCHED TO THE COMMANDER AT BOLCHERETSK.—ARRIVAL OF THE DISCOVERY.—RETURN OF THE MESSENGERS FROM THE COMMANDER.—EXTRAORDINARY MODE OF TRAVELLING.—VISIT FROM A MERCHANT, AND A GERMAN SERVANT BELONGING TO THE COMMANDER.

On the 15th of March, at seven in the morning, we weighed anchor, and passing to the north of Tahoora, stood on to the south-west, in hopes of falling in with the island of Modoopapappa, which, we were told by the natives, lay in that direction, about five hours' sail from Tahoora. At four in the afternoon, we were overtaken by a stout canoe, with ten men, who were going from Oneeheow to Tahoora, to kill tropic and man-of-war birds, with which that place was said to abound. It has been mentioned before, that the feathers of these birds are in great request, being much used in making their cloaks, and other ornamental parts of their dress. At eight, having seen nothing of the island, we hauled the wind to the northward, till midnight, and then tacked, and stood on a wind to the south-east, till daylight next morning,

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at which time Tahoora bore east north-east, five or six leagues distant. We afterwards steered west south-west, and made the Discovery's signal to spread four miles upon our starboard beam. At noon, our latitude was 21° 27′, and our longitude 198° 42′; and having stood on till five in the same direction, we made the Discovery's signal to come under our stern, and gave over all hopes of seeing Modoopapappa. We conceived that it might probably lie in a more southerly direction from Tahoora than that in which we had steered; though, after all, it is possible, that we might have passed it in the night, as the islanders described it to be very small, and almost even with the surface of the sea.

The next day we steered west; it being Captain Clerke's intention to keep as near as possible in the same parallel of latitude, till we should make the longitude of Awatska Bay, and afterwards to steer due north for the harbour of St. Peter and St. Paul in that bay; which was also appointed for our rendezvous, in case of separation. This track was chosen on account of its being, as far as we knew, unexplored; and we were not without hopes of falling in with some new islands on our passage. We had scarcely seen a bird since our losing sight of Tahoora, till the 18th in the afternoon, when being in the latitude of 21° 12′, and the longitude of 194° 45′, the appearance of a great many boobies, and some man-of-war birds, made us keep a sharp look-out for land. Toward evening the wind lessened, and the north-east swell, which, on the 16th and 17th, had been so heavy, as to make the ships labour exceedingly, was much abated. The next day, we saw no appearance of land; and at noon, we steered a point more to the southward, viz. west by south, in the hopes of finding the trade-winds (which blew almost invariably from the east by north) fresher as we advanced within the tropic. It is somewhat singular, that though we saw no birds in the forenoon, yet toward evening we had again a number of boobies and man-of-war birds about us. This seemed to indicate, that we had passed the land from whence the former flights had come, and that we were approaching some other low island.

The wind continued very moderate, with fine weather, till the 23d, when it freshened from the north-east by east, and increased to a strong gale, which split some of our old sails, and made the running rigging very frequently give way. This gale lasted twelve hours; it then became more moderate, and continued so, till the 25th at noon, when we entirely lost it, and had only a very light air. On the 26th in the morning, we thought we saw land to the west south-west, but, after running about sixteen leagues in that direction we found our mistake; and night coming on, we again steered west. Our latitude, at this time, was 19° 45′, which was the greatest southing we made in this run; our longitude was 183°, and variation 12° 45′ E. We continued in this course, with little alteration in the wind, till the 29th, when it shifted to the south-east and south south-east, and, for a few hours in the night, it was in the west; the weather being dark and cloudy, with much rain. We had met, for some days past, several turtles, one of which was the smallest I ever saw, not exceeding three inches in length. We were also accompanied by man-of-war birds, and boobies of an unusual kind, being quite white, (except the tip of the wing, which was black), and easily mistaken, at first sight, for gannets.

The light winds which we had met with for some time past, with the present unsettled state of the weather, and the little appearance of any change for the better, induced Captain Clerke to alter his plan of keeping within the tropical latitudes; and accordingly, at six this evening, we began to steer north-west by north, at which time our latitude was 20° 23′, and our longitude 180° 40′. During the continuance of the light winds, which prevailed almost constantly ever since our departure from the Sandwich Islands, the weather was very close, and the air hot and sultry; the thermometer being generally at 80°, and sometimes at 83°. All this time, we had a considerable swell from the north-east; and in no period of the voyage did the ships roll and strain so violently. In the morning of the 1st of April, the wind changed from the south-east to the north-east by east, and blew a fresh breeze, till the morning of the 4th, when it altered two points more to the east, and by noon increased to a strong gale, which lasted till the afternoon of the 5th, attended with hazy weather. It then again altered its direction to the south-east, became more moderate, and was accompanied by heavy showers of rain. During all this time we kept steering to the north-west, against a slow, but regular current from that quarter, which caused a constant variation

from our reckoning by the log, of fifteen miles a day. On the 4th, being then in the latitude 26° 17′, and longitude 173° 30′, we passed prodigious quantities of what sailors call Portuguese men-of-war (*holothuria physalis*), and were also accompanied by a great number of sea-birds, amongst which we observed, for the first time, the albatross and sheerwater.

On the 6th, at noon, we lost the trade-wind, and were suddenly taken aback, with the wind from the north north-west. At this time, our latitude was 29° 50′, and our longitude 170° 1′. As the old running-ropes were constantly breaking in the late gales, we reeved what new ones we had left, and made such other preparations, as were necessary for the very different climate which we were now shortly to encounter. The fine weather we met with between the tropics, had not been idly spent. The carpenters found sufficient employment in repairing the boats. The best bower-cable had been so much damaged by the foul ground in Karakakooa Bay, and whilst we were at anchor off Oneeheow, that we were obliged to cut forty fathoms from it; in converting of which, with other old cordage, into spun-yarn, and applying it to different uses, a considerable part of the people were kept constantly employed by the boatswain. The airing of sails and other stores, which from the leakiness of the decks and sides of the ships, were perpetually subject to be wet, had now become a frequent as well as a laborious and troublesome part of our duty.

Besides these cares, which had regard only to the ships themselves, there were others, which had for their object the preservation of the health of the crews, that furnished a constant occupation to a great number of our hands. The standing orders established by Captain Cook, of airing the bedding, placing fires between decks, washing them with vinegar, and smoking them with gunpowder, were observed without any intermission. For some time past, even the operation of mending the sailors' old jackets had risen into a duty both of difficulty and importance. It may be necessary to inform those who are unacquainted with the disposition and habits of seamen, that they are so accustomed in ships of war to be directed in the care of themselves by their officers, that they lose the very idea of foresight, and contract the thoughtlessness of infants. I am sure, that if our people had been left to their own discretion alone, we should have had the whole crew naked, before the voyage had been half finished. It was natural to expect that their experience, during our voyage to the north last year, would have made them sensible of the necessity of paying some attention to these matters; but if such reflections ever occurred to them, their impression was so transitory, that upon our return to the tropical climates, their fur jackets, and the rest of their cold country clothes, were kicked about the decks as things of no value; though it was generally known, in both ships, that we were to make another voyage toward the pole. They were, of course, picked up by the officers; and, being put into casks, restored about this time to their owners.

In the afternoon, we observed some of the sheathing floating by the ship; and, on examination, found that twelve or fourteen feet had been washed off from under the larboard bow, where we supposed the leak to have been, which, ever since our leaving Sandwich Islands, had kept the people almost constantly at the pumps, making twelve inches water an hour. This day we saw a number of small crabs, of a pale blue colour; and had again in company a few albatrosses and sheerwaters. The thermometer, in the night-time, sank eleven degrees; and although it still remained as high as 59°, yet we suffered much from the cold; our feelings being, as yet, by no means reconciled to that degree of temperature. The wind continued blowing fresh from the north, till the eighth, in the morning, when it became more moderate, with fair weather, and gradually changed its direction to the east, and afterward to the south.

On the ninth, at noon, our latitude was 32° 16′, our longitude 166° 40′, and the variation 8° 30′ E. And on the tenth, having crossed the track of the Spanish galleons from the Manillas to Acapulco, we expected to have fallen in with the island of Rica de Plata, which, according to De Lisle's chart, in which the route of those ships is laid down, ought to have been in sight; its latitude, as there given, being 33° 30′ N., and its longitude 166° E. Notwithstanding we were so far advanced to the northward, we saw this day a tropic bird, and also several other kinds of sea-birds; such as puffins, sea-parrots, sheerwaters, and albatrosses. On the eleventh, at noon, we were in latitude 35° 30′, longitude 165° 45′;

and during the course of the day had sea-birds, as before, and passed several bunches of sea-weed. About the same time, the Discovery passed a log of wood; but no other signs of land were seen.

The next day the wind came gradually round to the east, and increased to so strong a gale as obliged us to strike our top-gallant yards, and brought us under the lower sails, and the main top-sail close reefed. Unfortunately we were upon that tack which was the most disadvantageous for our leak. But, as we had always been able to keep it under with the hand-pumps, it gave us no great uneasiness till the 13th, about six in the afternoon, when we were greatly alarmed by a sudden inundation, that deluged the whole space between decks. The water, which had lodged in the coal-hole, not finding a sufficient vent into the well, had forced up the platforms over it, and in a moment set everything afloat. Our situation was indeed exceedingly distressing; nor did we immediately see any means of relieving ourselves. A pump through the upper decks into the coal-hole could answer no end, as it would very soon have been choked up by the small coals; and, to bale the water out with buckets was become impracticable, from the number of bulky materials that were washed out of the gunner's store-room into it, and which, by the ship's motion, were tossed violently from side to side. No other method was therefore left, but to cut a hole through the bulk-head (or partition) that separated the coal-hole from the fore-hold, and by that means to make a passage for the body of water into the well. However, before that could be done, it was necessary to get the casks of dry provisions out of the fore-hold, which kept us employed the greatest part of the night; so that the carpenters could not get at the partition till the next morning. As soon as a passage was made, the greatest part of the water emptied itself into the well, and enabled us to get out the rest with buckets. But the leak was now so much increased, that we were obliged to keep one half of the people constantly pumping and baleing till the noon of the 15th. Our men bore with great cheerfulness this excessive fatigue, which was much increased by their having no dry place to sleep in; and on this account we began to serve their full allowance of grog.

The weather now becoming more moderate, and the swell less heavy, we were enabled to clear away the rest of the casks from the fore-hold, and to open a sufficient passage for the water to the pumps. This day we saw a greenish piece of drift-wood, and fancying the water coloured, we sounded, but got no bottom with a hundred and sixty fathoms of line. Our latitude, at noon this day, was 41° 52′, longitude 161° 15′; variation 6° 30′ east; and the wind soon after veering to the northward, we altered our course three points to the west. On the 16th, at noon, we were in the latitude of 42° 12′, and in the longitude of 160° 5′; and as we were now approaching the place where a great extent of land is said to have been seen by De Gama, we were glad of the opportunity which the course we were steering gave of contributing to remove the doubts, if any should be still entertained, respecting the falsehood of this pretended discovery. For it is to be observed, that no one has ever yet been able to find who John de Gama was, when he lived, or what year this pretended discovery was made. According to Mr. Muller, the first account of it given to the public was in a chart published by Texeira, a Portuguese geographer, in 1649, who places it in ten or twelve degrees to the north-east of Japan, between the latitudes of 44° and 45°; and announces it to be land seen by John de Gama, the Indian, in a voyage from China to New Spain. On what grounds the French geographers have since removed it five degrees to the eastward, does not appear; except we suppose it to have been in order to make room for another discovery of the same kind made by the Dutch, called Company's Land; of which we shall have occasion to speak hereafter.

During the whole day, the wind was exceedingly unsettled, being seldom steady to two or three points, and blowing in fresh gusts, which were succeeded by dead calms. These were not unpromising appearances; but, after standing off and on the whole of this day without seeing anything of the land, we again steered to the northward, not thinking it worth our while to lose time in search of an object, the opinion of whose existence had been already pretty generally exploded. Our people were employed the whole of the 16th in getting their wet things to dry, and in airing the ships below.

We now began to feel very sharply the increasing inclemency of the northern climate. In

the morning of the 18th, our latitude being 45° 40′, and our longitude 160° 25′, we had snow and sleet, accompanied with strong gales from the south-west. This circumstance will appear very remarkable, if we consider the season of the year, and the quarter from which the wind blew. On the 19th, the thermometer in the daytime remained at the freezing point, and at four in the morning fell to 29°. If the reader will take the trouble to compare the degree of heat during the hot sultry weather we had at the beginning of this month, with the extreme cold which we now endured, he will conceive how severely so rapid a change must have been felt by us. In the gale of the 18th, we had split almost all the sails we had bent, which being our second-best suit, we were now reduced to make use of our last and best set. To add to Captain Clerke's difficulties, the sea was in general so rough, and the ships so leaky, that the sail-makers had no place to repair the sails in, except his apartments, which, in his declining state of health, was a serious inconvenience to him.

On the 20th, at noon, being in latitude 49° 45′ N., and longitude 161° 15′ E., and eagerly expecting to fall in with the coast of Asia, the wind shifted suddenly to the north, and continued in the same quarter the following day. However, although it retarded our progress, yet the fair weather it brought was no small refreshment to us. In the forenoon of the 21st we saw a whale, and a land-bird; and, in the afternoon, the water looking muddy, we sounded, but got no ground with a hundred and forty fathoms of line. During the three preceding days we saw large flocks of wild-fowl, of a species resembling ducks. This is usually considered as a proof of the vicinity of land; but we had no other signs of it, since the 16th, in which time we had run upwards of a hundred and fifty leagues. On the 22nd, the wind shifted to the north-east, attended with misty weather. The cold was exceedingly severe, and the ropes were so frozen, that it was with difficulty we could force them through the blocks. At noon, the latitude, by account, was 51° 38′, longitude 160° 7′; and on comparing our present position with that given to the southern parts of Kamtschatka in the Russian charts, Captain Clerke did not think it prudent to run on toward the land all night. We therefore tacked at ten; and having sounded, had ground, agreeably to our conjectures, with seventy fathoms of line.

On the 23rd, at six in the morning, being in latitude 52° 09′, and longitude 160° 07′, on the fog clearing away, the land appeared in mountains covered with snow, and extending from north three-quarters east, to south-west; a high conical rock, bearing south-west three quarters west, at three or four leagues' distance. We had no sooner taken this imperfect view, than we were again covered with a thick fog. Being now, according to our maps, only eight leagues from the entrance of Awatska Bay, as soon as the weather cleared up we stood in to take a nearer view of the land; and a more dismal and dreary prospect I never beheld. The coast appears straight and uniform, having no inlets or bays; the ground from the shore rises in hills of a moderate elevation, behind which are ranges of mountains, whose summits were lost in the clouds. The whole scene was entirely covered with snow, except the sides of some of the cliffs, which rose too abruptly from the sea for the snow to lie upon them.

The wind continued blowing very strong from the north-east, with thick hazy weather and sleet, from the 24th till the 28th. During the whole time, the thermometer was never higher than 30½°. The ship appeared to be a complete mass of ice; the shrouds were so incrusted with it, as to measure in circumference more than double their usual size; and, in short, the experience of the oldest seaman among us had never met with anything like the continued showers of sleet, and the extreme cold, which we now encountered. Indeed, the severity of the weather, added to the great difficulty of working the ships, and the labour of keeping the pumps constantly going, rendered the service too hard for many of the crew, some of whom were frost-bitten, and others laid up with bad colds. We continued all this time standing four hours on each tack, having generally soundings of sixty fathoms when about three leagues from the land; but none at twice that distance. On the 25th, we had a transient view of the entrance of Awatska Bay; but, in the present state of the weather, we were afraid of venturing into it. Upon our standing off again, we lost sight of the Discovery; but, as we were now so near the place of rendezvous, this gave us no

great uneasiness. On the 28th, in the morning, the weather at last cleared, and the wind fell to a light breeze from the same quarter as before. We had a fine warm day, and as we now began to expect a thaw, the men were employed in breaking the ice from off the rigging, masts, and sails, in order to prevent its falling on our heads. At noon, being in the latitude of 52° 44′, and in the longitude of 159°, the entrance of Awatska Bay bore north-west, distant three or four leagues; and about three in the afternoon a fair wind sprang up from the southward, with which we stood in, having regular soundings from twenty-two to seven fathoms.

The mouth of the bay opens in a north-north-west direction. The land on the south side is of a moderate height; to the northward it rises into a bluff head, which is the highest part of the coast. In the channel between them, near the north-east side, lie three remarkable rocks; and farther in, near the opposite coast, a single detached rock of a considerable size. On the north head there is a look-out house, which, when the Russians expect any of their ships upon the coast, is used as a light-house. There was a flag-staff on it, but we saw no sign of any person being there. Having passed the mouth of the bay, which is about four miles long, we opened a large circular basin of twenty-five miles in circumference, and at half-past four came to an anchor in six fathoms' water, being afraid of running foul on a shoal, or some sunk rocks, which are said by Muller * to lie in the channel of the harbour of St. Peter and St. Paul. The middle of the bay was full of loose ice, drifting with the tide, but the shores were still entirely blocked up with it. Great flocks of wild-fowl were seen of various species; likewise ravens, eagles and large flights of Greenland pigeons. We examined every corner of the bay with our glasses, in search of the town of St. Peter and St. Paul, which, according to the accounts given us at Oonalashka, we had conceived to be a place of some strength and consideration. At length we discovered, on a narrow point of land to the

HARBOUR AND TOWN OF ST. PETER AND ST. PAUL.

north-north-east, a few miserable log-houses and some conical huts, raised on poles, amounting in all to about thirty, which from their situation, notwithstanding all the respect we wished to entertain for a Russian *ostrog*, we were under the necessity of concluding to be Petropaulowska. However, in justice to the generous and hospitable treatment we found here, I shall

* Voyages made by the Russians from Asia to America, &c. translated from the German, by T. Jefferys, p. 37.

beg leave to anticipate the reader's curiosity, by assuring him that our disappointment proved to be more of a laughable than a serious nature. For in this wretched extremity of the earth, situated beyond everything that we conceived to be most barbarous and inhospitable, and as it were out of the very reach of civilisation, barricadoed with ice and covered with summer snow, in a poor miserable port far inferior to the meanest of our fishing-towns, we met with feelings of humanity, joined to a greatness of mind and elevation of sentiment, which would have done honour to any nation or climate.

During the night, much ice drifted by us with the tide, and at daylight I was sent with the boats to examine the bay, and deliver the letters we had brought from Oonalashka to the Russian commander. We directed our course toward the village I have just mentioned; and having proceeded as far as we were able, with the boats, we got upon the ice, which extended near half a mile from the shore. Mr. Webber and two of the seamen accompanied me, whilst the master took the pinnace and cutter to finish the survey, leaving the jolly-boat behind to carry us back. I believe the inhabitants had not yet seen either the ship or the boats, for even after we had got on the ice we could not perceive any signs of a living creature in the town. By the time we had advanced a little way on the ice, we observed a few men hurrying backward and forward, and presently after a sledge drawn by dogs, with one of the inhabitants in it, came down to the sea-side, opposite to us. Whilst we were gazing at this unusual sight, and admiring the great civility of this stranger which we imagined had brought him to our assistance, the man, after viewing us for some time very attentively, turned short round and went off with great speed toward the ostrog. We were not less chagrined than disappointed at this abrupt departure, as we began to find our journey over the ice attended not only with great difficulty but even with danger. We sunk at every step almost knee-deep in the snow, and though we found tolerable footing at the bottom, yet the weak parts of the ice not being discoverable, we were constantly exposed to the risk of breaking through it. This accident at last actually happened to myself; for stepping on quickly over a suspicious spot, in order to press with less weight upon it, I came upon a second, before I could stop myself, which broke under me, and in I fell. Luckily I rose clear of the ice, and a man that was a little way behind with a boat-hook throwing it to me, I laid it across some loose pieces near me, and by that means was enabled to get upon firm ice again.

As we approached the shore we found the ice, contrary to our expectations, more broken than it had been before. We were, however, again comforted by the sight of another sledge coming toward us, but instead of proceeding to our relief the driver stopped short, and began to call out to us. I immediately held up to him Ismyloff's letters; upon which he turned about and set off back again full speed, followed, I believe, not with the prayers of any of our party. Being at a great loss what conclusions to draw from this unaccountable behaviour, we continued our march toward the ostrog with great circumspection, and when we had arrived within a quarter of a mile of it, we perceived a body of armed men marching toward us. That we might give them as little alarm and have as peaceable an appearance as possible, the two men who had boat-hooks in their hands were ordered into the rear, and Mr. Webber and myself marched in front. The Russian party, consisting of about thirty soldiers, was headed by a decent-looking person, with a cane in his hand. He halted within a few yards of us, and drew up his men in a martial and good order. I delivered to him Ismyloff's letters, and endeavoured to make him understand, as well as I could (though I afterward found in vain), that we were English, and had brought them papers from Oonalashka. After having examined us attentively, he began to conduct us toward the village in great silence and solemnity, frequently halting his men to form them in different manners, and making them perform several parts of their manual exercise, probably with a view to show us that if we had the temerity to offer any violence, we should have to deal with men who were not ignorant of their business.

Though I was all this time in my wet clothes, shivering with cold, and sufficiently inclined to the most unconditional submission, without having my fears violently alarmed, yet it was impossible not to be diverted with this military parade, notwithstanding it was attended with the most unseasonable delay. At length we arrived at the house of the commanding officer of the party, into which we were ushered, and after no small stir in giving orders and disposing

of the military without doors, our host made his appearance, accompanied by another person, whom we understood to be the secretary of the port. One of Ismyloff's letters was now opened, and the other sent off by a special messenger to Bolcheretsk, a town on the west side of the peninsula of Kamtschatka, where the Russian commander of this province usually resides.

It is very remarkable that they had not seen the ship the preceding day, when we came to anchor in the bay, nor indeed this morning till our boats were pretty near the ice. The panic with which the discovery had struck them, we found had been very considerable. The garrison was immediately put under arms. Two small field-pieces were placed at the entrance of the commander's house, and pointed toward our boats, and shot, powder, and lighted matches were all ready at hand. The officer in whose house we were at present entertained was a serjeant, and the commander of the ostrog. Nothing could exceed the kindness and hospitality of his behaviour, after he had recovered from the alarm occasioned by our arrival. We found the house insufferably hot, but exceedingly neat and clean. After I had changed my clothes, which the serjeant's civility enabled me to do by furnishing me with a complete suit of his own, we were invited to sit down to dinner, which I have no doubt was the best he could procure, and considering the shortness of time he had to provide it, was managed with some ingenuity. As there was not time to prepare soup and bouilli, we had in their stead some cold beef sliced, with hot water poured over it. We had next a large bird roasted, of a species with which I was unacquainted, but of a very excellent taste. After having eaten a part of this it was taken off, and we were served with fish dressed two different ways, and soon after the bird again made its appearance, in savoury and sweet pâtés. Our liquor, of which I shall have to speak hereafter, was of the kind called by the Russians quass, and was much the worse part of the entertainment. The serjeant's wife brought in several of the dishes herself, and was not permitted to sit down at table. Having finished our repast, during which it is hardly necessary to remark that our conversation was confined to a few bows, and other signs of mutual respect, we endeavoured to open to our host the cause and objects of our visit to this port. As Ismyloff had probably written to them on the same subject in the letters we had before delivered, he appeared very readily to conceive our meaning; but as there was unfortunately no one in the place that could talk any other language except Russian or Kamtschatdale, we found the utmost difficulty in comprehending the information he meant to convey to us. After some time spent in these endeavours to understand one another, we conceived the sum of the intelligence we had procured to be, that though no supply either of provisions or naval stores were to be had at this place, yet that these articles were in great plenty at Bolcheretsk; that the commander would most probably be very willing to give us what we wanted, but that till the serjeant had received orders from him, neither he nor his people, nor the natives, could even venture to go on board the ship.

It was now time for us to take our leave, and as my clothes were still too wet to put on, I was obliged to have recourse again to the serjeant's benevolence, for his leave to carry those I had borrowed of him on board. This request was complied with very cheerfully, and a sledge drawn by five dogs, with a driver, was immediately provided for each of our party. The sailors were highly delighted with this mode of conveyance; and what diverted them still more was, that the two boat-hooks had also a sledge appropriated to themselves. These sledges are so light, and their construction so well adapted to the purposes for which they are intended, that they went with great expedition and perfect safety over the ice, which it would have been impossible for us with all our caution to have passed on foot.

On our return we found the boats towing the ship toward the village, and at seven we got close to the ice, and moored with the small bower to the north-east and best bower to the south-west, the entrance of the bay bearing south by east and south three quarters east, and the ostrog north one quarter east, distant one mile and a half. The next morning the casks and cables were got upon the quarter-deck, in order to lighten the ship forward, and the carpenters were set to work to stop the leak, which had given us so much trouble during our last run. It was found to have been occasioned by the falling of some sheathing from the larboard-bow, and the oakum between the planks having been washed out. The warm

weather we had in the middle of the day began to make the ice break away very fast, which drifting with the tide had almost filled up the entrance of the bay. Several of our gentlemen paid their visits to the serjeant, by whom they were received with great civility; and Captain Clerke sent him two bottles of rum, which he understood would be the most acceptable present he could make him, and received in return some fine fowls of the grouse kind, and twenty trouts. Our sportsmen met with but bad success; for though the bay swarmed with flocks of ducks of various kinds, and Greenland pigeons, yet they were so shy that they could not come within shot of them.

In the morning of the 1st of May, seeing the Discovery standing into the bay, a boat was immediately sent to her assistance, and in the afternoon she moored close by us. They told us that after the weather cleared up on the 28th, the day on which she had parted company, they found themselves to leeward of the bay, and that when they got abreast of it the following day and saw the entrance choked up with ice, they stood off after firing guns, concluding we could not be here; but finding afterward it was only loose drift-ice, they had ventured in. The next day the weather was so very unsettled, attended with heavy showers of snow, that the carpenters were not able to proceed in their work. The thermometer stood at 28° in the evening, and the frost was exceedingly severe in the night.

The following morning, on our observing two sledges drive into the village, Captain Clerke sent me on shore to inquire whether any message was arrived from the commander of Kamtschatka, which, according to the serjeant's account, might now be expected, in consequence of the intelligence that had been sent of our arrival. Bolcheretsk by the usual route is about one hundred and thirty-five English miles from St. Peter and St. Paul's. Our despatches were sent off in a sledge drawn by dogs, on the 29th about noon. And the answer arrived, as we afterward found, early this morning, so that they were only a little more than three days and a half in performing a journey of two hundred and seventy miles. The return of the commander's answer was, however, concealed from us for the present, and I was told on my arrival at the serjeant's, that we should hear from him the next day. Whilst I was on shore the boat which had brought me, together with another belonging to the Discovery, were set fast in the ice, which a southerly wind had driven from the other side of the bay. On seeing them entangled, the Discovery's launch had been sent to their assistance, but soon shared the same fate, and in a short time the ice had surrounded them near a quarter of a mile deep. This obliged us to stay on shore till evening, when finding no prospect of getting the boats off, some of us went in sledges to the edge of the ice, and were taken off by boats sent from the ship, and the rest staid on shore all night. It continued to freeze hard during the night, but before morning on the 4th a change of wind drifted away the floating ice, and set the boats at liberty, without their having sustained the smallest damage.

About ten o'clock in the forenoon, we saw several sledges driving down the edge of the ice, and sent a boat to conduct the persons who were in them on board. One of these was a Russian merchant from Bolcheretsk named Fedositsch, and the other a German called Port, who had brought a letter from Major Behm, the commander of Kamtschatka, to Captain Clerke. When they got to the edge of the ice, and saw distinctly the size of the ships which lay within about two hundred yards from them, they appeared to be exceedingly alarmed, and before they would venture to embark, desired two of our boat's crew might be left on shore as hostages for their safety. We afterward found that Ismyloff, in his letter to the commander, had misrepresented us, for what reasons we could not conceive, as two small trading boats; and that the serjeant, who had only seen the ships at a distance, had not in his despatches rectified the mistake.

When they arrived on board, we still found, from their cautious and timorous behaviour, that they were under some unaccountable apprehensions; and an uncommon degree of satisfaction was visible in their countenances, on the German's finding a person amongst us, with whom he could converse. This was Mr. Webber, who spoke that language perfectly well; and at last, though with some difficulty, convinced them that we were Englishmen, and friends. M. Port being introduced to Captain Clerke, delivered to him the Commander's letter, which was written in German, and was merely complimental, inviting him and his

officers to Bolcheretsk, to which place the people, who brought it, were to conduct us. M. Port at the same time acquainted him, that the Major had conceived a very wrong idea of the size of the ships, and of the service we were engaged in; Ismyloff in his letter, having represented us as two small English packet-boats, and cautioned him to be on his guard; insinuating, that he suspected us to be no better than pirates. In consequence of this letter, he said there had been various conjectures formed about us at Bolcheretsk: that the Major thought it most probable we were on a trading scheme, and for that reason had sent down a merchant to us; but that the officer, who was second in command, was of opinion we were French, and come with some hostile intention, and were for taking measures accordingly. It had required, he added, all the Major's authority to keep the inhabitants from leaving the town, and retiring up into the country: to so extraordinary a pitch had their fears risen, from their persuasion that we were French.

Their extreme apprehensions of that nation were principally occasioned, by some circumstances attending an insurrection that had happened at Bolcheretsk a few years before, in which the commander had lost his life. We were informed, that an exiled Polish officer, named Beniowski, taking advantage of the confusion into which the town was thrown, had seized upon a galliot, then lying at the entrance of the Bolchoireka, and had forced on board a number of Russian sailors, sufficient to navigate her: that he had put on shore a part of the crew at the Kourile Islands; and, among the rest, Ismyloff, who, as the reader will recollect, had puzzled us exceedingly at Oonalashka, with the history of this transaction; though, for want of understanding his language, we could not then make out all the circumstances attending it: that he passed in sight of Japan; made Luconia; and was there directed how to steer to Canton; that arriving there, he had applied to the French, and had got a passage in one of their India ships to France: and that most of the Russians had likewise returned to Europe in French ships; and had afterward found their way to Petersburg. We met with three of Beniowski's crew in the harbour of Saint Peter and Saint Paul; and from them we learned the circumstances of the above story. On our arrival at Canton, we received a farther corroboration of the facts, from the gentlemen of the English factory, who told us, that a person had arrived there in a Russian galliot, who said he came from Kamtschatka; and that he had been furnished by the French factory with a passage to Europe*.

We could not help being much diverted with the fears and apprehensions of these good people, and particularly with the account M. Port gave us of the serjeant's wary proceedings the day before. On seeing me come on shore, in company with some other gentlemen, he had made him and the merchant, who arrived in the sledges we had seen come in the morning, hide themselves in his kitchen, and listen to our conversation with one another, in hopes that, by this means, they might discover whether we were really English or not. As we concluded, from the commission and dress of M. Port, that he might probably be the commander's secretary, he was received as such, and invited, with his companion, the merchant, to dine with Captain Clerke: and though we soon began to suspect, from the behaviour of the latter toward him, that he was only a common servant, yet this being no time to sacrifice our little comforts to our pride, we prevented an explanation, by not suffering the question to be put to him; and, in return for the satisfaction we reaped from his abilities as a linguist, we continued to let him live on a footing of equality with us.

* It hath since appeared, from the account of Kerguelen's voyage, that this extraordinary person, who had entered into the French service, was commander of a new settlement at Madagascar, when Kerguelen touched there in 1774.

CHAPTER II.—SCARCITY OF PROVISIONS AND STORES AT THE HARBOUR OF SAINT PETER AND SAINT PAUL.—A PARTY SET OUT TO VISIT THE COMMANDER AT BOLCHERETSK.—PASSAGE UP THE RIVER AWATSKA.—ACCOUNT OF THEIR RECEPTION BY THE TOION OF KARATCHIN.—DESCRIPTION OF A KAMTSCHADALE DRESS.—JOURNEY ON SLEDGES.—DESCRIPTION OF THIS MODE OF TRAVELLING.—ARRIVAL AT NATCHEEKIN.—ACCOUNT OF HOT SPRINGS.—EMBARK ON THE BOLCHOIREKA.—RECEPTION AT THE CAPITAL.—GENEROUS AND HOSPITABLE CONDUCT OF THE COMMANDER AND THE GARRISON.—DESCRIPTION OF BOLCHERETSK.—PRESENTS FROM THE COMMANDER.—RUSSIAN AND KAMTSCHADALE DANCING.—AFFECTING DEPARTURE FROM BOLCHERETSK.—RETURN TO SAINT PETER AND SAINT PAUL'S, ACCOMPANIED BY MAJOR BEHM, WHO VISITS THE SHIPS.—GENEROSITY OF THE SAILORS.—DESPATCHES SENT BY MAJOR BEHM TO PETERSBURG.—HIS DEPARTURE AND CHARACTER.

Being now enabled to converse with the Russians, by the aid of our interpreter, with tolerable facility, our first inquiries were directed to the means of procuring a supply of fresh provisions, and naval stores; from the want of which latter article, in particular, we had been for some time in great distress. On inquiry, it appeared, that the whole stock of live cattle, which the country about the bay could furnish, amounted only to two heifers; and these the serjeant very readily promised to procure us. Our applications were next made to the merchant, but we found the terms upon which he offered to serve us so exorbitant, that Captain Clerke thought it necessary to send an officer to visit the commander at Bolcheretsk, and to inquire into the price of stores at that place. As soon as this determination was communicated to M. Port, he despatched an express to the commander, to inform him of our intentions, and at the same time to clear us from the suspicions that were entertained with respect to the designation and purposes of our voyage.

Captain Clerke having thought proper to fix on me for this service, I received orders, together with Mr. Webber, who was to accompany me as interpreter, to be ready to set out the next day. It proved, however, too stormy, as did also the 6th, for beginning a journey through so wild and desolate a country; but, on the 7th, the weather appearing more favourable, we set out early in the morning in the ship's boats, with a view to reach the entrance of the Awatska at high water, on account of the shoals with which the mouth of that river abounds: here the country boats were to meet us, and carry us up the stream. Captain Gore was now added to our party, and we were attended by Messrs. Port and Fedositsch, with two Cossacks, and were provided, by our conductors, with warm furred clothing; a precaution which we soon found very necessary, as it began to snow briskly just after we set out. At eight o'clock, being stopped by shoal water, about a mile from the mouth of the river, some small canoes belonging to the Kamtschadales, took up us and our baggage, and carried us over a spit of sand, which is thrown up by the rapidity of the river, and which, they told us, was continually shifting. When we had crossed this shoal, the water again deepened; and here we found a commodious boat, built and shaped like a Norway yawl, ready to convey us up the river, together with canoes for our baggage.

The mouth of the Awatska is about a quarter of a mile broad; and as we advanced, it narrowed very gradually. After we had proceeded a few miles, we passed several branches, which we were told emptied themselves into other parts of the bay; and that some of those on the left hand flowed into the Paratounca river. Its general direction from the bay, for the first ten miles, is to the north, after which it turns to the westward: this bend excepted, it preserves, for the most part, a straight course; and the country through which it flows, to the distance of near thirty miles from the sea, is low and flat, and subject to frequent inundations. We were pushed forward by six men, with long poles, three at each end of the boat; two of whom were Cossacks, the others Kamtschadales; and advanced against a strong stream, at the rate, as well as I could judge, of about three miles an hour. Our Kamtschadales bore this severe labour, with great stoutness, for ten hours; during which we stopped only once, and that for a short time, whilst they took some little refreshment. As we had been told, at our first setting out in the morning, that we should easily reach an ostrog, called Karatchin, the same night, we were much disappointed to find ourselves, at sun-set,

fifteen miles from that place. This we attributed to the delay occasioned in passing the shoals we had met with, both at the entrance of the river, and in several other places, as we proceeded up it; for our boat being the first that had passed up the river, the guides were not acquainted with the situation of the shifting sand-banks, and unfortunately the snow not having yet begun to melt, the shallowness of the river was at its extreme. The fatigue our men had already undergone, and the difficulty of navigating the river, which would have been much increased by the darkness of the night, obliged us to give up all thoughts of continuing our journey that evening. Having therefore found a place tolerably sheltered, and cleared it of the snow, we erected a small marquee, which we had brought with us; and, by the assistance of a brisk fire, and some good punch, passed the night not very unpleasantly. The only inconvenience we laboured under was, the being obliged to make the fire at some distance from us. For, although the ground was, to all appearance, dry enough before, yet when the fire was lighted, it soon thawed all the parts round it into an absolute puddle. We admired much the alertness and expedition with which the Kamtschadales erected our marquee, and cooked our provisions; but what was most unexpected, we found they had brought with them their tea-kettles, considering it as the greatest of hardships not to drink tea two or three times a day.

We set out as soon as it was light in the morning, and had not advanced far, before we were met by the *Toion*, or chief of Karatchin, who had been apprised of our coming, and had provided canoes that were lighter, and better contrived for navigating the higher parts of the river. A commodious vessel, consisting of two canoes, lashed close together with cross spars, lined with bear-skins and furnished with fur cloaks, was also provided for us. We now went on very rapidly, the Toion's people being both stout and fresh, and remarkable for their expertness in this business. At ten we got to the ostrog, the seat of his command, where we were received at the water-side by the Kamtschadale men and women, and some Russian servants belonging to Fedositsch, who were employed in making canoes. They were all drest out in their best clothes. Those of the women were pretty and gay, consisting of a full loose robe of white nankeen, gathered close round the neck, and fastened with a collar of coloured silk. Over this they wore a short jacket, without sleeves, made of different coloured nankeens, and petticoats of a slight Chinese silk. Their shifts, which had sleeves down to the wrists, were also of silk; and coloured silk handkerchiefs were bound round their heads, concealing entirely the hair of the married women, whilst those who were unmarried, brought the handkerchief under the hair, and suffered it to flow loose behind.

This ostrog was pleasantly situated by the side of the river; and consisted of three log-houses; three *jourts*, or houses made under-ground; and nineteen *balagans*, or summer habitations. We were conducted to the dwelling of the Toion, who was a plain decent man, born of a Russian woman, by a Kamtschadale father. His house, like all the rest in this country, was divided into two apartments. A long narrow table, with a bench round it, was all the furniture we saw in the outer; and the household stuff of the inner, which was the kitchen, was not less simple and scanty. But the kind attention of our host, and the hearty welcome we received, more than compensated for the poverty of his lodgings. His wife proved an excellent cook; and served us with fish and game of different sorts, and various kinds of heath-berries, that had been kept since the last year. Whilst we were at dinner in this miserable hut, the guests of a people with whose existence we had before been scarce acquainted, and at the extremity of the habitable globe, a solitary, half-worn pewter spoon, whose shape was familiar to us, attracted our attention; and, on examination, we found it stamped on the back with the word LONDON. I cannot pass over this circumstance in silence, out of gratitude for the many pleasant thoughts, the anxious hopes, and tender remembrances it excited in us. Those who have experienced the effects that long absence and extreme distance from their native country produce on the mind, will readily conceive the pleasure such trifling incidents can give. To the philosopher and the politician they may perhaps suggest reflections of a different nature.

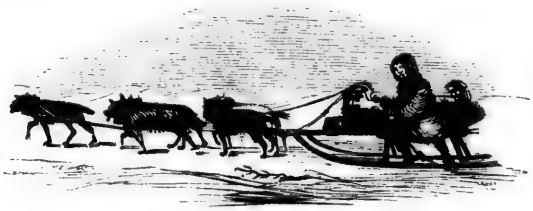
We were now to quit the river, and perform the next part of our journey on sledges; but the thaw had been too powerful in the daytime, to allow us to set out till the cold of the evening had again made the surface of the snow hard and firm. This gave us an oppor-

tunity of walking about the village, which was the only place we had yet seen free from snow, since we landed in this country. It stood upon a well-wooded flat, of about a mile and a half in circumference. The leaves were just budding, and the verdure of the whole scene was strongly contrasted with the sides of the surrounding hills, which were still covered with snow. As the soil appeared to me very capable of producing all the common sorts of garden vegetables, I was greatly surprised not to find the smallest spot anywhere cultivated. If to this we add that none of the inhabitants were possessed of cattle of any sort, nothing can be well conceived more wretched than their situation must be during the winter months. They were at this time removing from their *jourts* into their *balagans*, which afforded us an opportunity of examining both these sorts of habitations; and they will be hereafter more particularly described. The people invited us into their houses with great good humour; a general air of cheerfulness and content was everywhere visible, to which the approaching change of season might probably not a little contribute.

On our return to the Toion's, we found supper prepared for us, which differed in nothing from our former repast; and concluded with our treating the Toion and his wife with some of the spirits we had brought with us, made into punch. Captain Gore, who had great generosity on all occasions, having afterward made them some valuable presents, they retired to the kitchen, leaving us in possession of the outward room, where spreading our bear-skins on the benches, we were glad to get a little repose; having settled with our conductors to resume our journey as soon as the ground should be judged fit for travelling. About nine o'clock the same evening, we were awakened by the melancholy howlings of the dogs, which continued all the time our baggage was lashing upon the sledges; but, as soon as they were yoked, and we were all prepared to set out, this changed into a light cheerful yelping, which entirely ceased the instant they marched off. But, before we set out, the reader may expect to be made more particularly acquainted with this curious mode of travelling.

I brought over with me one of these sledges, which is now in the possession of Sir Ashton Lever. The body is about four feet and a half long, and a foot wide, made in the form of a crescent, of light tough wood, strongly bound together with wicker-work; which in those belonging to the better sort of people is elegantly stained of a red and blue colour, and the seat covered with bear-skins, or other furs. It is supported by four legs about two feet high, which rest on two long flat pieces of wood, five or six inches broad, extending a foot at each end beyond the body of the sledge. These are turned up before in the manner of a skate, and shod with the bone of some sea animal. The fore-part of the carriage is ornamented with thongs of leather and tassels of coloured cloth; and from the cross bar, to which the harness is joined, are hung links of iron, or small bells, the jingling of which they conceive to be encouraging to the dogs. They are seldom used to carry more than one person at a time, who sits aside, resting his feet on the lower part of the sledge, and carrying his provisions and other necessaries wrapped up in a bundle behind him. The dogs are usually five in number, yoked two and two, with a leader. The reins not being fastened to the head of the dogs, but to the collar, have little power over them, and are therefore generally hung upon the sledge, whilst the driver depends entirely on their obedience to his voice for the direction of them. With this view, the leader is always trained up with a particular degree of care and attention, some of them rising to a most extraordinary value on account of their docility and steadiness; insomuch, that for one of these, I am well assured, forty roubles (or ten pounds) was no unusual price. The driver is also provided with a crooked stick, which answers the purpose both of whip and reins; as by striking it into the snow, he is enabled to moderate the speed of the dogs, or even to stop them entirely; and when they are lazy, or otherwise inattentive to his voice, he chastises them by throwing it at them. Upon these occasions, their dexterity in picking it up again is very remarkable, and forms the principal difficulty of their art. But it is indeed not surprising, that they should labour to be skilful in a practice upon which their safety so materially depends. For they say, that if the driver should happen to lose his stick, the dogs will instantly perceive it; and unless their leader be of the most sober and resolute kind, they will immediately run a-head full speed, and never stop till they are quite spent. But as that will not

be the case soon, it generally happens that either the carriage is overturned, and dashed to pieces against the trees; or they hurry down some precipice, and all are buried in the snow. The accounts that were given us of the speed of these dogs, and of their extraordinary patience of hunger and fatigue, were scarcely credible, if they had not been supported by the best authority. We were indeed ourselves witnesses of the great expedition with which the messenger who had been despatched to Bolcheretsk with the news of our arrival, returned to the harbour of St. Peter and St. Paul, though the snow was at this time excedingly soft. But I was informed by the commander of Kamtschatka, that this journey was generally performed in two days and a half; and that he had once received an express from the latter place in twenty-three hours. The dogs are fed during the winter on the offals of dried and stinking fish; but are always deprived of this miserable food a day before they set out on a journey, and never suffered to eat before they reach the end of it. We were also told, that it was not unusual for them to continue thus fasting two entire days, in which time they would perform a journey of one hundred and twenty miles *. These dogs are in shape somewhat like the Pomeranian breed, but considerably larger.



SLEDGE TRAVELLING IN KAMTSCHATKA.

As we did not choose to trust to our own skill, we had each of us a man to drive and guide the sledge, which, from the state the roads were now in, proved a very laborious business. For, as the thaw had advanced very considerably in the valleys through which our road lay, we were under the necessity of keeping along the sides of the hills; and this obliged our guides, who were provided with snow-shoes for that purpose, to support the sledges, on the lower side, with their shoulders, for several miles together. I had a very good-humoured Cossack to attend me, who was, however, so very unskilful in his business, that we were overturned almost every minute, to the great entertainment of the rest of the company. Our party consisted, in all, of ten sledges; that in which Captain Gore was carried, was made of two lashed together, and abundantly provided with furs and bear-skins; it had ten dogs, yoked four abreast; as had also some of those that were heavy laden with baggage.

When we had proceeded about four miles, it began to rain; which, added to the darkness of the night, threw us all into confusion. It was at last agreed, that we should remain where we were till daylight; and accordingly we came to anchor in the snow (for I cannot better express the manner in which the sledges were secured), and wrapping ourselves up in our furs, waited patiently for the morning. About three o'clock we were called on to set out, our guides being apprehensive, that if we waited longer, we might be stopped by the thaw, and neither be able to proceed, nor to return. After encountering many difficulties, which were principally occasioned by the bad condition of the road, at two in the afternoon we got safe to an *ostrog*, called Natcheekin, situated on the side of a small stream, which falls into the Bolchoireka, a little way below the town. The distance between Karatchin and

* Extraordinary as this may appear, Kraschininikoff, whose account of Kamtschatka, from everything that I saw, and had an opportunity of comparing it with, seems to me to deserve entire credit; and whose authority I shall therefore frequently have recourse to, relates instances of this kind that are much more surprising. "Travelling parties," says he, "are often overtaken with dreadful storms of snow, on the approach of which, they drive with the utmost precipitation into the nearest wood, and there are obliged to stay, till the tempest, which frequently lasts six or seven days, is over; the dogs remaining all this while quiet and inoffensive; except that sometimes, when pressed by hunger, they will devour their reins, and the other leathern parts of the harness."—History and Description of Kamtschatka, by Kraschininikoff.

Natcheekin is thirty-eight wersts (or twenty-five miles); and had the hard frost continued, we should not, by their account, have been more than four hours in performing it; but the snow was so soft, that the dogs, almost at every step, sunk up to their bellies; and I was indeed much surprised at their being at all able to overcome the difficulties of so fatiguing a journey.

Natcheekin is a very inconsiderable ostrog, having only one log-house, the residence of the Toion; five *balagans* and one *jourt*. We were received here with the same formalities, and in the same hospitable manner, as at Karatchin; and in the afternoon we went to visit a remarkable hot spring, which is near this village. We saw, at some distance, the steam rising from it, as from a boiling caldron; and as we approached, perceived the air had a strong sulphureous smell. The main spring forms a basin of about three feet in diameter; besides which, there are a number of lesser springs, of the same degree of heat, in the adjacent ground; so that the whole spot, to the extent of near an acre, was so hot, that we could not stand two minutes in the same place. The water flowing from these springs is collected in a small bathing pond, and afterward forms a little rivulet; which, at the distance of about a hundred and fifty yards, falls into the river. The bath, they told us, had wrought great cures in several disorders, such as rheumatisms, swelled and contracted joints, and scorbutic ulcers. In the bathing-place the thermometer stood at 100°, or blood heat; but in the spring, after being immersed two minutes, it was 1° above boiling spirits. The thermometer in the air, at this time, was 34°; in the river 40°; and in the Toion's house 64°. The ground where these springs break out is on a gentle ascent; behind which there is a green hill of a moderate size. I am sorry I was not sufficiently skilled in botany to examine the plants, which seemed to thrive here with great luxuriance; the wild garlic, indeed, forced itself on our notice, and was at this time springing up very vigorously.

The next morning we embarked on the Bolchoireka in canoes; and, having the stream with us, expected to be at our journey's end the day following. The town of Bolcheretsk is about eighty miles from Natcheekin; and we were informed, that in the summer season, when the river has been full and rapid, from the melting of snow on the mountains, the canoes had often gone down in a single day; but that, in its present state, we should probably be much longer, as the ice had broken up only three days before we arrived, and that ours would be the first boat that had attempted to pass. This intelligence proved but too true. We found ourselves greatly impeded by the shallows; and though the stream in many places ran with great rapidity, yet every half mile we had ripplings and shoals, over which we were obliged to haul the boats. The country on each side was very romantic, but unvaried; the river running between mountains of the most craggy and barren aspect, where there was nothing to diversify the scene but now and then the sight of a bear, and the flights of wild-fowl. So uninteresting a passage leaves me nothing farther to say, than that this and the following night we slept on the banks of the river under our marquée, and suffered very much from the severity of the weather, and the snow which still remained on the ground.

At daylight on the 12th, we found we had got clear of the mountains, and were entering a low extensive plain, covered with shrubby trees. About nine in the forenoon we arrived at an ostrog, called Opatchin, which is computed to be fifty miles from Natcheekin, and is nearly of the same size as Karatchin. We found here a serjeant with four Russian soldiers, who had been two days waiting for our arrival, and who immediately despatched a light boat to Bolcheretsk with intelligence of our approach. We were now put into the trammels of formality; a canoe furnished with skins and furs, and equipped in a magnificent manner, was prepared for our reception, in which we were accommodated much at our ease, but to the exclusion of the rest of our fellow-travellers. It was with much regret we found ourselves obliged to separate from our old companion Monsieur Port, whom we had observed to grow every day more shy and distant, as we drew nearer the end of our journey. Indeed, he had himself told us before we set out, that we paid him a respect he had no title to; but as we found him a very modest and discreet man, we had insisted on his living with us during the whole of our journey. The remainder of our passage was performed

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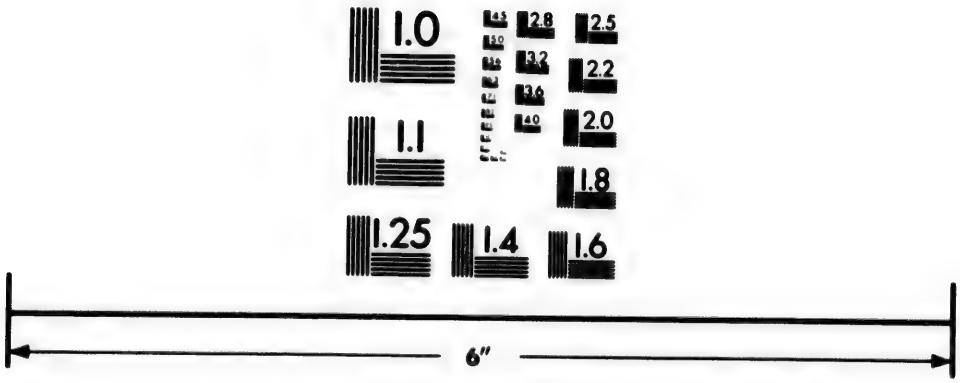

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with great facility and expedition, the river growing more rapid as we descended, and less obstructed by shoals.

As we approached the capital, we were sorry to observe, from an appearance of much stir and bustle, that we were to be received in form. Decent clothes had been for some time a scarce commodity amongst us; and our travelling dresses were made up of a burlesque mixture of European, Indian, and Kamtschadale fashions. We therefore thought it would be too ridiculous to make a parade in this trim through the metropolis of Kamtschatka; and as we saw a crowd collected on the banks of the river, and were told the commander would be at the water-side to receive us, we stopped short at a soldier's house, about a quarter of a mile from the town, from whence we sent Port with a message to his Excellency, acquainting him, that the moment we had put off our travelling dresses we would pay our respects to him at his own house, and to beg he would not think of waiting to conduct us. Finding, however, that he persisted in his intentions of paying us this compliment, we lost no farther time in attiring ourselves, but made all the haste in our power to join him at the entrance of the town. I observed my companions to be as awkward as I felt myself, in making our first salutations; bowing and scraping being marks of good breeding that we had now, for two years and a half, been totally unaccustomed to. The manner in which we were received by the commander was the most engaging that could be conceived, and increased my mortification at finding that he had almost entirely forgot the French language; so that the satisfaction of conversing with him was wholly confined to Mr. Webber, who spoke the German, his native tongue.

In company with Major Behm was Captain Shmaleff, the second in command, and another officer, with the whole body of the merchants of the place. They conducted us to the commander's house, where we were received by his lady with great civility, and found tea and other refreshments prepared for us. After the first compliments were over, Mr. Webber was desired to acquaint the Major with the object of our journey, with our want of naval stores, flour, and fresh provisions, and other necessaries for the ships' crews; and at the same time to assure him that we were sensible, from what we had already seen of the condition of the country about Awatska Bay, we could not expect much assistance from him in that quarter; that the impossibility of sending heavy stores across the peninsula, during the present season of the year, was but too apparent from the difficulties we had met with in our journey; and that, long before any material change could take place, we should be under the necessity of proceeding on our voyage. We were here interrupted by the commander, who observed that we did not yet know what they were capable of doing; that at least it was not his business to think of the difficulties of supplying our wants, but only to learn what were the articles we stood in need of, and the longest time we could allow him for procuring them. After expressing our sense of his obliging disposition, we gave him a list of the naval stores, the number of cattle, and the quantity of flour we were directed to purchase, and told him that we purposed recommencing our voyage about the 5th of June. Our conversation afterward turned upon different subjects; and it will naturally be supposed, that our inquiries were principally directed to the obtaining some information respecting our own country. Having now been absent three years, we had flattered ourselves with the certainty of receiving intelligence from Major Behm, which could not fail of being interesting; and I cannot express the disappointment we felt, on finding that he had no news to communicate of a much later date than that of our departure from England.

About seven o'clock, the commander, conceiving we might be fatigued with our journey, and desirous of taking some repose, begged he might conduct us to our lodgings. It was in vain that we protested against a compliment which we had certainly no title to expect, but that of being strangers; a circumstance which seemed, in the opinion of this generous Livonian, to counterbalance every other consideration. In our way we passed by two guard-houses, where the men were turned out under arms, in compliment to Captain Gore; and were afterward brought to a very neat and decent house, which the major gave us to understand was to be our residence during our stay. Two sentinels were posted at the door; and in a house adjoining there was a serjeant's guard. Having shown us into our apartments, the major took his leave, with a promise to see us the next day; and we were

left to find out, at our leisure, all the conveniences that he had most amply provided for us. A soldier, called a *putproperskack*, whose rank is between that of a serjeant and corporal, along with our fellow-traveller Port, were appointed to be our male domestics; besides whom, there was a housekeeper and a cook, who had orders to obey Port's directions in dressing us a supper according to our own mode of cookery. We received many civil messages, in the course of the evening, from the principal people of the town, purporting that they would not add to our fatigues, by paying their respects to us at that time, but would wait on us in the morning. Such well-supported politeness and attention in a country so desolate and uncultivated, formed a contrast exceedingly favourable to its inhabitants; and to finish the piece as it began, at sunset the serjeant came with the report of his guard to Captain Gore.

Early in the morning, we received the compliments of the commander, or Captain Shmaleff, and of the principal inhabitants of the town, who all honoured us with visits soon after. The two first having sent for Port after we were gone to rest, and inquired of him what articles we seemed to be most in want of on board the ships; we found them prepared to insist on our sharing with the garrison under their command, in what little stock of provisions they had remaining. At the same time they lamented, that we had arrived at a season of the year when there was always the greatest scarcity of everything amongst them; the sloops not being yet arrived with their annual supply from Okotsk. We agreed to accept the liberality of these hospitable strangers with the best grace we could, but on condition that we might be made acquainted with the price of the articles we were to be supplied with; and that Captain Clerke should give bills to the amount upon the Victualling-Office in London. This the major positively refused; and whenever it was afterward urged, stopped us short, by telling us he was certain that he could not oblige his mistress more, than in giving every assistance in his power to her good friends and allies the English; and that it would be a particular satisfaction to her to hear that, in so remote a part of the world, her dominions had afforded any relief to ships engaged in such services as ours; that he could not, therefore, act so contrary to the character of his empress, as to accept of any bills, but that, to accommodate the matter, he would take a bare attestation of the particulars, with which we might be furnished; and that this he should transmit to his court, as a certificate of having performed his duty. I shall leave (he continued) to the two courts all farther acknowledgments, but cannot consent to accept anything of the kind alluded to.

When this matter was adjusted, he began to inquire about our private wants, saying he should consider himself as ill-used if we had any dealings with the merchants, or applied to any other person except himself. In return for such singular generosity, we had little to bestow but our admiration and our thanks. Fortunately, however, Captain Clerke had sent by me a set of prints and maps belonging to the last voyage of Captain Cook, which he desired me to present in his name to the commander, who being an enthusiast in everything relating to discoveries, received it with a satisfaction which showed that, though a trifle, nothing could have been more acceptable. Captain Clerke had likewise entrusted me with a discretionary power of showing him a chart of the discoveries made in the present voyage; and as I judged that a person in his situation and of his turn of mind would be exceedingly gratified by a communication of this sort, though out of delicacy he had forborne to ask more than a few general questions on the subject, I made no scruple to repose in him a confidence of which his whole conduct showed him to be deserving. I had the pleasure to find that he felt this compliment as I hoped he would, and was much struck at seeing in one view the whole of that coast, as well on the side of Asia as on that of America, of which his countrymen had been so many years employed in acquiring a partial and imperfect knowledge*.

Excepting this mark of confidence, and the set of prints I have already mentioned, we

* On this occasion, Major Behm permitted us to examine all the maps and charts that were in his possession. Those relating to the peninsula of the Tschutski were made in conformity to the information collected by Plenisher, between the years 1760 and 1770. As the charts of Plenisher were afterward made use of, according to Mr. Coxe, in the compilation of the General Map of Russia, published by the Academy in 1776, it may be necessary to observe, that we found them exceedingly erroneous, and that the compilers of the General Map seem to have been led into some mistakes on his authority. Those in which the islands on the coast of America were laid down we found to contain nothing new, and to be much less accurate than those we saw at Oonalashka.

had brought nothing with us that was in the least worth his acceptance; for it scarce deserves noticing that I prevailed on his son, a young boy, to accept of a silver watch I happened to have about me, and I made his little daughter very happy with two pair of ear-rings, of French paste. Besides these trifles, I left with Captain Shmaleff the thermometer I had used on my journey, and he promised me to keep an exact register of the temperature of the air for one year, and to transmit it to Mr. Muller, with whom he had the pleasure of being acquainted.

We dined this day at the commander's, who, studious on every occasion to gratify our curiosity, had, besides a number of dishes dressed in our own way, prepared a great variety of others, after the Russian and Kamtschadale manner. The afternoon was employed in taking a view of the town and the adjacent country. Bolcheretsk is situated in a low swampy plain, that extends to the sea of Okotsk, being about forty miles long, and of a considerable breadth. It lies on the north side of the Bolchoi-reka (or great river), between the mouth of the Gottsofka and the Bistraia, which here empty themselves into this river; and the peninsula on which it stands has been separated from the continent by a large canal, the work of the present commander, which has not only added much to its strength as a fortress, but has made it much less liable than it was before to inundations. Below the town the river is from six to eight feet deep, and about a quarter of a mile broad. It empties itself into the sea of Okotsk, at the distance of twenty-two miles, where, according to Kraschininicoff, it is capable of admitting vessels of a considerable size. There is no corn of any species cultivated in this part of the country, and Major Behm informed me, that his was the only garden that had yet been planted. The ground was for the most part covered with snow; that which was free from it appeared full of small hillocks of a black turfy nature. I saw about twenty or thirty cows, and the major had six stout horses. These and their dogs are the only tame animals they possess; the necessity they are under in the present state of the country of keeping great numbers of the latter, making it impossible to bring up any cattle that are not in size and strength a match for them. For during the summer season their dogs are entirely let loose, and left to provide for themselves, which makes them so exceedingly ravenous that they will sometimes even attack the bullocks.

TOWN OF BOLCHERETSK.

The houses in Bolcheretsk are all of one fashion, being built of logs and thatched. That of the commander is much larger than the rest, consisting of three rooms of a considerable size, neatly papered, and which might have been reckoned handsome, if the tale with which the windows were covered had not given them a poor and disagreeable appearance. The town consists of several rows of low buildings, each consisting of five or six dwellings connected together, with a long common passage running the length of them, on one side of which is the kitchen and store-house, and on the other the dwelling apartments. Besides these are barracks for the Russian soldiers and Cossacks, a well-looking church, and a court-room; and at the end of the town a great number of *balagans*, belonging to the Kamtschadales. The inhabitants taken all together amount to between five and six hundred. In the evening the major gave a handsome entertainment, to which the principal people of the town of both sexes were invited.

The next morning we applied privately to the merchant Fedositsch, to purchase some tobacco for the sailors, who had now been upward of a twelvemonth without this favourite commodity. However this, like all our other transactions of the same kind, came imme-

diately to the major's knowledge, and we were soon after surprised to find in our house four bags of tobacco, weighing upward of a hundred pounds each, which he begged might be presented in the name of himself and the garrison under his command, to our sailors. At the same time they had sent us twenty loaves of fine sugar, and as many pounds of tea, being articles they understood we were in great want of, which they begged to be indulged in presenting to the officers. Along with these, Madame Behm had also sent a present for Captain Clerke, consisting of fresh butter, honey, figs, rice, and some other little things of the same kind, attended with many wishes that, in his infirm state of health, they might be of service to him. It was in vain we tried to oppose this profusion of bounty, which I was really anxious to restrain, being convinced that they were giving away not a share but almost the whole stock of the garrison. The constant answer the major returned us on those occasions was, that we had suffered a great deal, and that we must needs be in distress. Indeed, the length of time we had been out since we touched at any known port, appeared to them so very incredible, that it required the testimony of our maps, and other corroborating circumstances, to gain their belief. Amongst the latter was a very curious fact which Major Behm related to us this morning, and which he said but for our arrival he should have been totally at a loss to account for.

It is well known that the Tschutski are the only people of the north of Asia who have maintained their independence, and resisted all the attempts that have been made by the Russians to reduce them. The last expedition against them was undertaken in the year 1750, and terminated, after various success, in the retreat of the Russian forces, and the loss of the commanding officer. Since that time, the Russians had removed their frontier fortress from the Anadyr to the Ingiga, a river that empties itself into the northern extremity of the sea of Okotsk, and gives its name to a gulf, situated to the west of that of Penshinsk. From this fort, Major Behm had received despatches the day of our arrival at Bolcheretsk, containing intelligence, that a tribe, or party, of the Tschutski, had arrived at that place with propositions of friendship, and a voluntary offer of tribute; that on inquiring into the cause of this unexpected alteration in their sentiments, they had informed his people, that toward the latter end of the last summer, they had been visited by two very large Russian boats; that they had been treated by the people who were in them with the greatest kindness, and had entered into a league of friendship and amity with them; and that relying on this friendly disposition, they were now come to the Russian fort, in order to settle a treaty, on such terms as might be acceptable to both nations. This extraordinary history had occasioned much speculation, both at Ingiginsk and Bolcheretsk; and had we not furnished them with a key to it, must have remained perfectly unintelligible. We felt no small satisfaction in having, though accidentally, shown the Russians, in this instance, the only true way of collecting tribute, and extending their dominions; and in the hopes that the good understanding which this event hath given rise to, may rescue a brave people from the future invasions of such powerful neighbours.

We dined this day with Captain Shmaleff, and in the afternoon, in order to vary our amusements, he treated us with an exhibition of the Russian and Kamtschadale dancing. No description can convey an adequate idea of this rude and uncouth entertainment. The figure of the Russian dance was much like those of our hornpipes, and was danced either single, or by two or four persons at a time. Their steps were short and quick, with the feet scarce raised from the ground; the arms were fixed close to the sides; the body being all the while kept upright and immoveable, excepting when the parties passed each other, at which time the hand was raised with a quick and awkward motion. But if the Russian dance was at the same time both unmeaning and ridiculous, the Kamtschadale joined to the latter quality the most whimsical idea that ever entered into any people's heads. It is intended to represent the awkward and clumsy gestures of the bear, which these people have frequent opportunities of observing in a great variety of situations. It will scarcely be expected that I should give a minute description of all the strange postures which were exhibited on these occasions; and I shall therefore only mention, that the body was always bowed, and the knees bent, whilst the arms were used in imitating the tricks and attitudes of that animal.

As our journey to Bolcheretsk had taken up more time than we expected, and we were told that our return might prove still more difficult and tedious, we were under the necessity

of acquainting the commander, this evening, with our intention of setting out the next day. It was not without the utmost regret we thought of leaving our new acquaintance; and were therefore most agreeably surprised, when the major told us, that if we could stay one day longer, he would accompany us. He had, he said, made up his despatches, and resigned the command of Kamtschatka to his successor Captain Shmaleff, and had prepared everything for his departure to Okotsk, which was to take place in a few days; but that he should feel great pleasure in putting off his journey a little longer, and returning with us to St. Peter and St. Paul's, that he might himself be a witness of everything being done for us, that it was in their power to do.

In return for the few trifles I had given to the children of Major Behm, I was next morning, the 15th, presented by his little boy, with a most magnificent Kamtschadale dress, which shall be described in its proper place. It was of the kind worn by the principal *Toions* of the country, on occasions of great ceremony; and, as I was afterwards told by Fedositsch, could not have been purchased for one hundred and twenty roubles. At the same time, I had a present from his daughter of a handsome sable muff. We afterwards dined with the commander, who, in order to let us see as much of the manners of the inhabitants, and of the customs of the country, as our time would permit, invited the whole of the better sort of people in the village, to his house this evening. All the women appeared very splendidly dressed after the Kamtschadale fashion. The wives of Captain Shmaleff, and the other officers of the garrison, were prettily dressed, half in the Siberian, and half in the European mode; and Madame Behm, in order to make the stronger contrast, had unpacked part of her baggage, and put on a rich European dress. I was much struck with the richness and variety of the silks which the women wore, and the singularity of their habits. The whole was like some enchanted scene, in the midst of the wildest and most dreary country in the world. Our entertainment again consisted of dancing and singing.

The next morning being fixed for our departure, we retired early to our lodgings, where the first things we saw were three travelling-dresses, made after the fashion of the country, which the major had provided for us, who came himself to our house soon after, to see all our things packed up, and properly taken care of. Indeed what with his liberal presents, and the kindness of Captain Shmaleff, and many other individuals, who all begged to throw in their mite, together with the ample stock of provisions he had sent us for our journey, we had amassed no inconsiderable load of baggage.

Early in the morning, everything being ready for our departure, we were invited to call on Madame Behm, in our way to the boats, and take our leave of her. Impressed, as our minds were, with sentiments of the warmest gratitude, by the attentive, benevolent, and generous treatment we had met with at Bolcheretsk, they were greatly heightened by the affecting scene which presented itself to us, on leaving our lodgings. All the soldiers and Cossacks belonging to the garrison, were drawn up on one hand, and the male inhabitants of the town, dressed out in their best clothes, on the other; and as soon as we came out of the house, the whole body of the people joined in a melancholy song, which, the major told us, it was usual in that country to sing on taking leave of their friends. In this manner we marched down to the commander's house, preceded by the drums and music of the garrison, where we were received by Madame Behm, attended by the ladies, who were dressed in long silk cloaks, lined with very valuable furs of different colours, which made a most magnificent appearance. After partaking of some refreshment, that was prepared for us, we went down to the water side, accompanied by the ladies, who now joined the song with the rest of the inhabitants; and as soon as we had taken leave of Madame Behm, and assured her of the grateful sense we should ever retain of the hospitality of Bolcheretsk, we found ourselves too much affected, not to hasten into the boats with all the expedition we could. When we put off, the whole company gave us three cheers, which we returned from the boat; and, as we were doubling a point, where for the last time we saw our friendly entertainers, they took their farewell in another cheer.

We found the stream, on our return, so exceedingly rapid, that notwithstanding the Cossacks and Kamtschadales used their utmost exertions, we did not reach the first village,

Opatchin, till the evening of the 17th, which was at the rate of about twenty miles a-day. We got to Natcheckin on the 19th; and on the 20th we crossed the plain to Karatchin. We found the road much better than when we had passed it before, there having been a smart frost on the night of the 19th. On the 21st, we proceeded down the Awatska River; and, before it was dark, got over the shoals which lie at the entrance of the bay. During the whole course of our journey, we were much pleased with the great good-will with which the *Toions*, and their Kamtschadales, afforded us their assistance, at the different ostrogs through which we passed; and I could not but observe the pleasure that appeared in their countenances, on seeing the major, and their strong expressions of sorrow, on hearing he was so soon going to leave them.

We had despatched a messenger to Captain Clerke, from Bolcheretsk, with an account of our reception, and of the major's intention of returning with us; at the same time apprising him of the day he might probably expect to see us. We were therefore very well pleased to observe, as we approached the harbour, all the boats of the two ships coming toward us, the men clean, and the officers as well dressed as the scarcity of our clothing would permit. The major was much struck at the robust and healthy appearance of the boats' crews, and still more at seeing most of them without any other covering than a shirt and trousers, although at the very moment it actually snowed. As Major Behm had expressed his intentions of visiting the ships before he landed, as soon as we arrived off the town, I desired to receive his commands; when remarking, that from the account we had given of the very bad state of Captain Clerke's health, it might be imprudent to disturb him at so late an hour (it being now past nine o'clock), he thought it, he said, most advisable to remain that night on shore. Accordingly, after attending him to the serjeant's house, I took my leave for the present, and went on board to acquaint Captain Clerke with my proceedings at Bolcheretsk. It was with the utmost concern I found, that in the fortnight we had been absent, this excellent officer was much altered for the worse, instead of reaping that advantage we flattered ourselves he might, from the repose of the harbour, and the milk and vegetable diet with which he was supplied.

As soon as I had despatched this business, I returned to the major, and the next morning conducted him to the ships; where, on his arrival, he was saluted with thirteen guns, and received with every other mark of distinction that it was in our power to pay him. He was attended by the commander of one of the Russian galliots, the master of a sloop that lay in the harbour, two merchants from Bolcheretsk, and the priest of the neighbouring village of Paratounca, for whom he appeared to entertain the highest respect, and whom I shall hereafter have occasion to mention, on account of his great kindness to Captain Clerke.

After visiting the captain, and taking a view of both the ships, he returned to dinner on board the Resolution; and, in the afternoon, the various curiosities we had collected in the course of our voyage, were shown him, and a complete assortment of every article presented to him by Captain Clerke. On this occasion I must not pass over an instance of great generosity and gratitude in the sailors of both ships; who, when they were told of the handsome present of tobacco that was made them by the major, desired, entirely of their own accord, that their grog might be stopped, and their allowance of spirits presented, on their part, to the garrison of Bolcheretsk, as they said they had reason to conclude that brandy was scarce in the country, and would be very acceptable to them, since the soldiers on shore had offered four roubles a bottle for it. We, who knew how much the sailors always felt, whenever their allowance of grog was stopped, which was generally done in warm weather, that they might have it in a greater proportion in cold, and that this offer would deprive them of it during the inclement season we had to expect in our next expedition to the north, could not but admire so extraordinary a sacrifice; and that they might not suffer by it, Captain Clerke, and the rest of the officers, substituted in the room of the very small quantity the major could be prevailed on to accept, the same quantity of rum. This, with a dozen or two of Cape wine, for Madame Behm, and such other little presents as were in out power to bestow, were accepted in the most obliging manner. The next morning the tobacco was divided between the crews of the two ships, three pounds being allotted to every man that chewed or smoked tobacco, and one pound to those that did not.

I have before mentioned, that Major Behm had resigned the command of Kamtschatka, and intended to set out in a short time for Petersburg; and he now offered to charge himself with any despatches we might trust to his care. This was an opportunity not to be neglected; and accordingly Captain Clerke acquainted him, that he would take the liberty of sending by him some papers relating to our voyage, to be delivered to our ambassador at the Russian court. Our first intentions were to send only a small journal of our proceedings; but afterward Captain Clerke being persuaded that the whole account of our discoveries might safely be trusted to a person who had given such striking proofs both of his public and private virtues; and considering that we had a very hazardous part of the voyage still to undertake, determined to send, by him, the whole of the journal of our late commander, with that part of his own which completed the period from Captain Cook's death, till our arrival at Kamtschatka; together with a chart of all our discoveries. Mr. Bayly and myself thought it also proper to send a general account of our proceedings to the board of longitude; by which precautions, if any misfortune had afterward befallen us, the Admiralty would have been in possession of a complete history of the principal facts of our voyage. It was also determined, that a smaller packet should be sent by an express from Okotsk, which, the major said, if he was fortunate in his passage to that port, would reach Petersburg by December, and that he himself should be there in February or March. During the three following days, the major was entertained alternately in the two ships, in the best manner we were able. On the 25th, he took his leave, and was saluted with thirteen guns; and the sailors, at their own desire, gave him three cheers. The next morning, Mr. Webber and myself attended him a few miles up the Awatska River, where we met the Russian priest, his wife and children, who were waiting to take the last farewell of their commander.

It was hard to say, whether the good priest and his family, or ourselves, were most affected on taking our leave of Major Behm. Short as our acquaintance had been, his noble and disinterested conduct had inspired us with the highest respect and esteem for him; and we could not part with a person to whom we were under such obligations, and whom we had little prospect of ever seeing again, without feeling the most tender concern. The intrinsic value of the private presents we received from him, exclusive of the stores which might be carried to a public account, must have amounted, according to the current price of articles in that country, to upward of two hundred pounds. But this generosity, extraordinary as it must appear in itself, was exceeded by the delicacy with which all his favours were conferred, and the artful manner in which he endeavoured to prevent our feeling the weight of obligations, which he knew we had no means of requiting. If we go a step further, and consider him as supporting a public character, and maintaining the honour of a great sovereign, we shall find a still higher subject of admiration, in the just and enlarged sentiments by which he was actuated. "The service in which you are employed," he would often say, "is for the general advantage of mankind, and therefore gives you a right, not merely to the offices of humanity, but to the privileges of citizens, in whatever country you may be thrown. I am sure I am acting agreeably to the wishes of my mistress, in affording you all the relief in our power; and I cannot forget either her character, or my own honour, so much, as to barter for the performance of a duty." At other times, he would tell us, that he was particularly desirous of setting a good example to the Kamtschadales, who, he said, were but just emerging from a state of barbarism; that they looked up to the Russians as their patterns in everything; and that he had hopes they might in future look upon it as a duty incumbent upon them to assist strangers to the utmost of their power, and believe that such was the universal practice of civilised nations. To all this must be added, that, after having relieved, to the utmost of his abilities, all our present distresses, he showed himself not much less mindful of our future wants; and, as he supposed it more than probable we should not discover the passage we were in search of, and therefore should return to Kamtschatka in the fall of the year, he made Captain Clerke give him a list of what cordage and flour we should want, and promised they should be sent from Okotsk, and wait our arrival. For the same purpose, he gave Captain Clerke a paper, enjoining all the subjects of the empress, whom we might happen to meet, to give us every assistance in their power.

CHAPTER III.—CONTINUATION OF TRANSACTIONS IN THE HARBOUR OF ST. PETER AND ST. PAUL.—ABUNDANCE OF FISH.—DEATH OF A SEAMAN BELONGING TO THE RESOLUTION.—THE RUSSIAN HOSPITAL PUT UNDER THE CARE OF THE SHIP'S SURGEONS.—SUPPLY OF FLOUR AND CATTLE.—CELEBRATION OF THE KING'S BIRTH-DAY.—DIFFICULTIES IN SAILING OUT OF THE BAY.—ERUPTION OF A VOLCANO.—STEER TO THE NORTHWARD.—CHEEPOONSKOI NOSS.—ERRORS OF THE RUSSIAN CHARTS.—KAMTSCHATSKOI NOSS.—OLUTORSKOI NOSS.—TSCHUKOTSKOI NOSS.—ISLAND OF ST. LAURENCE.—VIEW, FROM THE SAME POINT, OF THE COASTS OF ASIA AND AMERICA, AND THE ISLANDS OF ST. DIOMEDE.—VARIOUS ATTEMPTS TO GET TO THE NORTH, BETWEEN THE TWO CONTINENTS.—OBSTRUCTED BY IMPENETRABLE ICE.—SEA-HORSES AND WHITE BEARS KILLED.—CAPTAIN CLERKE'S DETERMINATION, AND FUTURE DESIGNS.

Having concluded the last chapter with an account of our return from Bolcheretsk, accompanied by Major Behm, the Commander of Kamtschatka, and of his departure; I shall proceed to relate the transactions that passed in the harbour of St. Peter and St. Paul during our absence. On the 7th of May, soon after we had left the bay, a large piece of ice drove across the cut-water of the Resolution, and brought home the small bower anchor. This obliged them to weigh the other anchor, and moor again. The carpenters, who were employed in stopping the leak, were obliged to take off a great part of the sheathing from the bows, and found many of the trunnels so very loose and rotten, as to be easily drawn out with the fingers. On the 11th they had heavy gales from the north-east, which obliged both the ships to strike yards and topmasts; but in the afternoon, the weather being more moderate, and the ice having drifted away as far as the mouth of the harbour of St. Peter and St. Paul, they warped close to the shore for the greater convenience of watering and wooding, and again moored as before, the town bearing north half west, half a mile distant, and the mouth of the bay shut in by the southernmost point of Rakowina harbour, south. The next day, a party was sent on shore to cut wood, but made little progress on account of the snow, which still covered the ground. A convenient spot was cleared away abreast of the ships, where there was a fine run of water, and a tent being erected for the cooper, the empty casks were landed, and the sail-makers sent on shore.

On the 15th, the beach being clear of ice, the people were sent to haul the seine, and caught an abundant supply of fine flat fish for both the ships' companies. Indeed from this time, during the whole of our stay in the harbour, we were absolutely overpowered with the quantities of fish which came in from every quarter. The *Toions* both of this town and of Paratounca, a village in the neighbourhood, had received orders from Major Behm to employ all the Kamtschadales in our service, so that we frequently could not take into the ships the presents that were sent us. They consisted in general of flat fish, cod, trout, and herring. These last, which were in their full perfection, and of a delicious flavour, were exceedingly abundant in this bay. The Discovery's people surrounded at one time so great a quantity in their seine, that they were obliged to throw a vast number out, lest the net should be broken to pieces; and the cargo they landed was afterward so plentiful, that besides a sufficient store for immediate use, they filled as many casks as they could spare for salting; and after sending to the Resolution a sufficient quantity for the same purpose, they left several bushels behind on the beach.

The snow now began to disappear very rapidly, and abundance of wild garlic, celery, and nettle-tops were gathered for the use of the crews, which being boiled with wheat and portable soup, made them a wholesome and comfortable breakfast, and with this they were supplied every morning. The birch trees were also tapped, and the sweet juice, which they yielded in great quantities, was constantly mixed with the men's allowance of brandy. The next day, a small bullock, which had been procured for the ships' companies by the sergeant, was killed, and weighed two hundred and seventy-two pounds. It was served out to both crews for their Sunday's dinner, being the first piece of fresh beef they had tasted since our departure from the Cape of Good Hope in December, 1776, a period of near two years and a half.

This evening died John Macintosh, the carpenter's mate, after having laboured under a dysentery ever since our departure from the Sandwich Islands: he was a very hard-working quiet man, and much regretted by his mess-mates. He was the fourth person we lost by sickness during the voyage, but the first who could be said, from his age and the constitutional habits of his body, to have had on our setting out an equal chance with the rest of his comrades: Watman we supposed to be about sixty years of age; and Roberts and Mr. Anderson, from the decay which had evidently commenced before we left England, could not, in all probability, under any circumstances, have lived a greater length of time than they did.

I have already mentioned that Captain Clerke's health continued daily to decline, notwithstanding the salutary change of diet which the country of Kamtschatka afforded him. The priest of Paratounca, as soon as he heard of the infirm state he was in, supplied him every day with bread, milk, fresh butter, and fowls, though his house was sixteen miles from the harbour where we lay.

On our first arrival, we found the Russian hospital, which is near the town of St. Peter and St. Paul, in a condition truly deplorable. All the soldiers were, more or less, affected by the scurvy, and a great many in the last stage of that disorder. The rest of the Russian inhabitants were also in the same condition; and we particularly remarked that our friend the sergeant, by making too free with the spirits we gave him, had brought on himself in the course of a few days, some of the most alarming symptoms of that malady. In this lamentable state, Captain Clerke put them all under the care of our surgeons, and ordered a supply of sour krout, and malt for wort, to be furnished for their use. It was astonishing to observe the alteration in the figures of almost every person we met on our return from Bolcheretsk; and I was informed by our surgeons that they attributed their speedy recovery principally to the effects of the sweet wort.

On the 1st of June we got on board two hundred and fifty poods, or nine thousand pounds' weight of rye flour, with which we were supplied from the stores of St. Peter and St. Paul's, and the Discovery had a proportional quantity. The men were immediately put on full allowance of bread, which they had not been indulged in since our leaving the Cape of Good Hope. The same day our watering was completed, having got on board sixty-five tons. On the 4th * we had fresh breezes and hard rain, which disappointed us in our design of dressing the ships, and obliged us to content ourselves with firing twenty-one guns in honour of the day, and celebrating it in other respects in the best manner we were able. Port, who was left with us on account of his skill in languages, behaved himself with so much modesty and discretion, that as soon as his master was gone he was no longer Jean Port, but Monsieur Port, the interpreter, and partook, as well as the sergeant (in his capacity of commander of the place), of the entertainment of the day. Our worthy friend the priest of Paratounca having got intelligence of its being our king's birth-day, gave also a sumptuous feast, at which some of our gentlemen were present, who seemed highly delighted with their entertainment, which consisted of abundance of good eating and drinking, together with dancing.

On the 6th, twenty head of cattle were sent us by the commander's orders from the Verchnei ostrog, which is situated on the river Kamtschatka, at the distance of near a hundred miles from this place, in a direct line. They were of a moderate size; and notwithstanding the Kamtschadales had been seventeen days in driving them down to the harbour, arrived in good condition. The four following days were employed in making ready for sea, and on the 11th, at two in the morning, we began to unmoor; but before we had got one anchor up, it blew so strong a gale from the north-east, that we kept fast, and moored again, conjecturing, from the position of the entrance of the bay, that the current of wind would set up the channel. Accordingly, the pinnace being sent out to examine the passage, returned with an account that the wind blew strong from the south-east, with a great swell, setting into the bay, which would have made any attempt to get to sea very hazardous.

Our friend Port now took his leave of us, and carried with him the box with our journals, which was to go by the major, and the packet that was to be sent express. On the 12th,

* The Birth-day of George III.

the weather being moderate, we began to unmoor again; but, after breaking the messenger, and reeving a running purchase with a six-inch hawser, which also broke three times, we were obliged at last to heave a strain at low water, and wait for the flowing of the tide to raise the anchor. This project succeeded; but not without damaging the cable in the wake of the hawse. At three, we weighed the best bower, and set sail; and, at eight, having little wind, and the tide making against us, we dropped anchor again in ten fathoms, off the mouth of Rakowina harbour; the ostrog bearing north by east half east, two miles and a half distant; the Needle Rocks, on the east side of the passage, south south-east half east, and the high rock, on the west side of the passage, south.

On the 13th, at four in the morning, we got under weigh with the ebb tide; and, there being a dead calm, the boats were sent ahead to tow the ships. At ten, the wind springing up from the south-east by south, and the tide having turned, we were again obliged to drop anchor in seven fathoms; the Three Needle Rocks bearing south half east; and the ostrog north half east, at the distance of one mile from the nearest land. After dinner, I went with Captain Gore on shore, on the east side of the passage, where we saw, in two different places, the remains of extensive villages; and on the side of the hill, an old ruined parapet, with four or five embrasures. It commanded the passage up the mouth of the bay; and in Beering's time, as he himself mentions, had guns mounted on it. Near this place, were the ruins of some caverns under ground, which we supposed to have been magazines.

At six in the afternoon we weighed with the ebb tide, and turned to windward; but at eight, a thick fog arising, we were obliged to bring-to, as our soundings could not afford us a sufficient direction for steering between several sunk rocks, which lie on each side of the passage we had to make. In the morning of the 14th, the fog clearing away, we weighed as soon as the tide began to ebb; and, having little wind, sent the boats ahead to tow; but, at ten o'clock, both the wind and tide set in so strong from the sea, that we were again obliged to drop anchor in thirteen fathoms, the high rock bearing west one quarter south, distant three quarters of a mile. We remained fast for the rest of the day, the wind blowing fresh into the mouth of the bay; and, toward evening, the weather had a very unusual appearance, being exceedingly dark and cloudy, with an unsettled shifting wind.

Before daylight on the 15th, we were surprised with a rumbling noise, resembling distant hollow thunder; and when the day broke, we found the decks and sides of the ships covered with a fine dust like emery, near an inch thick. The air, at the same time, continued loaded and darkened with this substance; and, toward the volcano mountain, situated to the north of the harbour, it was so thick and black, that we could not distinguish the body of the hill. About twelve o'clock, and, during the afternoon, the explosions became louder, and were followed by showers of cinders, which were, in general, about the size of peas; though many were picked up from the deck larger than a hazel-nut. Along with the cinders fell several small stones, which had undergone no change from the action of fire. In the evening we had dreadful thunder and lightning, which, with the darkness of the atmosphere, and the sulphureous smell of the air, produced altogether a most awful and terrifying effect. We were, at this time, about eight leagues from the foot of the mountain.

On the 16th, at daylight, we again weighed anchor, and stood out of the bay; but the ebb-tide setting across the passage upon the eastern shore, and the wind falling, we were driven very near the Three Needle Rocks, which lie on that side of the entrance, and obliged to hoist out the boats, in order to tow the ships clear of them. At noon we were two leagues from the land, and had soundings with forty-three fathoms of line, over a bottom of small stones, of the same kind with those which fell on our decks, after the eruption of the volcano; but whether they had been left there by the last, or by some former eruptions, we were not able to determine. The aspect of the country was now very different from what it had been on our first arrival. The snow, excepting what remained on the tops of some very high mountains, had disappeared; and the sides of the hills, which in many parts were well wooded, were covered with a beautiful verdure.

As it was Captain Clerke's intention to keep as much in sight of the coast of Kamtschatka as the weather would permit, in order to determine its position, we continued steering to the north north-east, with light and variable winds, till the 18th. The volcano was still seen

throwing up immense volumes of smoke; and we had no soundings with one hundred and fifty fathoms, at the distance of four leagues from the shore. On the 18th, the wind freshening from the south, the weather became so thick and hazy, as to make it imprudent to attempt any longer to keep in sight of the land. But that we might be ready to resume our survey, whenever the fogs should disperse, we ran on in the direction of the coast, as laid down in the Russian charts, and fired signal-guns for the Discovery to steer the same course. At eleven o'clock, just before we lost sight of the land, Cheepoonskoi Noss, so called by the Russians (a description of which, as well as the coast between it and Awatska Bay, will be given hereafter,) bore north north-east, distant seven or eight leagues.

On the 20th, at three in the morning, the weather having cleared up, we stood in toward the land; and in an hour's time saw it ahead, extending from north-west to north north-east, distant about five leagues. The north part we took to be Kronotskoi Noss; its position in the Russian charts agreeing nearly with our reckoning as to its latitude, which was 54° 42′; but in longitude we differed from them considerably, they placing it 1° 48′ E. of Awatska; whereas, our reckoning, corrected by the time-keepers and lunar observations, makes it 3° 34′ E. of that place, or 162° 17′ E. from Greenwich. The land about this cape is very high, and the inland mountains were still covered with snow. The shore breaks off in steep cliffs, and the coast is without any appearance of inlets or bays. We had not been long gratified with this sight of the land, when the wind freshened from the south-west, and brought on a thick fog, which obliged us to stand off to the north-east by east. The weather clearing up again at noon, we steered toward the land, expecting to fall in with Kamtschatskoi Noss, and had sight of it at daybreak of the 21st. The southerly wind was soon after succeeded by a light breeze blowing off the land, which prevented our approaching the coast sufficiently near to describe its aspect, or ascertain, with accuracy, its direction. At noon, our latitude, by observation, was 55° 52′, and longitude (deduced from a comparison of many lunar observations, taken near this time, with the time-keepers,) 163° 50′; the extremities of the land bearing N. W. by W. three quarters W., and N. by W. three quarters W., the nearest part about eight leagues distant. At nine o'clock in the evening, having approached about two leagues nearer the coast, we found it formed a projecting peninsula, extending about twelve leagues in a direction nearly N. and S. It is level and of a moderate height, the southern extremity terminating in a low sloping point; that to the north forming a steep bluff head; and between them, about four leagues to the southward of the northern cape, there is a considerable break in the land. On each side of this break the land is quite low; beyond the opening rises a remarkable saddle-like hill; and a chain of high mountains covered with snow, ranges along the back of the whole peninsula. As the coast runs in an even direction, we were at a great loss where to place Kamtschatskoi Noss, which, according to Muller, forms a projecting point about the middle of the peninsula, and which certainly does not exist; but I have since found, that in the general map published by the Academy of Petersburg in 1776, that name is given to the southern cape. This was found, by several accurate observations, to be in latitude 56° 3′, longitude 163° 20′; the difference in longitude from the Russian charts, being the same as at Kronotskoi Noss. The variation of the compass at this time was 10° E. To the southward of this peninsula the great river Kamtschatka falls into the sea. As the season was too far advanced to admit of our making an accurate survey of the coast of Kamtschatka, it was Captain Clerke's plan, in our run to Beering's Straits, to determine principally the positions of the projecting points of the coast. We therefore directed our course across an extensive bay, laid down between Kamtschatskoi Noss and Olutorskoi Noss, intending to make the latter; which, according to the Russian geographers, terminates the peninsula called Kamtschatka, and becomes the southern boundary of the Koriaki country.

On the 22nd, we passed a dead whale, which emitted a horrid stench, perceivable at upward of a league's distance; it was covered with a great number of sea-birds, that were feasting on it. On the 24th, the wind, which had varied round the compass, the three preceding days, fixed at S. W. and brought clear weather, with which we continued our course to the N. E. by N., across the bay, without any land in sight. This day we saw a great number of gulls, and were witnesses to the disgusting mode of feeding of the arctic

gull, which has procured it the name of the parasite, and which, if the reader is not already acquainted with it, he will find in the note below.*

On the 25th, at one o'clock in the afternoon, being in latitude 59° 12′, longitude 168° 35′, the wind freshening from the same quarter, a thick fog succeeded; and this unfortunately just at the time we expected to see Olutorskoi Noss; which, if Muller places it right in latitude 59° 30′, and in longitude 167° 36′, could only have then been twelve leagues from us; at which distance land of a moderate height might easily have been seen. But if the same error in longitude prevails here, which we have hitherto invariably found, it would have been much nearer us, even before the fog came on; and as we saw no appearance of land at that time, it must either have been very low, or there must be some mistake of latitude in Muller's account. We tried soundings, but had no ground with one hundred and sixty fathoms of line.

The weather still thickening, and preventing a nearer approach to the land, at five we steered E. by N., which is somewhat more easterly than the Russian charts lay down the trending of the coast from Olutorskoi Noss. The next day we had a fresh gale from the S. W., which lasted till the 27th at noon, when the fogs clearing away, we stood to the northward, in order to make the land. The latitude at noon, by observation, was 59° 49′, longitude 175° 43′. Notwithstanding we saw shags in the forenoon, which are supposed never to go far from land, yet there was no appearance of it this day; but on the 28th, at six in the morning, we got sight of it to the N. W. The coast shows itself in hills of a moderate height; but inland, others are seen to rise considerably. We could observe no wood, and the snow lying upon them in patches, gave the whole a very barren appearance. At nine, we were about ten miles from the shore, the southern extremity bearing W. by S., six leagues distant, beyond which the coast appeared to trend to the westward. This point being in latitude 61° 48′, longitude 174° 48′, lies, according to the Russian charts, near the mouth of the river Opuka. At the same time, the northern extreme bore N. by W.; between which and a hill bearing N. W. by W. a quarter W., and at this distance appearing to us like an island, the coast seemed to bend to the westward, and form a deep bay. About eight miles from land, we perceived ourselves in a strong rippling; and being apprehensive of foul ground, we bore away to the N. E., along the shore; notwithstanding, on heaving the lead, we found regular soundings of twenty-four fathoms, over a gravelly bottom; from whence we concluded, that this appearance was occasioned by a tide, at that time running to the southward. At noon, the extremes of the land bearing W. S. W. three quarters W., and N. N. E. three quarters E., distant from the nearest shore four leagues, we were abreast of the low land, which we now perceived to join the two points, where we had before expected to find a deep bay. The coast bends a little to the westward, and has a small inlet, which may probably be the mouth of some trifling stream. Our latitude, by observation, was 61° 56′, and longitude 175° 43′, and the variation of the compass 17° 30′ E.

We continued during the afternoon to run along the shore, at the distance of four or five leagues, with a moderate westerly breeze, carrying regular soundings from twenty-eight to thirty-six fathoms. The coast presented the same barren aspect as to the southward, the hills rising considerably inland, but to what height the clouds on their tops put it out of our power to determine. At eight in the evening, land was thought to have been seen to the east by north, on which we steered to the southward of east, but it turned out to be only a fog-bank. At midnight, the extreme point bearing north-east a quarter east, we supposed it to be Saint Thadeus's Noss; to the southward of which the land trends to the westward, and forms a deep bight, wherein, according to the Russian charts, lies the river Katirka.

On the 29th the weather was unsettled and variable, with the wind from the north-east. At noon of the 30th, our latitude by observation was 61° 48′, and longitude 180° 0′, at which time Saint Thadeus's Noss bore north north-west, twenty-three leagues distant, and beyond

* This bird, which is somewhat larger than the common gull, pursues the latter kind whenever it meets them; the gull, after flying for some time, with loud screams and evident marks of great terror, drops its dung; which its pursuer immediately darts at, and catches before it falls into the sea. [This is an error. The larger bird forces the smaller to disgorge the food it has just swallowed, which has been mistaken for its dung. See Encyclopædia Britannica, article *Larus*.—ED.]

it we observed the coast stretching almost directly north. The most easterly point of the Noss is in latitude 62° 50′, and longitude 179° 0′, being 3½° more to the east than what the Russians make it. The land about it must be of a considerable height, from its being seen at so great a distance. During the two last days, we saw numbers of whales, large seals, and sea-horses; also gulls, sea-parrots, and albatrosses. We took the advantage of a little calm weather to try for fish, and caught abundance of fine cod. The depth of water from sixty-five to seventy-five fathoms.

On the 1st of July at noon, Mr. Bligh having moored a small keg with the deep-sea lead in seventy-five fathoms, found the ship made a course north by east half a mile an hour. This he attributed to the effect of a long southerly swell, and not to that of any current. The wind freshening from the south-east toward evening, we shaped our course to the north-east by east for the point called in Beering's chart Tschukotskoi Noss, which we had observed on the 4th of September last year, at the same time that we saw to the south-east the island of Saint Laurence. This Cape and Saint Thadeus's Noss form the north-east and south-west extremities of the large and deep Gulf of Anadir, into the bottom of which the river of that name empties itself, dividing, as it passes, the country of the Koriacs from that of Tschutski. On the 3rd at noon the latitude, by observation, was 63° 33′, and the longitude 186° 45′; half an hour after which we got sight of the Tschukotskoi Noss, bearing north half west, thirteen or fourteen leagues distant, and at five in the afternoon saw the island of St. Laurence, bearing east three quarters north; and another island a little to the eastward of it, which we supposed to be between Saint Laurence and Anderson's Island, about six leagues east-south-east of the former. As we had no certain account of this island, Captain Clerke was desirous of a nearer prospect, and immediately hauled the wind toward it; but unfortunately we were not able to weather the island of Saint Laurence, and were therefore under the necessity of bearing up again, and passing them all to the leeward.

We had a better opportunity of settling the longitude of the island Saint Laurence when we last saw it, than now. But seeing it at that time but once, and to the southward, we could only determine its latitude so far as we could judge of distances, whereas now the noon observations enabled us to ascertain it correctly, which is 63° 47′. Its longitude was found to be 188° 15′, as before. This island, if its boundaries were at this time within our view, is about three leagues in circuit. The north part may be seen at the distance of ten or twelve leagues; but as it falls in low land to the south-east, the extent of which we could not see, some of us conjectured that it might probably be joined to the land to the eastward of it; this, however, the haziness of the weather prevented our ascertaining. These islands, as well as the land about the Tschukotskoi Noss, were covered with snow, and presented us with a most dreary picture. At midnight, Saint Laurence bore south-south-east, five or six miles distant, and our depth of water was eighteen fathoms. We were accompanied by various kinds of sea-fowl, and saw several small crested hawks.

The weather still continuing to thicken, we lost all sight of land till the 5th, when it appeared both to the north-east and north-west. Our latitude, by account, was at this time 65° 24′, longitude 189° 14′. As the islands of Saint Diomede, which lie between the two continents in Beering's Strait, were determined by us last year to be in latitude 65° 48′, we could not reconcile the land to the north-east with the situation of those islands. We therefore stood toward the land till three in the afternoon, when we were within four miles of it, and finding it to be two islands, were pretty well satisfied of their being the same; but the weather still continuing hazy, to make sure of our situation we stood over to the coast of Asia till seven in the evening, at which time we were within two or three leagues of the east cape of that continent. This cape is a high round head of land, extending four or five miles from north to south, forming a peninsula, and connected with the continent by a narrow neck of low land. Its shore is bold, and off its north part are three high detached spiral rocks. At this time it was covered with snow, and the beach surrounded with ice. We were now convinced that we had been under the influence of a strong current setting to the north, that had caused an error in our latitude at noon of twenty miles. In passing this strait the last year, we had experienced the same effect. Being at length sure of our position, we held on to the north by east. At ten at night the weather becoming clear, we had an

opportunity of seeing at the same moment the remarkable peaked hill near Cape Prince of Wales, on the coast of America, and the east Cape of Asia, with the two connecting islands of Saint Diomede between them.

At noon on the 6th, the latitude, by account, was 67° N., and the longitude 191° 6′ E. Having already passed a considerable number of large masses of ice, and observed that it still adhered in several places to the shore on the continent of Asia, we were not much surprised to fall in, at three in the afternoon, with an extensive body of it, stretching away to the westward. This sight gave great discouragement to our hopes of advancing much farther northward this year than we had done the preceding.

Having little wind in the afternoon, we hoisted out the boats in pursuit of the sea-horses, which were in great numbers on the detached pieces of ice; but they soon returned without success; these animals being exceedingly shy, and before they could come within gun-shot, always making their retreat into the water. At seven in the evening, we hoisted in the boats, and the wind freshening from the southward, we stood on to the N. E., with a view of exploring the continent of America, between the latitudes of 68° and 69°, which, owing to the foggy weather last year, we had not been able to examine. In this attempt we were again in part disappointed. For on the 7th, at six in the morning, we were stopped by a large field of ice stretching from N. W. to S. E., but soon after the horizon becoming clear, we had sight of the coast of America at about ten leagues distance, extending from north-east by east to east, and lying, by observation, between the 68° and 68° 20′ of latitude. As the weather was clear, and the ice not high, we were enabled to see over a great extent of it. The whole presented a solid and compact surface not in the smallest degree thawed, and appeared to us likewise to adhere to the land.

The weather soon after changing to hazy, we saw no more of the land; and there not remaining a possibility of approaching nearer to it, we stood to the north north-west, keeping the ice close on board, and got round its western extremity by noon, when we found it trending nearly north. Our latitude at this time was, by account, 68° 22′, and longitude 192° 34′. We continued our course to the north north-east, along the edge of the ice, during the remaining part of the day, passing through many loose pieces that had been broken off from the main body, and against which, notwithstanding all our caution, the ships were driven with great violence. At eight o'clock in the evening we passed some driftwood, and at midnight the wind shifted to the north-west; the thermometer fell from 38° to 31°, and we had continued showers of snow and sleet.

On the 8th, at five in the morning, the wind coming still more to the northward, we could no longer keep on the same tack, on account of the ice, but were obliged to stand to the westward. At this time our soundings had decreased to nineteen fathoms, from which, on comparing it with our observations on the depth of water last year, we concluded that we were not at a greater distance from the American shore than six or seven leagues; but our view was confined within a much shorter compass by a violent fall of snow. At noon, the latitude by account was 69° 21′, longitude 192° 42′. At two in the afternoon the weather cleared up, and we found ourselves close to an expanse of what appeared from the deck solid ice; but from the mast head it was discovered to be composed of huge compact bodies, close and united toward the outer edge, but in the interior parts several pieces were seen floating in vacant spaces of the water. It extended from north-east by the north to west south-west. We bore away by the edge of it to the southward, that we might get into clearer water; for the strong northerly winds had drifted down such quantities of loose pieces, that we had been for some time surrounded by them, and could not avoid striking against several, notwithstanding we reefed the topsails and stood under an easy sail.

On the 9th we had a fresh gale from the north north-west, with heavy showers of snow and sleet. The thermometer was in the night-time 28°, and at noon 30°. We continued to steer west south-west as before, keeping as near the large body of ice as we could, and had the misfortune to rub off some of the sheathing from the bows against the drift pieces, and to damage the cutwater. Indeed the shocks we could not avoid receiving, were frequently so severe as to be attended with considerable danger. At noon, the latitude by account was 69° 12′, and longitude 188° 5′. The variation in the afternoon was found to be 29° 30′ E.

As we had now sailed near forty leagues to the westward, along the edge of the ice, without seeing any opening, or a clear sea to the northward beyond it, and had therefore no prospect of advancing farther north for the present, Captain Clerke resolved to bear away to the south by east, (the only quarter that was clear) and to wait till the season was more advanced, before he made any farther efforts to penetrate through the ice. The intermediate time he proposed to spend in examining the bay of St. Laurence, and the coast to the southward of it; as a harbour so near, in case of future damage from the ice, would be very desirable. We also wished to pay another visit to our Tschutski friends; and particularly since the accounts we had heard of them from the commander of Kamtschatka.

We therefore stood on to the southward till the noon of the 10th, at which time we passed great quantities of drift-ice, and the wind fell to a perfect calm. The latitude by observation was 68° 1′, longitude 188° 30′. We passed several whales in the forenoon, and in the afternoon hoisted out the boats, and sent them in pursuit of the sea-horses, which were in great numbers on the pieces of ice that surrounded us. Our people were more successful than they had been before, returning with three large ones and a young one; besides killing and wounding several others. The gentlemen who went on this party were witnesses of several remarkable instances of parental affection in those animals. On the approach of our boats toward the ice, they all took their cubs under their fins, and endeavoured to escape with them into the sea. Several, whose young were killed or wounded and left floating on the surface, rose again and carried them down, sometimes just as our people were going to take them up into the boat; and might be traced bearing them to a great distance through the water, which was coloured with their blood: we afterward observed them bringing them at times above the surface, as if for air, and again diving under it with a dreadful bellowing. The female, in particular, whose young had been destroyed and taken into the boat, became so enraged that she attacked the cutter, and struck her two tusks through the bottom of it.

At eight in the evening a breeze sprung up to the eastward, with which we still continued our course to the southward, and at twelve fell in with numerous large bodies of ice. We endeavoured to push through them with an easy sail, for fear of damaging the ship; and having got a little farther to the southward, nothing was to be seen but one compact field of ice, stretching to the south-west, south-east, and north-east, as far as the eye could reach. This unexpected and formidable obstacle put an end to Captain Clerke's plan of visiting the Tschutski, for no space remained open but back again to the northward. Accordingly, at three in the morning of the 11th, we tacked and stood to that quarter. At noon the latitude by observation was 67° 49′, and longitude 188° 47′. On the 12th, we had light winds with thick hazy weather; and, on trying the current, we found it set to the north-west, at the rate of half a knot an hour. We continued to steer northward, with a moderate southerly breeze and fair weather, till the 13th, at ten in the forenoon, when we again found ourselves close in with a solid field of ice, to which we could see no limits from the mast-head. This at once dashed all our hopes of penetrating farther, which had been considerably raised by having now advanced near ten leagues through a space which, on the 9th, we had found occupied by impenetrable ice. Our latitude, at this time, was 69° 37′, our position nearly in the mid-channel between the two continents, and the field of ice extending from east north-east to west south-west.

As there did not remain the smallest prospect of getting farther north in the part of the sea where we now were, Captain Clerke resolved to make one more and final attempt on the American coast, for Baffin's Bay, since we had been able to advance the farthest on this side last year. Accordingly, we kept working the remaining part of the day to the windward, with a fresh easterly breeze. We saw several fulmars and arctic gulls, and passed two trees, both appearing to have lain in the water a long time. The larger was about ten feet in length, and three in circumference, without either bark or branches, but with the roots remaining attached. On the 14th, we stood on to the eastward, with thick and foggy weather, our course being nearly parallel to that we steered on the 8th and 9th, but six leagues more to the northward. On the 15th, the wind freshened from the westward, and having in a great measure dispersed the fog, we immediately stood to the northward,

that we might take a nearer view of the ice, and in an hour were close in with it, extending from north north-west to north-east. We found it to be compact and solid; the outer parts were ragged and of different heights, the interior surface was even, and, we judged, from eight to ten feet above the level of the sea. The weather becoming moderate for the remaining part of the day, we directed our course according to the trending of the ice, which in many parts formed deep bays.

In the morning of the 16th, the wind freshened, and was attended with thick and frequent showers of snow. At eight in the forenoon, it blew a strong gale from the west south-west, and brought us under double-reefed topsails; when, the weather clearing a little, we found ourselves embayed, the ice having taken a sudden turn to the south-east, and in one compact body surrounding us on all sides, except on the south quarter. We therefore hauled our wind to the southward, being at this time in latitude 70° 8′ N., and in twenty-six fathoms' water; and, as we supposed, about twenty-five leagues from the coast of America. The gale increasing, at four in the afternoon we close reefed the fore and main top-sails, furled the mizen top-sail, and got the top-gallant-yards down upon deck. At eight, finding the depth of water had decreased to twenty-two fathoms, which we considered as a proof of our near approach to the American coast, we tacked and stood to the north. We had blowing weather, accompanied with snow, through the night, but next morning it became clear and moderate; and, at eight in the forenoon, we got the top-gallant-yards across, and made sail with the wind still at west south-west. At noon, we were in latitude, by observation, 69° 55′, longitude 194° 30′. Toward evening the wind slackened, and at midnight it was a calm.

On the 18th, at five in the morning, a light breeze sprung up from the east north-east, with which we continued our course to the north, in order to regain the ice as soon as possible. We passed some small logs of driftwood, and saw abundance of sea-parrots, and the small ice-birds, and likewise a number of whales. At noon, the latitude, by observation, was 70° 26′, and longitude 194° 54′, the depth of water twenty-three fathoms; the ice stretched from north to east north-east, and was distant about three miles. At one in the afternoon, finding that we were close in with a firm united field of it, extending from west north-west to east, we tacked, and the wind coming round to the westward, stood on to the eastward along its edge, till eleven o'clock at night. At that time a very thick fog coming on, and the water shoaling to nineteen fathoms, we hauled our wind to the south. The variation observed this day was 31° 20′ E. It is remarkable, that though we saw no sea-horses on the body of the ice, yet they were in herds, and in greater numbers on the detached fragments, than we had ever observed before. About nine in the evening, a white bear was seen swimming close by the Discovery; it afterward made to the ice, on which were also two others. On the 19th, at one in the morning, the weather clearing up, we again steered to the north-east till two, when we were a second time so completely embayed, that there was no opening left but to the south; to which quarter we accordingly directed our course, returning through a remarkably smooth water, and with very favourable weather, by the same way we had come in. We were never able to penetrate farther north than at this time, when our latitude was 70° 33′; and this was five leagues short of the point to which we advanced last season. We held on to the south south-west, with light winds from the north-west, by the edge of the main ice, which lay on our left hand, and stretched between us and the continent of America. Our latitude by observation, at noon, was 70° 11′, our longitude 196° 15′, and the depth of water sixteen fathoms. From this circumstance, we judged that the Icy Cape was now only at seven or eight leagues' distance; but, though the weather was in general clear, it was at the same time hazy in the horizon; so that we could not expect to see it.

In the afternoon, we saw two white bears in the water, to which we immediately gave chase in the jolly-boat, and had the good fortune to kill them both. The larger, which probably was the dam of the younger, being shot first, the other would not quit it, though it might easily have escaped on the ice, whilst the men were reloading, but remained swimming about, till, after being fired upon several times, it was shot dead.

The dimensions of the larger were as follows:—

	Ft.	In.
From the snout to the end of the tail	7	2
From the snout to the shoulder-bone	2	3
Height of the shoulder	4	3
Circumference near the fore-legs	4	10
Breadth of the fore-paw	0	10

	lbs.
Weight of the four quarters	436
Weight of the four quarters of the smaller	256

On comparing the dimensions of this with Lord Mulgrave's white bear, they were found almost exactly the same, except in the circumference, where ours fell exceedingly short. These animals afforded us a few excellent meals of fresh meat. The flesh had indeed a strong fishy taste, but was, in every respect, infinitely superior to that of the sea-horse; which, nevertheless, our people were again persuaded, without much difficulty, to prefer to their salted provisions.

At six in the morning of the 20th, a thick fog coming on, we lost sight of the ice for two hours; but the weather clearing, we saw the main body again to the south south-east, when we hauled our wind which was easterly, toward it, in the expectation of making the American coast to the south-east, and which we effected at half-past ten. At noon, the latitude, by account, was 69° 33′, and longitude 194° 53′, and the depth of water nineteen fathoms. The land extended from south by east, to south south-west half west, distant eight or ten leagues, being the same we had seen last year; but it was now much more covered with snow than at that time; and to all appearance the ice adhered to the shore. We continued, in the afternoon sailing through a sea of loose ice, and standing toward the land, as near as the wind, which was east south-east, would admit. At eight, the wind lessening, there came on a thick fog; and, on perceiving a rippling in the water, we tried the current, which we found to set to the east north-east, at the rate of a mile an hour, and therefore determined to steer, during the night, before the wind in order to stem it, and to oppose the large fragments of loose ice, that were setting us on towards the land. The depth of the water, at midnight was twenty fathoms. At eight in the morning of the 21st, the wind freshening, and the fog clearing away, we saw the American coast to the south-east, at the distance of eight or ten leagues, and hauled in for it; but were stopped again by the ice, and obliged to bear away to the westward, along the edge of it. At noon, the latitude, by account, was 69° 34′ and longitude 193°, and the depth of water twenty-four fathoms.

Thus a connected, solid, field of ice, rendering every effort we could make to a nearer approach to the land fruitless, and joining, as we judged, to it, we took a last farewell of a North-east passage to Old England. I shall beg leave to give in Captain Clerke's own words, the reasons of this his final determination, as well as of his future plans; and this the rather, as it is the last transaction his health permitted him to write down.

"It is now impossible to proceed the least farther to the northward upon this coast (America); and it is equally as improbable that this amazing mass of ice shou[illegible] dissolved by the few remaining summer-weeks which will terminate this season; but it will continue, it is to be believed, as it now is, an insurmountable barrier to every attempt we can possibly make. I, therefore, think it the best step that can be taken, for the good of the service, to trace the sea over to the Asiatic coast, and to try if I can find any opening, that will admit me farther north; if not, to see what more is to be done upon that coast; where I hope, yet cannot much flatter myself, to meet with better success; for the sea is now so choked with ice, that a passage, I fear, is totally out of the question."

CHAPTER IV.—FRUITLESS ATTEMPTS TO PENETRATE THROUGH THE ICE TO THE NORTH-WEST.—DANGEROUS SITUATION OF THE DISCOVERY.—SEAHORSES KILLED.—FRESH OBSTRUCTIONS FROM THE ICE.—REPORT OF DAMAGES RECEIVED BY THE DISCOVERY.—CAPTAIN CLERKE'S DETERMINATION TO PROCEED TO THE SOUTHWARD.—JOY OF THE SHIPS' CREWS ON THAT OCCASION.—PASS SERDZE KAMEN.—RETURN THROUGH BEERING'S STRAITS.—INQUIRY INTO THE EXTENT OF THE NORTH-EAST COAST OF ASIA.—REASONS FOR REJECTING MULLER'S MAP OF THE PROMONTORY OF THE TSCHUTSKI.—REASONS FOR BELIEVING THE COAST DOES NOT REACH A HIGHER LATITUDE THAN 70½° NORTH.—GENERAL OBSERVATIONS ON THE IMPRACTICABILITY OF A NORTH-EAST, OR NORTH-WEST PASSAGE FROM THE ATLANTIC INTO THE PACIFIC OCEAN.—COMPARATIVE VIEW OF THE PROGRESS MADE IN THE YEARS 1778 AND 1779.—REMARKS ON THE SEA AND SEA-COASTS, NORTH OF BEERING'S STRAITS.—HISTORY OF THE VOYAGE RESUMED.—PASS THE ISLAND OF ST. LAURENCE.—THE ISLAND OF MEDNOI.—DEATH OF CAPTAIN CLERKE.—SHORT ACCOUNT OF HIS SERVICES.

CAPTAIN CLERKE having determined, for the reasons assigned at the conclusion of the last chapter, to give up all further attempts on the coast of America, and to make his last efforts in search of a passage on the coast of the opposite continent, we continued during the afternoon of the 21st of July, to steer to the west north-west, through much loose ice. At ten at night, discovering the main body of it through the fog, right ahead, and almost close to us, and being unwilling to take a southerly course, so long as we could possibly avoid it, we hauled our wind, which was easterly, and stood to the northward; but in an hour after, the weather clearing up, and finding ourselves surrounded by a compact field of ice on every side, except to the south south-west, we tacked and stood on in that direction, in order to get clear of it. At noon of the 22d, our latitude, by observation, was 69° 30′, and longitude 187° 30′. In the afternoon, we again came up with the ice, which extended to the north-west and south-west, and obliged us to continue our course to the southward, in order to weather it.

It may be remarked, that since the 8th of this month, we had twice traversed this sea, in lines nearly parallel with the run we had just now made; that in the first of those traverses, we were not able to penetrate so far north, by eight or ten leagues, as in the second; and that in the last we had again found an united body of ice, generally about five leagues to the southward of its position in the preceding run. As this proves that the large compact fields of ice which we saw were moveable, or diminishing; at the same time, it does not leave any well-founded expectation of advancing much farther in the most favourable seasons.

At seven in the evening, the weather being hazy, and no ice in sight, we bore away to the westward; but, at half-past eight the fog dispersing, we found ourselves in the midst of loose ice, and close in with the main body; we therefore stood upon a wind which was still easterly, and kept beating to windward during the night, in hopes of weathering the loose pieces, which the freshness of the wind kept driving down upon us in such quantities, that we were in manifest danger of being blocked up by them. In the morning of the 23d, the clear water, in which we continued to stand to and fro, did not exceed a mile and a half, and was every instant lessening. At length, after using our utmost endeavours to clear the loose ice, we were driven to the necessity of forcing a passage to the southward, which at half-past seven, we accomplished, but not without subjecting the ship to some very severe shocks. The Discovery was less successful. For, at eleven, when they had nigh got clear out, she became so entangled by several large pieces, that her way was stopped, and immediately dropping bodily to leeward, she fell, broadside foremost, on the edge of a considerable body of ice; and having, at the same time, an open sea to windward, the surf caused her to strike violently upon it. This mass at length either so far broke, or moved, as to set them at liberty to make another trial to escape; but, unfortunately, before the ship gathered way enough to be under command, she again fell to leeward on another fragment; and the swell making it unsafe to lie to windward, and finding no chance of getting clear, they pushed into a small opening, furled their sails, and made fast with ice-hooks.

In this dangerous situation we saw them at noon, about three miles from us, bearing north-west, a fresh gale from the south-east driving more ice to the north-west, and increasing the body that lay between us. Our latitude, by account, was 69° 8′, the longitude 187°, and the depth of water twenty-eight fathoms. To add to the gloomy apprehensions which began to force themselves on us, at half-past four in the afternoon, the weather becoming thick and hazy, we lost sight of the Discovery; but, that we might be in a situation to afford her every assistance in our power, we kept standing on close by the edge of the ice. At six, the wind happily coming round to the north, gave us some hopes, that the ice might drift away and release her; and in that case, as it was uncertain in what condition she might come out, we kept firing a gun every half hour, in order to prevent a separation. Our apprehensions for her safety did not cease till nine, when we heard her guns in answer to ours; and soon after, being hailed by her, were informed, that upon the change of the wind the ice began to separate; and that, setting all their sails, they forced a passage through it. We learned further, that whilst they were encompassed by it, they found the ship drift, with the main body, to the north-east, at the rate of half a mile an hour. We were sorry to find that the Discovery had rubbed off a great deal of the sheathing from the bows, and was become very leaky, from the strokes she had received when she fell upon the edge of the ice.

On the 24th, we had fresh breezes from south-west, with hazy weather, and kept running to the south-east till eleven in the forenoon, when a large body of loose ice, extending from north north-east, round by the east, to south south-east, and to which (though the weather was tolerably clear) we could see no end, again obstructed our course. We therefore kept working to windward, and at noon, our latitude, by observation, was 68° 53′, longitude 188°; the variation of the compass 22° 30′ E. At four in the afternoon it became calm, and we hoisted out the boats in pursuit of the sea-horses, which were in prodigious herds on every side of us. We killed ten of them, which were as many as we could make use of for eating, or for converting into lamp oil. We kept on with the wind from the south-west, along the edge of the ice, which extended in a direction almost due east and west, till four in the morning of the 25th, when observing a clear sea beyond it, to the south-east, we made sail that way, with a view of forcing through it. By six we had cleared it, and continued the remainder of the day running to the south-east, without any ice in sight. At noon, our latitude, by observation, was 68° 38′, longitude 189° 9′, and the depth of water thirty fathoms. At midnight, we tacked, and stood to the westward, with a fresh gale from the south; and at ten in the forenoon of the 26th, the ice again showed itself, extending from north-west to south. It appeared loose, and drifting, by the force of the wind, to the northward. At noon, our latitude, by observation, was 68° N., longitude 188° 10′ E.; and we had soundings with twenty-eight fathoms. For the remaining part of the day, and till noon of the 27th, we kept standing backward and forward, in order to clear ourselves of different bodies of ice. At noon, we were in latitude, by observation, 67° 47′, longitude 188°. At two in the afternoon, we saw the continent to the south by east; and at four, having run, since noon, with a south south-east wind to the south-west, we were surrounded by loose masses of ice, with the firm body of it in sight, stretching in a north by west, and a south by east direction, as far as the eye could reach; beyond which we saw the coast of Asia, bearing south and south by east.

As it was now necessary to come to some determination with respect to the course we were next to steer, Captain Clerke sent a boat, with the carpenters, on board the Discovery, to inquire into the particulars of the damage she had sustained. They returned, in the evening, with the report of Captain Gore, and of the carpenters of both ships, that the damages they had received were of a kind that would require three weeks to repair; and that it would be necessary, for that purpose, to go into some port. Thus, finding a farther advance to the northward, as well as a nearer approach to either continent, obstructed by a sea blocked up with ice, we judged it both injurious to the service, by endangering the safety of the ships, as well as fruitless, with respect to the design of our voyage, to make any farther attempts toward a passage. This, therefore, added to the representations of Captain Gore, determined Captain Clerke not to lose more time in what he

concluded to be an unattainable object, but to sail for Awatska Bay, to repair our damages there; and, before the winter should set in, and render all other efforts toward discovery impracticable, to explore the coast of Japan. I will not endeavour to conceal the joy that brightened the countenance of every individual, as soon as Captain Clarke's resolutions were made known. We were all heartily sick of a navigation full of danger, and in which the utmost perseverance had not been repaid with the smallest probability of success. We therefore turned our faces toward home, after an absence of three years, with a delight and satisfaction, which, notwithstanding the tedious voyage we had still to make, and the immense distance we had to run, were as freely entertained, and perhaps as fully enjoyed, as if we had been already in sight of the Land's-end.

On the 28th, we kept working to windward with a fresh breeze from the south-east, having the coast of Asia still in sight. At four in the morning, the cape, which, on the authority of Muller, we have called Serdze Kamen, bore south south-west, distant six or seven leagues. We saw, in different places, upon the tops of the hills, which rise inland on both sides of the cape, protuberances of a considerable height, which had the appearance of huge rocks, or pillars of stone. On the 29th, the wind still continuing contrary, we made but slow progress to the southward. At midnight, we had thick foggy weather, accompanied with a breeze from the north north-west, with which we directed our course to the south south-east, through the straits, and had no land in sight till seven in the evening of the 30th; when the fog clearing away, we saw Cape Prince of Wales bearing south by east, distant about six leagues; and the island St. Diomede south-west by west. We now altered our course to the west, and at eight made the east cape, which, at midnight, bore west by north, distant four leagues. In the night we steered to the south south-west, with a fresh west north-westerly breeze; and, at four in the morning of the 31st, the East Cape bore north north-east, and the north-east part of the bay of St. Laurence (where we anchored the last year) west by south, its distance being four leagues. As we could not have worked up to windward without a greater waste of time, than the object appeared to deserve, we ran across the bay, regretting much, as we passed along, the loss of this opportunity of paying a second visit to the Tschutski. At noon our latitude, by observation, was 65° 6′, and longitude 189°. The south point of the bay of St. Laurence bore north by west one quarter west, and was distant seven or eight leagues. In the afternoon the variation was found to be 22° 50′ east.

Having now passed Beering's Straits, and taken our final leave of the north-east coast of Asia, it may not be improper, on this occasion, to state the grounds on which we have ventured to adopt two general conclusions respecting its extent, in opposition to the opinions of Mr. Muller. The first, that the promontory named East Cape is actually the easternmost point of that quarter of the globe; or, in other words, that no part of the continent extends in longitude beyond 190° 22′ E.: the second, that the latitude of the north-easternmost extremity falls to the southward of 70° N. With respect to the former, if such land exist, it must necessarily be to the north of latitude 69°, where the discoveries made in the present voyage terminate; and, therefore, the probable direction of the coast, beyond this point, is the question I shall endeavour, in the first place, to investigate.

As the Russian is the only nation that has hitherto navigated these seas, all our information respecting the situation of the coast to the northward of Cape North, must necessarily be derived from the charts and journals of the persons who have been employed at various times, in ascertaining the limits of that empire; and these are, for the most part, so imperfect, so confused and contradictory, that it is not easy to form any distinct idea of their pretended, much less to collect the amount of their real discoveries. It is on this account that the extent and form of the peninsula, inhabited by the Tschutski, still remains a point, on which the Russian geographers are much divided. Mr. Muller, in his map, published in the year 1754, supposes this country to extend toward the north-east, to the 75° of latitude, and in longitude 190° east of Greenwich, and to terminate in a round cape, which he calls Tschukotskoi Noss. To the southward of this cape he conceives the coast to form a bay to the westward, bounded, in latitude 67° 18′, by Serdze Kamen, the northernmost point seen by Beering in his expedition in the year 1728. The map published by the Academy of

St. Petersburg, in the year 1776, gives the whole peninsula entirely a new form, placing its north-easternmost extremity in the latitude 73°, longitude 178° 30′. The easternmost point in latitude 65° 30′, longitude 189° 30′. All the other maps we saw, both printed and in manuscript, vary between these two, apparently more according to the fancy of the compiler, than on any grounds of more accurate information. The only point in which there is a general coincidence, without any considerable variation, is in the position of the East Cape, in latitude 66°. The form of the coast, both to the south and north of this cape, in the map of the Academy, is exceedingly erroneous, and may be totally disregarded. In that of Mr. Muller, the coast to the northward bears a considerable resemblance to our survey, as far as the latter extends, except that it does not trend sufficiently to the westward; receding only about 5° of longitude, between the latitude 66° and 69°; whereas, in reality, it recedes near ten. Between the latitude 69° and 74°, he makes the coast bend round to the north and north-east, and to form a considerable promontory. On what authority, now remains to be examined.

Mr. Coxe, whose accurate researches into this subject give his opinion great weight, is persuaded that the extremity of the Noss in question was never passed but by Deshneff and his party, who sailed from the river Kovyma in the year 1648, and are supposed to have got round it into the Anadyr. As the account of this expedition, the substance of which the reader will find in Mr. Coxe's account of Russian discoveries, contains no geographical delineation of the coast along which they sailed, its position must be conjectured from incidental circumstances; and from these it appears very manifest, that the Tschukotskoi Noss of Deshneff is no other than the promontory called by Captain Cook the East Cape. Speaking of the Noss, he says, "One might sail from the isthmus to the river Anadyr, with a fair wind, in three days and three nights." This exactly coincides with the situation of the East Cape, which is about one hundred and twenty leagues from the mouth of the Anadyr; and as there is no other isthmus to the northward between that and the latitude of 69°, it is obvious that, by this description, he must intend either the cape in question, or some other to the southward of it. In another place he says, "Over against the isthmus there are two islands in the sea, upon which were seen people of the Tschutski nation, through whose lips were run pieces of the teeth of the sea-horse." This again perfectly agrees with the two islands situated to the south-east of the East Cape. We saw, indeed, no inhabitants on them; but it is not at all improbable, that a party of the Americans from the opposite continent, whom this description accurately suits, might, at that time, have been accidentally there: and whom it was natural enough for him to mistake for a tribe of the Tschutski *.

These two circumstances are of so striking and unequivocal a nature, that they appear to me conclusive on the point of the Tschukotski Noss, notwithstanding there are others of a more doubtful kind, which we have from the same authority, and which now remain to be considered. "To go," says Deshneff in another account, "from the Kovyma to the Anadyr, a great promontory must be doubled, which stretches very far into the sea; and afterward, this promontory stretches between north and north-east." It was probably from the expressions contained in these passages, that Mr. Muller was induced to give the country of the Tschutski the form we find in his map; but had he been acquainted with the situation of the East Cape, as ascertained by Captain Cook, and the remarkable coincidence between it and their promontory or isthmus (for it must be observed that Deshneff appears

* From the circumstance, related in book iv., chap. 8, that gave name to Sledge Island, it appears that the inhabitants of the adjacent continents visit occasionally the small islands lying between them, probably for the conveniency of fishing, or in pursuit of furs. It appears also from Popoff's deposition, which I shall have occasion to speak of more particularly hereafter, that the general resemblance between the people who are seen in these islands and the Tschutski, was sufficient to lead Deshneff into the error of imagining them to be the same. "Opposite to the Noss," he says, "is an island of moderate size, without trees, whose inhabitants resemble in their exterior, the Tschutski, although they are quite another nation; not numerous, indeed, yet speaking their own particular language." Again, "One may go in a baidare from the Noss to the island in half a day; beyond is a great continent, which can be discovered from the island in serene weather. When the weather is good, one may go from the island to the continent in a day. The inhabitants of the continent are similar to the Tschutski, excepting that they speak another language."

to be all along speaking of the same thing), in the circumstances already mentioned, I am confident he would not have thought those expressions, merely by themselves, of sufficient weight to warrant him in extending the north-eastern extremity of Asia either so far to the north or to the eastward. For after all these expressions are not irreconcileable with the opinion we have adopted, if we suppose Deshneff to have taken these bearings from the small bight which lies to the westward of the Cape.

The deposition of the Cossac Popoff, taken at the Anadirskoi *ostrog* in the year 1711, seems to have been the next authority on which Mr. Muller has proceeded; and beside these two I am not acquainted with any other. This Cossac, together with several others, was sent by land to demand tribute from the independent Tschutski tribes, who lived about the Noss. The first circumstance in the account of this journey that can lead to the situation of Tschukotskoi Noss is its distance from Anadirsk; and this is stated to be ten weeks' journey with loaded rein-deer; on which account, it is added, their day's journey was but very small. It is impossible to conclude much from so vague an account; but as the distance between the East Cape and the *ostrog* is upward of two hundred leagues in a straight line, and therefore may be supposed to allow twelve or fifteen miles a day, its situation cannot be reckoned incompatible with Popoff's calculation. The next circumstance mentioned in this deposition is, that their route lay by the foot of a rock called Matkol, situated at the bottom of a great gulf. This gulf Muller supposes to be the bay he had laid down between latitude 66° and 72°; and accordingly places the rock Matkol in the centre of it; but it appears equally probable, even if we had not so many reasons to doubt the existence of that bay, that it might be some part of the gulf of Anadir, which they would undoubtedly touch upon in their road from the *ostrog* to the East Cape. But what seems to put this matter beyond all dispute, and to prove that the cape visited by Popoff cannot be to the northward of 69° latitude, is that part of his deposition which I have already quoted, relative to the island lying off the Noss, from whence the opposite continent might be seen. For as the two continents in latitude 69° have diverged so far as to be more than three hundred miles distant, it is highly improbable that the Asiatic coast should again trend in such a manner to the eastward, as to come nearly within sight of the coast of America.

If these arguments should be deemed conclusive against the existence of the peninsula of the Tschutski, as laid down by Muller, it will follow that the East Cape of the Tschukotskoi Noss of the * more early Russian navigators, and consequently that the undescribed coast from the latitude of 69° to the mouth of the river Kovyma must uniformly trend more or less to the westward. As an additional proof of this, it may be remarked that the Tschukotskoi Noss is always represented as dividing the sea of Kovyma from that of Anadir, which could not be the case if any considerable cape had projected to the north-east in the higher latitudes. Thus, in the depositions taken at Anadirsk, it is related "that opposite the Noss, on both sides, as well in the sea of Kovyma as in that of Anadir, an island is said to be seen at a great distance, which the Tschutski call a large country; and say that people dwell there who have large teeth put in their mouths that project through their cheeks." Then follows a description of these people and their country, exactly corresponding with our accounts of the opposite continent.

The last question that arises is, to what degree of northern latitude this coast extends, before it trends more directly to the westward. If the situation of the mouth of the Kovyma, both with respect to its latitude and longitude, were accurately determined, it would perhaps not be very difficult to form a probable conjecture upon this point. Captain Cook was always strongly of opinion that the northern coast of Asia, from the Indigirka eastward, has hitherto been generally laid down more than two degrees to the northward of its true position; and he has therefore, on the authority of a map that was in his possession, and on the information he received at Oonalashka, placed the mouth of the river Kovyma, in his chart of the north-west coast of America and the north-east coast of Asia, in the latitude of 68°.

* I mention the more early Russian navigators, because Beering, whom we have also followed, and after him all the late Russian geographers, have given this name to the south-east cape of the peninsula of the Tschutski, which was formerly called the Anadirskoi Noss.

Should he be right in this conjecture, it is probable, for the reasons that have been already stated, that the Asiatic coast does not anywhere exceed 70° before it trends to the westward; and consequently that we were within 1° of its north-eastern extremity. For if the continent be supposed to stretch anywhere to the northward of Shelatskoi Noss, it is scarcely possible that so extraordinary a circumstance should not have been mentioned by the Russian navigators; and we have already shown that they make mention of no remarkable promontory between the Kovyma and the Anadir, except the East Cape. Another circumstance related by Deshneff, may perhaps be thought a further confirmation of this opinion, namely, that he met with no impediment from ice in navigating round the north-east extremity of Asia; though he adds, that this sea is not always so free from it; as indeed is manifest from the failure of his first expedition, and since that, from the unsuccessful attempts of Shalauroff, and the obstacles we met with, in two different years, in our present voyage.

The continent left undetermined in our chart, between Cape North and the mouth of the Kovyma, is in longitudinal extent one hundred and twenty-five leagues. One third or about forty leagues of this distance, from the Kovyma eastward, was explored in the year 1723 by a *Sinbojarskoi* of Jakutz, whose name was Fedot Amossoff, by whom Mr. Muller was informed that its direction was to the eastward. It is said to have been since accurately surveyed by Shalauroff, whose chart makes it trend to the north-east by east as far as the Shelatskoi Noss, which he places about forty-three leagues to the eastward of the Kovyma. The space between this Noss and Cape North, about eighty-two leagues, is therefore the only part of the Russian empire that now remains unascertained. But if the river Kovyma be erroneously situated with respect to its longitude as well as in its latitude, a supposition for which probable grounds are not wanting, the extent of the unexplored coast will become proportionably diminished. The reasons which incline me to believe that the mouth of this river is placed in the Russian charts much too far to the westward, are as follows: First, because the accounts that are given of the navigation of the Frozen Sea, from that river round the north-east point of Asia to the gulf of Anadir, do not accord with the supposed distance between those places. Secondly, because the distance overland from the Kovyma to the Anadir is represented by the early Russian travellers as a journey easily performed, and of no very extraordinary length. Thirdly, because the coast from the Shelatskoi Noss of Shalauroff* seems to trend directly south-east to the East Cape. If this be so, it will follow, that as we were probably not more than 1° to the southward of Shelatskoi Noss, only sixty miles of the Asiatic coast remained unascertained.

Had Captain Cook lived to this period of our voyage, and experienced, in a second attempt, the impracticability of a north-east or north-west passage from the Pacific to the Atlantic Ocean, he would doubtless have laid before the public, in one connected view, an account of the obstacles which defeated this, the primary object of our expedition, together with his observations on a subject of such magnitude, and which had engaged the attention and divided the opinions of philosophers and navigators for upward of two hundred years. I am very sensible how unequal I am to the task of supplying this deficiency; but that the expectations of the reader may not be wholly disappointed, I must beg his candid acceptance of the following observations, as well as of those I have already ventured to offer him, relative to the extent of the north-east coast of Asia.

The evidence that has been so fully and judiciously stated in the introduction,† amounts to the highest degree of probability that a north-west passage from the Atlantic into the Pacific Ocean cannot exist to the southward of 65° of latitude. If then there exists a passage, it must be either through Baffin's Bay, or round by the north of Greenland, in the western hemisphere; or else through the Frozen Ocean, to the northward of Siberia, in the eastern; and on whichever side it lies, the navigator must necessarily pass through Beering's Straits. The impracticability of penetrating into the Atlantic on either side, through this strait, is therefore all that remains to be submitted to the consideration of the public.

As far as our experience went, it appears, that the sea to the north of Beering's Strait is clearer of ice in August than in July, and perhaps in a part of September it may be still

* See Chart in Coxe's Account of Russian Discoveries. Douglas.

† The introduction to the original edition by Dr. Douglas. This we have omitted, but all the more important parts will be found in the appendix.—Ed.

more free. But after the equinox, the days shorten so fast, that no farther thaw can be expected; and we cannot rationally allow so great an effect to the warm weather in the first half of September, as to imagine it capable of dispersing the ice from the most northern parts of the American coast. But admitting this to be possible, it must at least be granted, that it would be madness to attempt to run from the Icy Cape to the known parts of Baffin's Bay (a distance of four hundred and twenty leagues) in so short a time as that passage can be supposed to continue open.

Upon the Asiatic side, there appears still less probability of success, both from what came to our own knowledge with respect to the state of the sea to the southward of Cape North, and also from what we learn from the experience of the * lieutenants under Beering's direction, and the journal of Shalauroff, in regard to that on the north of Siberia. The voyage of Deshneff, if its truth be admitted, proves undoubtedly the possibility of passing round the north-east point of Asia; but when the reader reflects, that near a century and a half has elapsed since the time of that navigator, during which, in an age of great curiosity and enterprise, no man has yet been able to follow him, he will not entertain very sanguine expectations of the public advantages that can be derived from it. But let us even suppose, that in some singularly favourable season a ship has found a clear passage round the coast of Siberia, and is safely arrived at the mouth of the Lena, still there remains the Cape of Taimura, stretching to the 78° of latitude, which the good fortune of no single voyager has hitherto doubled.

It is, however, contended, that there are strong reasons for believing that the sea is more free from ice the nearer we approach to the pole; and that all the ice we saw in the lower latitudes was formed in the great rivers of Siberia and America, the breaking up of which had filled the intermediate sea. But even if that supposition be true, it is equally so that there can be no access to those open seas, unless this great mass of ice is so far dissolved in the summer, as to admit of a ship's getting through it. If this be the fact, we have taken a wrong time of the year for attempting to find this passage, which should have been explored in April and May, before the rivers were broken up. But how many reasons may be given against such a supposition? Our experience at Saint Peter and Saint Paul enabled us to judge what might be expected farther north; and upon that ground we had reason to doubt, whether the continents might not in winter be even joined by the ice; and this agreed with the stories we heard in Kamtschatka, that on the Siberian coast they go out from the shore in winter, upon the ice, to greater distances than the breadth of the sea is, in some parts, from one continent to the other. In the depositions referred to above, the following remarkable circumstance is related. Speaking of the land seen from the Tschukotskoi Noss, it is said, "that in summer time they sail in one day to the land in baidares, a sort of vessel constructed of whalebone, and covered with seal-skins; and in winter time, going swift with rein-deer, the journey may likewise be made in a day." A sufficient proof that the two countries were usually joined together by the ice.

The account given by Mr. Muller of one of the expeditions undertaken to discover a supposed island in the Frozen Sea is still more remarkable. "In the year 1714, a new expedition was prepared from Jakutzk for the same place, under the command of Alexei Markoff, who was to sail from the mouth of the Jana; and if the *Schitiki* were not fit for sea-voyages, he was to construct, at a proper place, vessels fit for prosecuting the discoveries without danger. On his arrival at Ust-janskoe Simovie, the port at which he was to embark, he sent an account, dated February 2, 1715, to the chancery of Jakutzk, mentioning that it was impossible to navigate the sea, as it was continually frozen both in summer and winter; and that consequently the intended expedition was no otherwise to be carried on but with sledges drawn by dogs. In this manner he accordingly set out with nine persons on the 10th of March the same year, and returned on the 3d of April to Ust-janskoe Simovie. The account of his journey is as follows: that he went seven days as fast as his dogs could draw him, (which in good ways and weather is eighty or a hundred wersts in a day,) directly toward the north upon the ice, without discovering any island; that it had not been

* See Gmelin, pages 369, 374.

possible for him to proceed any farther, the ice rising there in the sea like mountains; that he had climbed to the top of some of them, whence he was able to see to a great distance round about him, but could discern no appearance of land; and that at last wanting food for his dogs, many of them died, which obliged them to return."

Besides these arguments, which proceed upon an admission of the hypothesis that the ice in those seas comes from the rivers, there are others which give great room to suspect the truth of the hypothesis itself. Captain Cook, whose opinion respecting the formation of ice had formerly coincided with that of the theorists we are now controverting, found abundant reason in the present voyage for changing his sentiments. We found the coast of each continent to be low, the soundings gradually decreasing toward them, and a striking resemblance between the two; which, together with the description Mr. Hearne gives of the Coppermine river, afford reason to conjecture that whatever rivers may empty themselves into the Frozen Sea from the American continent, are of the same nature with those on the Asiatic side; which are represented to be so shallow at the entrance as to admit only small vessels; whereas the ice we have seen, rises above the level of the sea to a height equal to the depth of those rivers; so that its entire height must be at least ten times greater. The curious reader will also in this place be led naturally to reflect on another circumstance, which appears very incompatible with the opinion of those who imagine land to be necessary for the formation of ice; I mean the different state of the sea about Spitzbergen, and to the north of Beering's Straits. It is incumbent on them to explain how it comes to pass that in the former quarter, and in the vicinity of much known land, the navigator annually penetrates to near 80° north latitude; whereas, on the other side, his utmost efforts have not been able to carry him beyond 71°; where, moreover, the continents diverge nearly east and west, and where there is no land yet known to exist near the pole. For the farther satisfaction of the reader on this point, I shall beg leave to refer him to Observations made during a Voyage round the World, by Dr. Forster, where he will find the question of the formation of ice fully and satisfactorily discussed, and the probability of open polar seas disproved by a variety of powerful arguments.

I shall conclude these remarks with a short comparative view of the progress we made to the northward, at the two different seasons we were engaged in that pursuit, together with a few general observations relative to the sea, and the coast of the two continents which lie to the north of Beering's Straits. It may be observed, that in the year 1778 we did not meet with the ice till we advanced to the latitude of 70°, on August 17th; and that then we found it in compact bodies, extending as far as the eye could reach, and of which a part or the whole was moveable, since, by its drifting down upon us we narrowly escaped being hemmed in between it and the land. After experiencing both how fruitless and dangerous it would be to attempt to penetrate farther north between the ice and the land, we stood over toward the Asiatic side, between the latitude of 69° and 70°, frequently encountering in this tract large and extensive fields of ice; and though, by reason of the fogs and thickness of the weather, we were not able absolutely and entirely to trace a connected line of it across, yet we were sure to meet with it before we reached the latitude of 70°, whenever we attempted to stand to the northward. On the 26th of August, in latitude 69¾°, and longitude 184°, we were obstructed by it in such quantities, as made it impossible for us to pass either to the north or west, and obliged us to run along the edge of it to the south south-west, till we saw land, which we afterwards found to be the coast of Asia. With the season thus far advanced, the weather setting in with snow and sleet, and other signs of approaching winter, we abandoned our enterprise for that time.

In this second attempt we could do little more than confirm the observations we had made in the first; for we were never able to approach the continent of Asia higher than the latitude of 67°, nor that of America in any parts, excepting a few leagues between the latitude of 68° and 68° 20′, that were not seen the last year. We were now obstructed by ice 3° lower, and our endeavours to push farther to the northward were principally confined to the mid-space between the two coasts. We penetrated near 3° farther on the American side than on the Asiatic, meeting with the ice both years sooner, and in greater quantities on the latter coast. As we advanced north, we still found the ice more compact

and solid; yet as in our different traverses from side to side, we passed over spaces which had before been covered with it, we conjectured that most of what we saw was moveable. Its height, on a medium, we took to be from eight to ten feet, and that of the highest to have been sixteen or eighteen. We again tried the currents twice, and found them unequal, but never to exceed one mile an hour. By comparing the reckoning with the observations, we also found the current to set different ways, yet more from the south-west than any other quarter; but whatever their direction might be, their effect was so trifling that no conclusions respecting the existence of any passage to the northward could be drawn from them. We found the month of July to be infinitely colder than that of August. The thermometer in July was once at 28°, and very commonly at 30°; whereas the last year, in August, it was very rare to have it so low as the freezing point. In both seasons we had some high winds, all of which came from the south-west. We were subject to fogs whenever the wind was moderate, from whatever quarter, but they attended southerly winds more constantly than contrary ones.

The straits between the two continents, at their nearest approach, in latitude 66°, were ascertained to be thirteen leagues, beyond which they diverge to N.E. by E. and W.N.W.; and in latitude 69° they become 14° of longitude, or about one hundred leagues asunder. A great similarity is observable in the appearance of the two countries to the northward of the straits. Both are destitute of wood. The shores are low, with mountains rising to a great height farther up the country. The depth of water in the mid-way between them was twenty-nine and thirty fathoms, decreasing gradually as we approached either continent, with the difference of being somewhat shoaler on the American than on the Asiatic coast, at the same distance from land. The bottom in the middle was a soft slimy mud; and on drawing nearer to either shore, a brown sand, intermixed with small fragments of bones, and a few shells. We observed but little tide or current; what there was came from the westward.

But it is now time to resume the narrative of our voyage, which was broken off on the 31st of July, on which day at noon we had advanced eighteen leagues to the southward of the East Cape. We had light airs from the south-west till noon of the 1st of August, at which time our latitude, by observation, was 64° 23′, longitude 189 15′; the coast of Asia extended from north-west by west to west half south, distant about twelve leagues; and the land to the eastward of St. Laurence bore south half west. On the 2d, the weather becoming clear, we saw the same land at noon, bearing from west south-west half west to south-east, making in a number of high hummocks, which had the appearance of separate islands; the latitude, by observation, was 64° 3′, longitude 189° 28′, and depth of water seventeen fathoms. We did not approach this land sufficiently near to determine whether it was one island, or composed of a cluster together. Its westernmost part we passed July 3d, in the evening, and then supposed to be the island of Saint Laurence; the easternmost we ran close by in September last year, and this we named Clerke's Island, and found it to consist of a number of high cliffs, joined together by very low land. Though we mistook, the last year, those cliffs for separate islands, till we approached very near the shore, I should still conjecture that the island Saint Laurence was distinct from Clerke's Island, since there appeared a considerable space between them, where we could not perceive the smallest rising of ground. In the afternoon we also saw what bore the appearance of a small island, to the north-east of the land which was seen at noon, and which from the haziness of the weather we had only sight of once. We estimated its distance to be nineteen leagues from the island of Saint Laurence, in a north-east by east half east direction. On the 3d we had light variable winds, and directed our course round the north-west point of the island of Saint Laurence. On the 4th, at noon, our latitude by account was 64° 8′, longitude 188°; the island Saint Laurence bearing south one quarter east, distant seven leagues. In the afternoon, a fresh breeze springing up from the east, we steered to the south south-west, and soon lost sight of Saint Laurence. On the 7th, at noon, the latitude by observation was 59° 38′, longitude 183°. In the afternoon it fell calm, and we got a great number of cod in seventy-eight fathoms of water. The variation was found to be 19° E From this time to the 17th we were making the best of our way to the south, without any occurrence worth remarking,

except that the wind, coming from the western quarter, forced us farther to the eastward than we wished, as it was our intention to make Beering's Island. On the 17th, at half past four in the morning, we saw land to the north-west, which we could not approach, the wind blowing from that quarter. At noon, the latitude by observation was 53° 49′, longitude 168° 5′, and variation 10° E. The land in sight bore north by west, twelve or fourteen leagues distant. This land we take to be the island Mednoi, laid down in the Russian charts to the south-east of Beering's Island. It is high land, and appeared clear of snow. We place it in the latitude 54° 28′, longitude 167° 52′. We got no soundings with one hundred and fifty fathoms of line.

Captain Clerke was now no longer able to get out of his bed; he therefore desired that the officers would receive their orders from me, and directed that we should proceed with all speed to Awatska Bay. The wind continuing westerly, we stood on to the south till early on the morning of the 19th, when, after a few hours' rain, it blew from the eastward, and freshened to a strong gale. We accordingly made the most of it whilst it lasted, by standing to the westward under all the sail we could carry. On the 20th, the wind shifting to the south-west, our course was to the west north-west. At noon the latitude, by observation, was 53° 7′, longitude 162° 49′. On the 21st, at half-past five in the morning, we saw a very high-peaked mountain on the coast of Kamtschatka, called Cheepoonskoi Mountain, from its lying behind the Noss, bearing north-west by north, twenty-five or thirty leagues distant. At noon, the coast extended from north by east to west with a very great haziness upon it, and distant about twelve leagues. We had light airs the remaining part of this and the following day, and got no soundings with one hundred and forty fathoms of line.

On the 22d of August, 1779, at nine o'clock in the morning, departed this life Captain Charles Clerke, in the thirty-eighth year of his age. He died of a consumption, which had evidently commenced before he left England, and of which he had lingered during the whole voyage. His very gradual decay had long made him a melancholy object to his friends; yet the equanimity with which he bore it, the constant flow of good spirits which continued to the last hour, and a cheerful resignation to his fate, afforded them some consolation. It was impossible not to feel a more than common degree of compassion for a person whose life had been a continued scene of those difficulties and hardships to which a seaman's occupation is subject, and under which he at last sunk. He was brought up to the navy from his earliest youth, and had been in several actions during the war which began in 1756, particularly in that between the Bellona and Courageux, where being stationed in the mizen-top, he was carried overboard with the mast, but was taken up without having received any hurt. He was midshipman in the Dolphin, commanded by Commodore Byron, on her first voyage round the world, and afterward served on the American station. In 1768, he made his second voyage round the world, in the Endeavour, as master's mate, and by the promotion which took place during the expedition, he returned a lieutenant. His third voyage round the world was in the Resolution, of which he was appointed the second lieutenant: and soon after his return, in 1775, he was promoted to the rank of master and commander. When the present expedition was ordered to be fitted out, he was appointed to the Discovery, to accompany Captain Cook; and by the death of the latter succeeded, as has been already mentioned, to the chief command.

It would be doing his memory extreme injustice not to say, that during the short time the expedition was under his direction, he was most zealous and anxious for its success. His health, about the time the principal command devolved upon him, began to decline very rapidly, and was every way unequal to encounter the rigours of a high northern climate. But the vigour and activity of his mind had in no shape suffered by the decay of his body: and though he knew, that by delaying his return to a warmer climate, he was giving up the only chance that remained for his recovery, yet, careful and jealous to the last degree that a regard to his own situation should never bias his judgment to the prejudice of the service, he persevered in the search of a passage till it was the opinion of every officer in both ships that it was impracticable, and that any farther attempts would not only be fruitless, but dangerous.

CHAPTER V.—RETURN TO THE HARBOUR OF ST. PETER AND ST. PAUL.—PROMOTION OF OFFICERS.—FUNERAL OF CAPTAIN CLERKE.—DAMAGES OF THE DISCOVERY REPAIRED.—VARIOUS OTHER OCCUPATIONS OF THE SHIPS' CREWS.—LETTERS FROM THE COMMANDER.—SUPPLY OF FLOUR AND NAVAL STORES FROM A RUSSIAN GALLIOT.—ACCOUNT OF AN EXILE.—BEAR-HUNTING AND FISHING PARTIES.—DISGRACE OF THE SERJEANT.—CELEBRATION OF THE KING'S CORONATION DAY, AND VISIT FROM THE COMMANDER.—THE SERJEANT REINSTATED.—A RUSSIAN SOLDIER PROMOTED AT OUR REQUEST.—REMARKS ON THE DISCIPLINE OF THE RUSSIAN ARMY.—CHURCH AT PARATOUNCA.—METHOD OF BEAR-HUNTING.—FARTHER ACCOUNT OF THE BEARS AND KAMTSCHADALES.—INSCRIPTION TO THE MEMORY OF CAPTAIN CLERKE.—SUPPLY OF CATTLE.—ENTERTAINMENTS ON THE EMPRESS'S NAME-DAY.—PRESENT FROM THE COMMANDER.—ATTEMPT OF A MARINE TO DESERT.—WORK OUT OF THE BAY.—NAUTICAL AND GEOGRAPHICAL DESCRIPTION OF AWATSKA BAY.—ASTRONOMICAL TABLES, AND OBSERVATIONS.

I SENT Mr. Williamson to acquaint Captain Gore with the death of Captain Clerke, and received a letter from him, ordering me to use all my endeavours to keep in company with the Discovery; and, in case of a separation, to make the best of my way to the harbour of St. Peter and St. Paul. At noon, we were in latitude 53° 8′ N., longitude 160° 40′ E., with Cheepoonskoi Noss bearing west. We had light airs in the afternoon, which lasted through the forenoon of the 23d. At noon, a fresh breeze springing up from the eastward, we stood in for the entrance of Awatska Bay; and at six in the evening, saw it bearing west north-west half west, distant five leagues. At eight, the light-house, in which we now found a good light, bore north-west by west, three miles distant. The wind about this time died away; but the tide being in our favour, we sent the boats ahead and towed beyond the narrow parts of the entrance; and at one o'clock in the morning of the 24th, the ebb-tide setting against us, we dropped anchor. At nine, we weighed, and turned up the bay with light airs, and the boats still ahead till one; when, by the help of a fresh breeze, we anchored, before three in the afternoon, in the harbour of Saint Peter and St. Paul, with our ensign half-staff up, on account of our carrying the body of our late Captain; and were soon after followed by the Discovery.

We had no sooner anchored, than our old friend, the serjeant, who was still the commander of the place, came on board with a present of berries, intended for our poor deceased Captain. He was exceedingly affected when we told him of his death, and showed him the coffin that contained his body. And as it was Captain Clerke's particular request to be buried on shore, and, if possible, in the church of Paratounca, we took the present opportunity of explaining this matter to the serjeant, and consulting with him about the proper steps to be taken on the occasion. In the course of our conversation, which, for want of an interpreter, was carried on but imperfectly, we learned that Professor de L'Isle, and several Russian gentlemen, who died here, had been buried in the ground near the barracks, at the ostrog of St. Peter and St. Paul; and that this place would be preferable to Paratounca, as the church was to be removed thither the next year. It was therefore determined, that we should wait for the arrival of the priest of Paratounca, whom the serjeant advised us to send for, as the only person that could satisfy our inquiries on this subject. The serjeant having, at the same time, signified his intentions of sending off an express to the commander at Bolcheretsk, to acquaint him with our arrival, Captain Gore availed himself of that occasion of writing him a letter, in which he requested that sixteen head of black cattle might be sent with all possible expedition; and because the commander did not understand any language except his own, the nature of our request was made known to the serjeant, who readily undertook to send, along with our letter, an explanation of its contents.

We could not help remarking, that, although the country was much improved in its appearance since we were last here, the Russians looked, if possible, worse now than they did then. It is to be owned, they observed, that this was also the case with us; and as neither party seemed to like to be told of their bad looks, we found mutual consolation

in throwing the blame upon the country, whose green and lively complexion, we agreed, cast a deadness and sallowness upon our own. The eruption of the volcano, which was so violent when we sailed out of the bay, we found had done no damage here, notwithstanding stones had fallen at the ostrog, of the size of a goose's egg. This was all the news we had to inquire after, and all they had to tell; excepting that of the arrival of Soposnikoff from Oonalashka, who took charge of the packet Captain Cook had sent to the Admiralty, and which, it gave us much satisfaction to find, had been forwarded.

In the morning of the 25th, Captain Gore made out the new commissions, in consequence of Captain Clerke's death; appointing himself to the command of the Resolution, and me to the command of the Discovery; and Mr. Lanyan, master's mate of the Resolution, who had served in that capacity on board the Adventure in the former voyage, was promoted to the vacant lieutenancy. These promotions produced the following farther arrangements: Lieutenants Burney and Rickman were removed from the Discovery, to be first and second lieutenants of the Resolution; and Lieutenant Williamson was appointed first lieutenant of the Discovery. Captain Gore also permitted me to take into the Discovery four midshipmen, who had made themselves useful to me in astronomical calculations, and whose assistance was now particularly necessary, as we had no Ephemeris for the present year. And, that astronomical observations might continue to be made in both ships, Mr. Bayley took my place in the Resolution. The same day we were visited by the Pope Romanoff Vereshagen, the worthy priest of Paratounca. He expressed his sorrow at the death of Captain Clerke in a manner that did honour to his feelings, and confirmed the account given by the serjeant, respecting the intended removal of the church to the harbour; adding that the timber was actually preparing, but leaving the choice of either place entirely to Captain Gore.

The Discovery, as has been mentioned, had suffered great damage from the ice, particularly on the 23d day of July; and having, ever since, been exceedingly leaky, it was imagined that some of her timbers had started. Captain Gore therefore sent the carpenters of the Resolution to assist our own in repairing her; and accordingly, the forehold being cleared, to lighten her forward, they were set to work to rip the damaged sheathing from the larboard bow. This operation discovered that three feet of the third strake, under the wale, were staved, and the timbers within started. A tent was next erected for the accommodation of such of our people as were employed on shore; and a party were sent a mile into the country, to the northward of the harbour, to fell timber. The observatories were erected at the west end of the village, near a tent, in which Captain Gore and myself took up our abode.

The farther we proceeded in removing the sheathing, the more we discovered of the decayed state of the ship's hull. The next morning, eight feet of a plank in the wale were found to be so exceedingly rotten, as to make it necessary to shift it. This left us for some time at a stand, as nothing was to be found, in either ship, wherewith to replace it, unless we chose to cut up a top-mast; an expedient not to be had recourse to, till all others failed. The carpenters were therefore sent on shore in the afternoon in search of a tree big enough for the purpose. Luckily they found a birch, which I believe was the only one of sufficient size in the whole neighbourhood of the bay, and which had been sawed down by us when we were last here; so that it had the advantage of having lain some time to season. This was shaped on the spot, and brought on board the next morning. As the season was now so far advanced, I was fearful lest any delay or hindrance should arise, on our parts, to Captain Gore's farther views of discovery, and therefore gave orders that no more sheathing should be ripped off than was absolutely necessary for repairing the damages sustained by the ice. This I did, being apprehensive of their meeting with more decayed planks, which, I judged, had much better remain in that state, than be filled up with green birch, upon a supposition that such was to be had. All hands were, at present, busily employed in separate duties, that everything might be in readiness for sea, against the time our carpenters should have finished their work. We set apart four men to haul the seine for salmon, which were caught in great abundance, and found to be of an excellent quality. After supplying the immediate wants of both ships, we salted down near a hogshead a-day. The invalids, who were four in number, were employed in gathering greens, and in cooking for the parties on

shore. Our powder was also landed, in order to be dried; and the sea-horse blubber, with which both ships, in our passage to the north (as has been before related), had stored themselves, was now boiled down for oil, which was become a necessary article, our candles having long since been expended. The cooper was fully engaged in his department: and in this manner were both ships' companies employed in their several occupations, till Saturday afternoon, which was given up to all our men, except the carpenters, for the purpose of washing their linen and getting their clothes in some little order, that they might make a decent appearance on Sunday.

In the afternoon of that day, we paid the last offices to Captain Clerke. The officers and men of both ships walked in procession to the grave, whilst the ships fired minute-guns; and the service being ended, the marines fired three volleys. He was interred under a tree, which stands on rising ground, in the valley to the north side of the harbour, where the hospital and storehouses are situated; Captain Gore having judged this situation most agreeable to the last wishes of the deceased, for the reasons abovementioned; and the priest of Paratounca having pointed out a spot for his grave, which, he said, would be, as near as he could guess, in the centre of the new church. This reverend pastor walked in the procession, along with the gentleman who read the service; and all the Russians in the garrison were assembled, and attended with great respect and solemnity.

On the 30th, the different parties returned to their respective employments, as mentioned in the course of the preceding week; and on the 2d of September, the carpenters having shifted the rotten and damaged planks, and repaired and calked the sheathing of the larboard bow, proceeded to rip off the sheathing that had been injured by the ice, from the starboard side. Here, again, they discovered four feet of a plank, in the third strake under the wale, so shaken, as to make it necessary to be replaced. This was accordingly done, and the sheathing repaired on the 3d. In the afternoon of the same day, we got on board some ballast, unhung the rudder, and sent it on shore, the lead of the pintles being found entirely worn away, and a great part of the sheathing rubbed off. As the carpenters of the Resolution were not yet wanted, we got this set to rights the next day; but finding the rudder out of all proportion heavy, even heavier than that of the Resolution, we let it remain on shore, in order to dry and lighten.

The same day, an ensign arrived from Bolcheretsk with a letter from the commander to Captain Gore, which we put into the serjeant's hands; and, by his assistance, were made to understand, that orders had been given about the cattle, and that they might be expected here in a few days; and moreover, that Captain Shmaleff, the present commander, would himself pay us a visit immediately on the arrival of a sloop which was daily expected from Okotzk. The young officer who brought the letter was the son of the Captain-lieutenant Synd, who commanded an expedition on discovery, between Asia and America, eleven years ago, and resided at this time at Okotzk*. He informed us, that he was sent to receive our directions, and to take care to get us supplied with whatever our service might require; and that he should remain with us, till the commander was himself able to leave Bolcheretsk; after which he was to return, that the garrison there might not be left without an officer.

On the 5th, the parties that were on shore returned on board, and were employed in scrubbing the ship's bottom, and getting in eight tons of shingle ballast. We also got up two of our guns, that had been stowed in the fore-hold, and mounted them on the deck, being now about to visit nations, our receptions amongst whom might a good deal depend

* See all that is known of his voyage, and a chart of his discoveries, in Mr. Coxe's Account of Russian Discoveries between Asia and America. We were not able to learn from the Russians in Kamtschatka a more perfect account of Synd than we now find is given by Mr. Coxe; and yet they seemed disposed to communicate all that they really knew. Major Behm could only inform us, in general, that the expedition had miscarried as to its object, and that the commander had fallen under much blame. It appeared evidently, that he had been on the coast of America to the southward of Cape Prince of Wales, between the latitude of 64° and 65°; and it is most probable, that his having got too far to the northward to meet with sea-otters, which the Russians, in all their attempts at discoveries, seem to have principally in view, and his returning without having made any that promised commercial advantages, was the cause of his disgrace, and of the great contempt with which the Russians always spoke of this officer's voyage. The cluster of islands, placed in Synd's chart between the latitude of 61° and 65°, is undoubtedly the same with the island called, by Beering, St. Laurence's, and those we named Clerke's, Anderson's, and King's Islands; but their proportionate size, and relative situation, are exceedingly erroneous.

on the respectability of our appearance. The Resolution hauled on shore on the 8th, to repair some damages, which she had also received among the ice, in her cutwater; and our carpenters, in their turn, were sent to her assistance.

About this time we began to brew a strong decoction of a species of dwarf-pine that grows here in great abundance, thinking that it might hereafter be useful in making beer, and that we should probably be able to procure sugar or molasses to ferment with it at Canton. At all events, I was sure it would be serviceable as a medicine for the scurvy; and was more particularly desirous of supplying myself with as much of it as I could procure, because most of the preventives we had brought out were either used or spoiled by keeping. By the time we had prepared a hogshead of it, the ship's copper was discovered to be very thin, and cracked in many places. This obliged me to desist, and to give orders, that it should be used as sparingly, for the future, as possible. It might, perhaps, be a useful precaution for those who may hereafter be engaged in long voyages of this kind, either to provide themselves with a spare copper, or to see that the copper usually furnished be of the strongest kind. The various extra services in which it will be found necessary to employ them, and especially the important one of making anti-scorbutic decoctions, seem absolutely to require some such provision; and I should rather recommend the former, on account of the additional quantity of fuel that would be consumed in heating thick coppers.

In the morning of the 10th, the boats from both ships were sent to tow into the harbour a Russian galliot from Okotzk. She had been thirty-five days on her passage, and had been seen from the lighthouse a fortnight ago, beating up toward the mouth of the bay. At that time, the crew had sent their only boat on shore for water, of which they now began to be in great want; and the wind freshening, the boat was lost on its return; and the galliot, being driven out to sea again, had suffered exceedingly. There were fifty soldiers in her, with their wives and children; and several other passengers, besides the crew, which consisted of twenty-five; so that they had upward of an hundred souls on board; a great number for a vessel of eighty tons, and that was also heavy laden with stores and provisions. Both this galliot, and the sloop we saw here in May, are built like the Dutch doggers. Soon after she had come to anchor, we received a visit from a *Put-parouchick*, or sub-lieutenant, who was passenger in the galliot, and sent to take the command of this place. Part of the soldiers, we understood, were also designed to reinforce the garrison; and two pieces of small cannon were landed, as an additional defence to the town. It should seem, from these circumstances, that our visit here had drawn the attention of the Russian commanders in Siberia to the defenceless situation of the place; and I was told by the honest sergeant, with many significant shrugs, that, as we had found our way into it, other nations might do the same, some of whom might not be altogether so welcome.

Next morning the Resolution hauled off from the shore, having repaired the damages she had sustained by the ice; and in the course of the day we got from the galliot a small quantity of pitch, tar, cordage, and twine; canvas was the only thing we asked for with which their scanty store did not put it into their power to supply us. We also received from her an hundred and forty skins of flour, amounting to 13,782 pounds English, after deducting five pounds for the weight of each bag. We had a constant course of dry weather till this day, when there came on a heavy rain, accompanied with strong squalls of wind, which obliged us to strike our yards and top-masts.

The 12th, being Sunday, was kept as a day of rest; but the weather unfortunately continuing foul, our men could not derive the advantage from it we wished, by gathering the berries that grew in great quantities and varieties on the coast, and taking other pastime on shore. The same day, Ensign Synd left us to return to Bolcheretsk with the remainder of the soldiers that came in the galliot. He had been our constant guest during his stay. Indeed, we could not but consider him, on his father's account, as in some measure belonging to us, and entitled, as one of the family of discoverers, to a share in our affections.

We had hitherto admitted the sergeant to our tables, in consideration of his being commander of the place; and, moreover, because he was a quick sensible man, and comprehended better than any other the few Russian words we had learned. Ensign Synd had very

politely suffered him to enjoy the same privileges during his stay; but, on the arrival of the new commander from Okotsk, the sergeant, for some cause or other which we could not learn, fell into disgrace, and was no longer suffered to sit down in the company of his own officers. It was in vain to think of making any attempt to obtain an indulgence which, though it would have been highly agreeable to us, was doubtless incompatible with their discipline.

On Wednesday we had finished the stowage of the holds, got on board all our wood and water, and were ready to put to sea at a day's notice. It is, however, necessary to observe, that though everything was in this degree of readiness on board, the cattle were not yet arrived from Verchnei; and as fresh provisions were the most important article of our wants, and in a great measure necessary for the health of the men, we could not think of taking our departure without them. We therefore thought this a favourable opportunity (especially as there was an appearance of fine weather) of taking some amusement on shore, and acquiring a little knowledge of the country. Accordingly, Captain Gore proposed a party of bear-hunting, which we all very readily came into.

We did not set out on this expedition till Friday the 17th, in order to give a day's rest to the Hospodin Ivaskin, a new acquaintance, that was to be of our party, and who came down here on Wednesday. This gentleman, who, we understood, usually resides at Verchnei, had been desired by Major Behm to attend us on our return to the harbour, in order to be our interpreter; and the accounts we had heard of him before his arrival, had excited in us a great curiosity to see him. He is of a considerable family in Russia. His father was a general in the empress's service; and he himself, after having received his education partly in France and partly in Germany, had been page to the Empress Elizabeth, and an ensign in her guards. At the age of sixteen he was knouted, had his nose slit, and was banished, first to Siberia and afterward to Kamtschatka, where he had now lived thirty-one years. He was a very tall thin man, with a face all over furrowed with deep wrinkles, and bore, in his whole figure, the strongest marks of old age, though he had scarcely reached his fifty-fourth year.

To our very great disappointment, he had so totally forgotten both his German and French, as not to be able to speak a sentence, nor readily to understand what was said to him in either of these languages. We found ourselves thus unfortunately deprived of what we flattered ourselves would have turned out a favourable opportunity of getting farther information relative to this country. We had also promised ourselves much pleasure from the history of this extraordinary man, which he probably would have been induced to relate to strangers, who might perhaps be of some little service to him, but who could have no inducement to take advantage, from anything he might say, to do him an injury. No one here knew the cause of his banishment; but they took it for granted that it must have been for something very atrocious, particularly as two or three commanders of Kamtschatka have endeavoured to get him recalled since the present empress's reign, but far from succeeding in this, they have not been even able to get the place of his banishment changed. He told us, that for twenty years he had not tasted bread, nor had been allowed subsistence of any kind whatsoever; but that, during this period, he had lived among the Kamtschadales on what his own activity and toil in the chase had furnished. That afterward he had a small pension granted; and that since Major Behm came to the command, his situation had been infinitely mended. The notice that worthy man had taken of him, and his having often invited him to become his guest, had been the occasion of others following his example; besides which, he had been the means of getting his pension increased to one hundred roubles a year, which is the common pay of an ensign in all parts of the empress's dominions, except in this province, where the pay of all the officers is double. Major Behm told us that he had obtained permission to take him to Okotsk, which was to be the place of his residence in future; but that he should leave him behind for the present, on an idea that he might, on our return to the bay, be useful to us as an interpreter.

Having given orders to the first lieutenants of both ships to let the rigging have such a repair as the supply of stores we had lately received would permit, we set out on our hunting-party, under the direction of the corporal of the Kamtschadales, intending, before

we began to look for our game, to proceed straight to the head of Behm's Harbour. It is an inlet on the west side of the bay (which we had named after that officer, from its being a favourite place of his, and having been surveyed by himself), and is called by the natives Tareinska.

In our way toward this harbour, we met the *Toion* of Saint Peter and Saint Paul in a canoe, with his wife and two children, and another Kamtschadale. He had killed two seals upon a round island that lies in the entrance of the harbour, with which, and a great quantity of berries that he had gathered, he was returning home. As the wind had veered to the south-west, we now changed our route, by his advice; and instead of going up the harbour, directed our course to the northward, toward a pool of water that lies near the mouth of the river Paratounca, and which was a known haunt of the bears. We had scarce landed, when unfortunately the wind changed to the eastward, and a second time destroyed all hopes of coming up with our game; for the Kamtschadales assured us, that it was in vain to expect to meet with bears whilst we were to the windward, owing to their being possessed of an uncommon acuteness in scenting their pursuers, which enabled them, under such circumstances, to avoid the danger whilst it is yet at a very great distance. We returned, therefore, to the boat, and passed the night on the beach, having brought a tent with us for that purpose; and the next day, by the advice of our guides, crossed the bay, and went to the head of Rakoweena Harbour. Having here secured the boats, we proceeded with all our luggage on foot, and, after a walk of five or six miles, came to the sea-side, a league to the northward of the Lighthouse Head. From hence, as far as we could see toward Cheepoonskoi Noss, there is a continued narrow border of low level ground adjoining to the sea, which is covered with heath, and produces great abundance of berries, particularly those called partridge and crow berries. We were told we should not fail to meet with a number of bears feeding upon these berries; but that the weather, being showery, was unfavourable for us.

Accordingly, we directed our course along this plain; and though we saw several bears at a distance, we could never, with all our management, contrive to get within shot of them. Our diversion was therefore changed to spearing of salmon, which we saw pushing, in great numbers, through the surf into a small river. I could not help observing, how much inferior our Kamtschadales were at this method of fishing, to the people at Oonalashka; nor were their instruments, although pointed with iron, near so good for the purpose, nor to be compared in neatness to those of the Americans, though pointed only with bone. On inquiring into the reason of this inferiority, I was informed by the corporal, who had lived many years amongst the Americans, that formerly the Kamtschadales made use of the same kind of darts and spears with the Americans, headed and barbed with bone, and were not less dexterous in the management of them than the latter. We could not understand one another sufficiently for me to learn the cause of this change; probably it was one of the not unusual effects of a forced and imperfect state of improvement. It fell out very opportunely, that the water afforded us a little prey; for besides our ill success in the chase by land, we had also been disappointed in our expectations of shooting wild fowl, on a supply of which we had in some measure depended for our subsistence; and on its failure, began to think that we had been full long absent from head-quarters. Our Kamtschadales now discovered, that the want of success, in not meeting with game, was owing to the party being too large, and to the unavoidable noise that was the consequence of it. We, therefore, agreed to separate; Ivaskin, the corporal, and myself, forming one party; Captain Gore and the rest of the company, the other.

Accordingly, after passing the night under our tent, we set out on the morning of the 19th, by different routes, meaning to take a circuit round the country, and meet at Saint Peter and Saint Paul. The party to which I belonged took the course of the river, at the mouth of which we had fished for the salmon; and, after being thoroughly soaked by the heavy rains that fell all the morning, we came about three in the afternoon to some old *balagans*, where a Kamtschadale village had been formerly situated, without meeting with a single bear during the whole of a long and tedious walk. It was our first intention to have remained here all night, in order to have resumed our chase early the next morning; but the weather clearing, and at the same time a fresh breeze springing up from a quarter

unfavourable to our designs, the Hospodin, whom former sufferings had made very unfit to bear much fatigue, and who seemed at present more particularly distressed from having emptied his snuff-box, began to be very importunate with us to return home. It was some time before the old corporal consented, alleging, that we were at a great distance from the harbour; and that, on account of the badness of the way, the night would probably overtake us before we reached the end of our journey. At length, however, he yielded to Ivaskin's entreaties, and conducted us along the side of a number of small lakes, with which the flat part of this country seems much to abound. These lakes are from half a mile to two miles in length, and about half a mile broad; the water is fresh and clear, and they are full of a red-coloured fish, resembling, both in shape and size, a small salmon; of which a more particular description will be given hereafter. The banks of these lakes were covered with the fragments of fish that the bears had half eaten, and which caused an intolerable stench. We often came upon the spots which the bears had just left, but were never able even to come within sight of them. It was night before we reached the ships, and we had then been twelve hours upon our legs. Poor Ivaskin found himself exceedingly tired, and overcome with fatigue; probably he was more sensible of it, for want of a supply of snuff; for every step he took, his hand dived mechanically into his pocket, and drew out his huge empty box. We had scarcely got into the tent, when the weather set in exceedingly rough and wet. We congratulated ourselves that we had not stayed out another day, the Hospodin's box was replenished, and we forgot the fatigues and ill success of our expedition over a good supper.

I was exceedingly sorry, on being told the next day, that our friend the sergeant had undergone corporal punishment, during our absence, by command of the old Put-parouchick. None of our people had been able to learn what was the cause of his displeasure; but it was imagined to have arisen from some little jealousy subsisting between them on account of the civility which we had shown to the former. However, having every reason to believe that the offence, whatever it might be, did not call for so disgraceful a chastisement, we could not help being both sorry and much provoked at it, as the terms on which we had lived with him, and the interest we were known to take in his affairs, made the affront in some measure personal to ourselves. For it has not yet been mentioned, that we had consulted with the late worthy commander, Major Behm, who was also his friend, by what means we might be most likely to succeed in doing him some service, for the good order he had kept in the ostrog during our stay, and for his readiness, on all occasions, to oblige us. The major advised a letter of recommendation to the governor-general, which Captain Clerke had accordingly given him, and which, backed with his own representations, he had no doubt would get the sergeant advanced a step higher in his profession. We did not choose to make any remonstrance on this subject, till the arrival of Captain Shmaleff. Indeed our inability, from the want of language, to enter into any discussion of the business, made it advisable to come to this determination. However, when the Put-parouchick paid us his next visit, we could not help testifying our chagrin, by receiving him very coolly.

The 22d, being the anniversary of his Majesty's coronation, twenty-one guns were fired, and the handsomest feast our situation would allow of was prepared in honour of the day. As we were sitting down to dinner, the arrival of Captain Shmaleff was announced. This was a most agreeable surprise; in the first place, because he arrived so opportunely to partake of the good fare and festivity of the occasion; and, in the next, because, in our last accounts of him, we were given to understand, that the effects of a severe illness had made him unequal to the journey. We were glad to find that this had been merely an excuse; that, in fact, he was ashamed of coming empty-handed, knowing we must be in great want of tea, sugar, &c. &c.; and that, therefore, he had deferred his setting out, in daily expectation of the sloop from Okotsk; but having no tidings of her, and dreading lest we should sail without his having paid us a visit, he was determined to set out, though with nothing better to present to us than apologies for the poverty of Bolcheretsk. At the same time he acquainted us, that our not having received the sixteen head of black cattle, we had desired might be sent down, was owing to the very heavy rains at Verchnei, which had prevented their setting out. We made the best answer we were able, to so much politeness and

generosity; and the next day, on coming on board the Resolution, he was saluted with eleven guns. Specimens of all our curiosities were presented to him; and Captain Gore added to them a gold watch and a fowling-piece.

The next day, he was entertained on board the Discovery; and on the 25th, he took leave of us to return to Bolcheretsk. He could not be prevailed on to lengthen his visit, having some expectations, as he told us, that the sub-governor-general, who was at this time making a tour through all the provinces of the governor-general of Jakutsk, might arrive in the sloop that was daily expected from Okotsk. Before his departure, and without any interference of ours, he reinstated the sergeant in the command of this place, having determined to take the Put-parouchick along with him; at the same time, we understood that he was highly displeased with him, on account of the punishment that had been inflicted on the sergeant, and for which there did not appear to be the slightest grounds. Captain Shmaleff's great readiness to give us every possible proof of his desire to oblige us, encouraged us to ask a small favour for another of our Kamtschadale friends. It was to requite an old soldier, whose house had been, at all times, open to the inferior officers, and who had done both them, and all the crew, a thousand good offices. The captain most obligingly complied with our request, and dubbed him (which was all he wished for) a corporal upon the spot, and ordered him to thank the English officers for his great promotion. It may not here be improper to observe, that, in the Russian army, the inferior class of officers enjoy a degree of pre-eminence above the private men, with which we, in our service, are in a great measure unacquainted. It was no small astonishment to us, to see a sergeant keep up all the state, and exact all the respect, from all beneath him, belonging to a field-officer. It may be farther remarked, that there are many more gradations of rank amongst them, than are to be met with in other countries. Between a sergeant and a private man, there are not less than four intermediate steps; and I have no doubt, but that the advantages arising from this system are found to be very considerable. The salutary effects of little subordinate ranks in our sea-service cannot be questioned. It gives rise to great emulation, and the superior officers are enabled to bestow, on almost every possible degree of merit, a reward proportioned to it. Having been incidentally led into this subject, I shall beg leave to add but one observation more, namely, that the discipline of the Russian army, though at this distance from the seat of government, is of the strictest and severest kind; from which even the commissioned officers are not exempt. The punishment of the latter for small offences is imprisonment, and a bread-and-water diet. An ensign, a good friend of ours at this place, told us, that for having been concerned in a drunken riot, he was confined in the black-hole for three months, and fed upon bread-and-water, which, he said, so shattered his nerves, that he had never since had spirits for a common convivial meeting.

I accompanied Captain Shmaleff to the entrance of Awatska river, and, having bid him farewell, took this opportunity of paying a visit to the priest of Paratounca. On Sunday the 26th, I attended him to church. The congregation consisted of his own family, three Kamtschadale men, and three boys, who assisted in singing part of the service, the whole of which was performed in a very solemn and edifying manner. The church is of wood, and by far the best building either in this town, or in that of Saint Peter and Saint Paul. It is ornamented with many paintings, particularly with two pictures of Saint Peter and Saint Paul, presented by Beering; and which, in the real richness of their drapery, would carry off the prize from the first of our European performances; for all the principal parts of it are made of thick plates of solid silver, fastened to the canvas, and fashioned into the various foldings of the robes with which the figures were clothed.

The next day, I set on foot another hunting-party, and put myself under the direction of the clerk of the parish, who was a celebrated bear-hunter. We arrived, by sunset, at the side of one of the larger lakes. The next step was to conceal ourselves as much as possible; and this we were able to do very effectually, among some long grass and brush-wood, that grew close to the water's edge. We had not lain long in ambush, before we had the pleasure to hear the growlings of bears in different parts round about us; and our expectations were soon gratified by the sight of one of them in the water, which seemed to be swimming directly to the place where we lay hid. The moon, at this time, gave a

considerable light; and when the animal had advanced about fifteen yards, three of us fired at it, pretty nearly at the same time. The beast immediately turned short on one side, and set up a noise, which could not properly be called roaring, nor growling, nor yelling, but was a mixture of all three, and horrible beyond description. We plainly saw that it was severely wounded, and that with difficulty it gained the bank, and retreated to some thick bushes at a little distance. It still continued to make the same loud and terrible noise; and though the Kamtschadales were persuaded it was mortally wounded, and could get no farther, yet they thought it most advisable not to rouse it again for the present. It was at this time past nine o'clock, and the night becoming overcast, and threatening a change of weather, we thought it most prudent to return home, and defer the gratification of our curiosity till morning, when we returned to the spot, and found the bear dead in the place to which it had been watched. It proved to be a female, and beyond the common size.

As the account of our first hunting-party will be apt to give the reader a wrong idea of the method in which this sport is usually conducted, it may not be amiss to add a few more words on the subject; and which I am the better able to do since this last expedition. When the natives come to the ground frequented by the bears, which they contrive to reach about sunset, the first step is to look for their tracks, to examine which are the freshest, and the best situated with a view to concealment, and taking aim at the beast, either as he is passing by or advancing in front, or going from them. These tracks are found, in the greatest numbers, leading from the woods down to the lakes, and among the long sedgy grass and brakes by the edge of the water. The place of ambuscade being determined upon, the hunters next fix in the ground the crutches, upon which their firelocks are made to rest, pointing them in the direction they mean to make their shot. This done, they kneel or lie down, as the circumstances of the cover require, and, with their bear-spears by their side, wait for their game. These precautions, which are chiefly taken in order to make sure of their mark, are, on several accounts, highly expedient. For, in the first place, ammunition is so dear at Kamtschatka, that the price of a bear will not purchase more of it than is sufficient to load a musket four or five times; and what is more material, if the bear be not rendered incapable of pursuit by the first shot, the consequences are often fatal. He immediately makes toward the place from whence the noise and smoke issue, and attacks his adversaries with great fury. It is impossible for them to reload, as the animal is seldom at more than twelve or fifteen yards' distance when he is fired at: so that, if he does not fall, they immediately put themselves in a posture to receive him upon their spears; and their safety greatly depends on their giving him a mortal stab, as he first comes upon them. If he parries the thrust (which, by the extraordinary strength and agility of their paws, they are often enabled to do), and thereby breaks in upon his adversaries, the conflict becomes very unequal, and it is well if the life of one of the party alone suffice to pay the forfeit.

There are two seasons of the year when this diversion, or occupation as it may be rather called, is more particularly dangerous: in the spring, when the bears first come forth, after having subsisted, as is universally asserted here, on sucking their paws through the winter; and especially if the frost happen to be severe, and the ice not to be broken up in the lake at that time, by which means they are deprived of their ordinary and expected food. Under these circumstances they soon become exceedingly famished, and fierce and savage in proportion. They will pursue the natives by the scent; and, as they now prowl about out of their usual tracks, frequently come upon them unawares; and when this happens, as the Kamtschadales have not the smallest notion of shooting flying, nor even at an animal running, or in any way except with their piece on a rest, the bear-hunters often fall a sacrifice to their hunger. The other season in which it is dangerous to come in their way, is at the time of their copulation, which is generally about this time of the year.

An extraordinary instance of natural affection in these animals hath been already mentioned. The chase affords a variety of a similar nature, and not less affecting; many of which were related to me. The Kamtschadales derive great advantage, in hunting, from this circumstance. They never venture to fire upon a young bear, when the mother is near: for, if the cub drop, she becomes enraged to a degree little short of madness; and if she get

sight of the enemy, will only quit her revenge with her life. On the contrary, if the dam be shot, the cubs will not leave her side, even after she has been dead a long time; but continue about her, showing, by a variety of affecting actions and gestures, marks of the deepest affliction, and thus become an easy prey to the hunters. Nor is the sagacity of the bears, if the Kamtschadales are to be credited, less extraordinary, or less worthy to be remarked, than their natural affection. Of this they have a thousand stories to relate. I shall content myself with mentioning one instance, which the natives speak of as a well-known fact; and that is, the stratagem they have recourse to, in order to catch the bareins, which are considerably too swift of foot for them. These animals keep together in large herds; they frequent mostly the low grounds, and love to browse at the feet of rocks and precipices. The bear hunts them by scent till he come in sight, when he advances warily, keeping above them, and concealing himself amongst the rocks, as he makes his approaches, till he gets immediately over them, and nigh enough for his purpose. He then begins to push down, with his paws, pieces of the rock amongst the herd below. This manœuvre is not followed by any attempt to pursue, until he find he has maimed one of the flock, upon which a course immediately ensues, that proves successful, or otherwise, according to the hurt the barein has received.

I cannot conclude this digression without observing, that the Kamtschadales very thankfully acknowledge their obligations to the bears for what little advancement they have hitherto made, either in the sciences or polite arts. They confess that they owe to them all their skill both in physic and surgery; that by remarking with what herbs these animals rub the wounds they have received, and what they have recourse to when sick and languid, they have become acquainted with most of the simples in use among them, either in the way of internal medicine, or external application. But what will appear somewhat more singular is, they acknowledge the bears likewise for their dancing-masters. Indeed, the evidence of one's senses puts this out of dispute; for the bear dance of the Kamtschadales is an exact counterpart of every attitude and gesture peculiar to this animal, through its various functions; and this is the foundation and ground-work of all their other dances, and what they value themselves most upon. I returned to the ships on the 28th, very well pleased with my excursion, as it had afforded me an opportunity of seeing a little more of the country, and of observing the manners and behaviour of the Kamtschadales, when freed from that constraint which they evidently lie under in the company of the Russians.

No occurrence worth mentioning took place till the 30th, when Captain Gore went to Paratounca, to put up in the church there an escutcheon, prepared by Mr. Webber, with an inscription upon it, setting forth Captain Clerke's age and rank, and the object of the expedition in which he was engaged at the time of this decease. We also affixed to the tree under which he was buried a board, with an inscription upon it to the same effect. Before his departure, Captain Gore left orders with me to get the ships out of the harbour into the bay, to be in readiness to sail. We were prevented from doing this by a violent gale of wind, which lasted the whole day of the 1st of October. However, on the 2d, both ships warped out of the harbour, clear of the narrow passage, and came to anchor in seven fathoms, a quarter of a mile from the ostrog. The day before we went out of the harbour, the cattle arrived from Verchnei; and that the men might receive the full benefit of this capital and much-longed-for supply, by consuming it fresh, Captain Gore came to a determination of staying five or six days longer. Nor was this time idly employed. The boats, pumps, sails, and rigging of both ships, thereby received an additional repair. And Captain Gore sparing me some molasses, and the use of the Resolution's copper, I was enabled to brew a fortnight's beer for the crew, and to make a farther provision of ten puncheons of strong spruce essence. The present supply was the more acceptable, as our last cask of spirits, except a small quantity left in reserve for cases of necessity, was now serving out.

The 3rd was the name-day of the empress, and we could want no inducement to show it every possible respect. Accordingly, Captain Gore invited the priest of Paratounca, Ivaskin, and the sergeant, to dinner; and an entertainment was also provided for the inferior officers of the garrison, for the two *Toions* of Paratounca, and St. Peter and St. Paul, and for the other better sort of Kamtschadale inhabitants. The rest of the natives, of every description,

were invited to partake with the ships' companies, who had a pound of good fat beef served out to each man; and what remained of our spirits was made into grog, and divided amongst them. A salute of twenty-one guns was fired at the usual hour; and the whole was conducted (considering the part of her dominions it was in) in a manner not unworthy so renowned and magnificent an empress. On the 5th, we received from Bolcheretsk a fresh supply of tea, sugar, and tobacco. This present had met Captain Shmaleff on his return, and was accompanied by a letter from him, in which he informed us, that the sloop from Okotsk had arrived during his absence, and that Madame Shmaleff, who was entirely in our interests, had lost no time in despatching a courier, with the few presents, of which our acceptance was requested.

The appearance of foul weather, on the 6th and 7th, prevented our unmooring; but on the morning of the 8th, we sailed out toward the mouth of the bay, and hoisted in all the boats; when the wind, veering to the southward, stopped our farther progress, and obliged us to drop anchor in ten fathoms; the ostrog bearing due north, half a league distant. The weather being foggy, and the wind from the same quarter during the forenoon of the 9th, we continued in our station. At four in the afternoon, we again unmoored; but whilst we were, with great difficulty, weighing our last anchor, I was told that the drummer of the marines had left the boat, which had just returned from the village, and that he was last seen with a Kamtschadale woman, to whom his messmates knew he had been much attached, and who had often been observed persuading him to stay behind. Though this man had been long useless to us, from a swelling in his knee, which rendered him lame, yet this made me the more unwilling he should be left behind, to become a miserable burthen, both to the Russians and himself. I therefore got the sergeant to send parties of soldiers in different directions, in search of him, whilst some of our sailors went to a well-known haunt of his in the neighbourhood, where they found him with his woman. On the return of this party, with our deserter, we weighed, and followed the Resolution out of the bay.

Having at length taken our leave of Saint Peter and Saint Paul, I shall conclude this chapter with a particular description of Awatska bay, and the coast adjoining; not only because (its three inlets included) it constitutes perhaps the most extensive and safest harbour that has yet been discovered, but because it is the only port in this part of the world, capable of admitting ships of any considerable burthen. The term bay, indeed, is perhaps not applicable, properly speaking, to a place so well sheltered as Awatska; but then it must be observed, that from the loose, undistinguishing manner, in which navigators have denominated certain situations of sea and land, with respect to each other, bays, roads, sounds, harbours, &c. we have no defined and determinate ideas affixed to these words, sufficient to warrant us in changing a popular name, for one that may appear more proper.

The entrance into this bay, is in 52° 51′ N. latitude, and 158° 48′ E. longitude, and lies in the bight of another exterior bay, formed by Cheepoonskoi Noss, to the north, and Cape Gavareea to the south. The former of these headlands bears from the latter north-east by north, three quarters east, and is distant thirty-two leagues. The coast, from Cape Gavareea to the entrance of Awatska Bay, takes a direction nearly north, and is eleven leagues in extent. It consists of a chain of high, ragged cliffs, with detached rocks frequently lying off them. This coast, at a distance, presents, in many parts, an appearance of bays or inlets, but on a nearer approach, the headlands were found connected by low ground.

Cheepoonskoi Noss bears, from the entrance of the bay, east north-east a quarter east, and is seventeen leagues distant. On this side, the shore is low and flat, with hills rising behind, to a considerable height. In the latitude of Cape Gavareea, there is an error of twenty-one miles in the Russian charts; its true latitude being 52° 21′.

This striking difference of the land on each side Awatska Bay, with their different bearings, are the best guides to steer for it, in coming from the southward: and, in approaching it from the northward, Cheepoonskoi Noss will make itself very conspicuous; for it is a high projecting headland, with a considerable extent of level ground, lower than the Noss, uniting it to the continent. It presents the same appearance, whether viewed from the north or south, and will warn the mariner not to be deceived, in imagining Awatska Bay to lie in the bight which the coast forms to the northward of this Noss, and which might be the

case, from the striking resemblance there is between a conical hill within this bight or bay, and one to the south of Awatska Bay.

I have been thus particular, in giving a minute description of this coast, from our own experience of the want of it. For had we been furnished with a tolerable account of the form of the coast, on each side of Awatska Bay, we should on our first arrival upon it, have got safely within the bay two days before we did, and thereby have avoided part of the stormy weather, which came on when we were plying off the mouth of the harbour. Besides, from the prevalence of fogs in these seas, it must frequently happen, that an observation for ascertaining the latitude cannot be got; to which we may add, that the deceptive appearances land makes, when covered with snow, and when viewed through an hazy atmosphere, both which circumstances prevail here, during the greatest part of the year, render the knowledge of a variety of discriminating objects the more necessary. Should, however, the weather be clear enough to admit a view of the mountains on the coast in its neighbourhood, these will serve to point out the situation of Awatska Bay, with a great deal of precision. For to the south of it are two high mountains; that which is nearest the bay, is shaped like a sugar-loaf; the other, which is farther inland, does not appear so high, and is flat at the top. To the north of the bay, are three very conspicuous mountains; the westernmost is, to appearance, the highest; the next is the volcano mountain, which may be known from the smoke that issues from its top, and likewise from some high table-hills connected with it, and stretching to the northward: these two are somewhat peaked. The third, and the most northerly, might perhaps be more properly called a cluster of mountains, as it presents to the sight several flat tops. When the navigator has got within the capes, and into the outward bay, a perpendicular headland, with a light-house erected upon it, will point out the entrance of the bay of Awatska to the northward. To the eastward of this headland lie many sunken rocks, stretching into the sea, to the distance of two or three miles; and which will show themselves, if there be but a moderate sea or swell. Four miles to the south of the entrance lies a small round island, very distinguishable from being principally composed of high pointed rocks, with one of them strikingly remarkable, as being much larger, more peaked and perpendicular than the rest.

It is no way necessary to be equally particular in the description of the bay itself, as of its approaches and environs; since no words can give the mariner so perfect an idea of it, as the plan*. From this it will appear, that the entrance is at first near three miles wide, and in the narrowest part one mile and a half, and four miles long, in a north north-west direction. Within the mouth is a noble basin of twenty-five miles' circuit, with the capacious harbours of Tarcinska to the west, of Rakoweena to the east, and the small one of Saint Peter and Saint Paul, where we lay, to the north. Tarcinska harbour is about three miles in breadth, and twelve in length; it stretches to the east-south-east, and is separated from the sea, at the bottom, by a narrow neck of land. The road into this harbour is perfectly free from rocks or shoals. We had never less than seven fathoms' water, as far as our survey extended; for we were not able to get to the bottom of the harbour on account of the ice. The harbour of Rakoweena would deserve the preference over the other two, if its entrance were not impeded by a shoal lying in the middle of the channel, which, in general, will make it necessary to warp in, unless there be a leading wind. It is from one mile to half a mile in width, and three miles long, running at first in a south-east, and afterward in an easterly direction. Its depth is from thirteen to three fathoms.

Saint Peter and Saint Paul's is one of the most convenient little harbours I ever saw. It will hold conveniently half a dozen ships, moored head and stern, and is fit for giving them any kind of repairs. The south side is formed by a low sandy neck, exceedingly narrow, on which the ostrog is built, and whose point may almost be touched by ships going in, having three fathoms' water close in with it. In the mid-channel, which is no more than two hundred and seventy-eight feet across, there are six fathoms and a half; the deepest water

* This refers to a plan given in the original edition, but omitted here, as is the case with all maps and plans merely explanatory of sailing directions, such being either transferred to the common charts, or superseded by more modern surveys.—Ed.

within is seven fathoms; and in every part over a muddy bottom. We found some inconvenience from the toughness of the ground, which constantly broke the messenger, and gave us a great deal of trouble in getting up the anchors. There is a watering-place at the head of the harbour.

The plan will likewise point out the shoal that is to be avoided, lying off the eastern harbour as well as the spit within the entrance, stretching from the south-west shore, and over which there is only three fathoms' water. In order to steer clear of the latter, a small island, or perhaps it may rather be called a large detached rock, lying on the west shore of the entrance, is to be shut in with the land to the south of it; and, to steer clear of the former, the Three Needle Rocks, which lie on the east shore of the entrance near the light-house head, are to be kept open with the headlands (or bluff heads) that rise to the northward of the first small bay, or bending, observable on the east side of the entrance. When arrived to the north of the north headland of the eastern harbour, the shoal is past. In sailing into the harbour of Saint Peter and Saint Paul, and approaching the village, it is necessary to keep in close to the eastern shore, in order to avoid a spit, which runs from the headland to the south-west of the town.

Before I proceed to give a table of the result of our astronomical observations at this place, it may be proper to acquaint the reader, that the timekeeper we had on board the Resolution, which was an exact copy of that invented by Mr. Harrison, and executed by Mr. Kendal, stopped on the 27th of April, a few days before we first came into Awatska Bay. It had been always kept with the most scrupulous care during the voyage, having never been trusted for a moment into any other hands than those of Captain Cook and mine. No accident could, therefore, have happened to it, to which we could attribute its stopping; nor could it have arisen from the effects of intense cold, as the thermometer was very little below the freezing point. As soon as the discovery was made, I consulted with Captain Clerke what course it was best to pursue; whether to let it remain as it was, entirely useless to us, for the purpose of satisfying the curious at home, where it was sure of being examined by proper judges, or suffer it to be inspected by a seaman on board, who had served a regular apprenticeship to a watchmaker in London; and appeared sufficiently knowing in the business, from his success in cleaning and repairing several watches since we had been out. The advantages we had derived from its accuracy made us extremely unwilling to be deprived of its use during the remaining part of the voyage; and that object appeared to us of much greater importance than the small degree of probability, which we understood was all that could be expected, of obtaining any material knowledge respecting its mechanism, by deferring the inspection of it. At the same time, it should be remembered, that the watch had already had a sufficient trial, both in the former voyage, and during the three years we had now had it on board, to ascertain its utility. On these considerations, we took the opportunity of the first clear day, after our arrival in Awatska Bay, of opening the watch, which was done in the Captain's cabin, and in our presence. The watchmaker found no part of the work broken; but not being able to set it agoing, he proceeded to take off the cock and balance, and cleaned both the pivot-holes, which he found very foul, and the rest of the work rather dirty; he also took off the dial-plate; and, between two teeth of the wheel that carries the second hand, found a piece of dirt, which he imagined to be the principal cause of its stopping. Having afterward put the work together, and oiled it as sparingly as possible, the watch appeared to go free and well.

Having received orders the next day to go to Bolcheretsk, the time-keeper was left in the care of Mr. Bayly, to compare it with his watch and clock, in order to get its rate. On my return, I was told it had gone for some days with tolerable regularity, losing only from fifteen to seventeen seconds a-day, when it stopped a second time. It was again opened, and the cause of its stopping appeared to be owing to the man having put some part of the work badly together when he first opened it. Being again adjusted, it was found to gain above a minute a-day; and, in the attempt to alter the regulator and balance-spring, he broke the latter. He afterward made a new spring; but the watch now went so irregularly, that we made no farther use of it. The poor fellow was not less chagrined than we were, at our bad success; which, however, I am convinced was more owing to the miserable tools he was

obliged to work with, and the stiffness his hands had contracted from his ordinary occupation, than to his want of skill.

For the satisfaction of those who may wish to have a general view of its rate of going, I have added the following table. The first and second columns contain the dates when, and the names of the places where, its rate was observed. The third column contains the daily error of its rate, so found from mean time. The fourth column has the longitude of each place, according to the Greenwich rate; that is, calculated on a supposition that the timekeeper had not varied its rate from the time it left Greenwich. But as we had frequent opportunities of ascertaining the variation of its daily error, or finding its new rate, the fifth column has the longitude, according to its last rate, calculated from the true longitude of the place last departed from. The sixth is the true longitude of the place, deduced from astronomical observations made by ourselves, and compared with those made by others, whenever such could be obtained. The seventh column shows the difference between the fourth column and the sixth in space; and the eighth the same difference in time. The ninth shows the number of months and days in which the error, thus determined, had been accumulating. The difference between the fifth and sixth columns is found in the tenth, and shows the error of the timekeeper, according to its rate last found in space; and the eleventh, the same error in time. The twelfth contains the time elapsed in sailing from the place where the rate was last taken, to the place whose longitude is last determined. The thirteenth and fourteenth contain the state of the air at the time of each observation.

As persons unaccustomed to calculations of this sort, may find some difficulty in comprehending the nature of the table, the two following instances will more clearly explain it. Thus, on the 24th October, 1776 (first column), at the Cape of Good Hope (second column), we found the daily error in the rate of its going to be 2″,26 (third column). The longitude of that place, calculated on a supposition that the rate of the timekeeper had continued the same from the time of our leaving Greenwich, that is, had a regular daily error of 1″,21, is found to be 18° 26′ 30″ E. (fourth column). And as its rate at Greenwich is, in this instance, its latest rate, the longitude thus found is the same (fifth column). The true longitude of the place is 18° 23′ 15″ (sixth column). From whence it appears that, in our run from Greenwich to the Cape, the watch would have led us into an error only of 3′ 15″ (seventh column), or three miles one quarter; or had varied 13″ of time (eighth column), in four months twenty-three days (ninth column), the period between our leaving Greenwich and our arrival at the Cape. As the Greenwich is the latest error, the tenth, eleventh, and twelfth columns will be the same with the seventh and ninth.

But, on the 22nd of February, 1777 (first column), at Queen Charlotte's Sound, New Zealand (second column), the daily error of its rate was found to be 2″,91 (third column). The longitude of this place, according to the Greenwich rate, is 175° 25′ (fourth column). But having found at the Cape that it had altered its rate, from a daily error of 1′,21 to 2′,26, the longitude corrected by this new rate is found to be 174° 54′ 23″ (fifth column). The true longitude of the place being 174° 23′ 31″ (sixth column); it appears, that in our run from Greenwich to New Zealand the error would have been only 1° 1′ 29″ (seventh column), or sixty-one miles and a half, even if we had not had an opportunity of correcting its daily error; or, in other words, that the watch had varied 4′ 6″ (eighth column), in eight months eleven days (ninth column). But the longitude, as given by its new rate, leaves an error of only 30′ 54″ (tenth column), near thirty-one miles, or, in time, 2′ 3″,6 (eleventh column), which has been accumulating during our run from the Cape to New Zealand, or, in three months, 28° (twelfth column). The thirteenth and fourteenth columns require no explanation.

Oct. 1779.

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TABLE

OF THE RATE AND ERROR OF MR. KENDAL'S WATCH, ON BOARD THE RESOLUTION.

I.	II.	III.	IV.	V.	VI.	VII.	VIII.	IX.	X.	XI.	XII.	XIII.		XIV.
TIME.	PLACE.	Error of daily Rate.	Longitude by Greenwich Rate.	Longitude by new Rate.	True Longitude.	Accumulated Error by Greenwich Rate, in Space.	Accumulated Error by Greenwich Rate, in Time.	Length of Time.	Error by new Rate. in Space.	Error by new Rate. in Time.	Length of Time.	Thermom. Height. great.	Thermom. Height. least.	Barometer.
1776.		″	° ′ ″ E.	° ′ ″ E.	° ′ ″ E.	° ′ ″	h. ′ ″	m. d.	° ′ ″	h. ′ ″	m. d.			
June 11	Greenwich . .	— 1,21	0 0	0 0	0 0									
Oct. 24	Cape of Good Hope . .	— 2,26	18 26 30	18 26 30	18 23 15	+0 3 15	0 0 13,0	4 23	+ 0 3 15	0 0 13,0	4 23	84	63	30, 0
1777.														
Feb. 22	Queen Charlotte's Sound, New Zealand	— 2,91	175 25 0	174 54 25	174 23 31	1 1 29	0 4 5,3	9 4	+ 0 30 54	0 2 3,6	4 9	73	53	30, 0
May 7	Annamooka .	+ 0,52	186 13 26	186 13 15	185 11 18	1 2 8	0 4 8,5	11 22	+ 1 1 57	0 4 7,8	2 18	83	74	30, 1
June 7	Annamooka . .	— 0,54	186 8 28	186 12 43	185 11 18	0 57 10	0 3 48,6	12 25	+ 1 1 25	0 4 5,6	1 3	79	73	30, 15
July 1	Tongataboo . .	— 1,78	185 48 50	184 53 0	184 55 18	0 53 32	0 3 34,1	13 21	— 0 2 18	0 0 9,2	0 24	85	69	30, 15
Sept. 1	Otaheite . . .	— 1,54	211 41 26	210 39 8	210 22 28	1 18 58	0 5 15,8	15 27	+ 0 16 40	0 1 6,6	2 6	90	70	30, 1
Oct. 17	Huaheine . .	— 2,30	210 14 52	208 50 24	208 52 24	1 22 28	0 5 29,8	17 17	— 0 2 0	0 0 8,0	1 18	90½	72	29, 9
Nov. 7	Ulietea	— 1,52	209 42 54	208 25 22	208 25 22	1 17 32	0 5 10,1	18 10	0 0 0	0 0 0,0	0 21	92	70	29, 7
1778.														
April 16	Nootka . . .	— 7,0	235 32 45	233 56 0	233 17 8	2 15 27	0 9 1,8	24 2	+ 0 28 42	0 2 34,8	5 20	65	41	30, 0
Oct. 14	Samganoodha .	— 8,8	197 44 15	193 12 35	193 31 20	4 12 55	0 16 51,6	30 15	— 0 18 45	0 1 15,0	6 13	57	36	30, 15
1779.														
Feb. 2	Owhyhee . .	— 9,6	214 7 35	203 37 22	204 0 0	10 7 35	0 40 30,3	34 14	— 0 22 38	0 1 30,5	3 27	88	70	29, 8
May 1	Saint Peter and Saint Paul, Kamtschatka	T.K. stopt.	173 36 0	159 20 0	158 43 16	14 52 44	0 59 30,9	37 18	— 0 36 44	0 2 16,9	3 4			

From this view of the timekeeper it appears, that for near two years it altered its rate very inconsiderably, and, therefore, that its error, according to the Greenwich rate, if we had had no opportunities of correcting it, would have amounted only to $2\frac{1}{4}°$. That afterward, at King George's Sound, or Nootka, it was found to have varied exceedingly; of course, the longitude, by its Greenwich rate, was becoming considerably erroneous. About this time, it should be remarked, the thermometer was varying from 65° to 41°. The greatest alteration we ever observed in the watch was, during the three weeks we were cruising to the north; in which interval, it gave the longitude of the East Cape with a difference of twenty-eight miles. I have marked the longitude of Saint Peter and Saint Paul, as given by the timekeeper, notwithstanding it stopped a few days before we arrived there; this I was enabled to do, from comparing the longitude it gave the day before it stopped with that given by Mr. Bayley's watch, and allowing for the error of the latter.

The use of so accurate a measure of time is sufficiently evident, from its furnishing in itself the means of approximating to the longitude at sea, as may be seen in the above table. But besides this we were enabled, by the same means, to give a degree of accuracy to the lunar observations, which they cannot otherwise pretend to; and, at the same time, by reducing a number of those observations to one time, obtain results approaching still nearer the truth. In surveying coasts, and ascertaining the true position of capes and headlands, it reaches the utmost degree of practical exactness. On the other hand, it is to be observed, that lunar observations, in their turn, are absolutely necessary, in order to reap the greatest possible advantages from the timekeeper; since, by ascertaining the true longitude of places, they discover the error of its rate. The original observations that were made in the course of this voyage have been published by order of the board of longitude; and to those I must refer the reader for his further information on this subject.

N.B.—The observatories were placed on the west side of the village of Saint Peter and Saint Paul.

Latitude deduced from meridian zenith distances of the sun, and of five stars to the south, and five to the north of the zenith	53°	0′	38″	north.
Longitude deduced from one hundred and forty-six sets of lunar observations	158	43	15	east.
Longitude by timekeeper, according to its Greenwich rate	173	36	0	
Longitude by timekeeper, according to its rate found at Owhyhee	159	20	0	
Variation of the compass, by azimuths taken with three compasses, made by Knight, Gregory, and Martin	6	18	40	east.
Dip of the north pole of the magnetic needle, being a mean of the observations taken in June and September	63	5	0	

It was high-water, on the full and change of the moon, at thirty-six minutes past four, and the greatest rise was five feet eight inches. The tides were very regular every twelve hours. On the coast, near the bay, the flood came from the south, and the time of high-water was near two hours sooner than in the harbour of Saint Peter and Saint Paul.

CHAPTER VI. — GENERAL ACCOUNT OF KAMTSCHATKA. — GEOGRAPHICAL DESCRIPTION. — RIVERS.—SOIL.—CLIMATE.—VOLCANOES.—HOT SPRINGS.—PRODUCTIONS.—VEGETABLES.—ANIMALS.—BIRDS.—FISH.

Kamtschatka is the name of a peninsula situated on the eastern coast of Asia, running nearly north and south, from 52° to 61° north latitude; the longitude of its southern extremity being 156° 45′ E. The isthmus, which joins it to the continent on the north, lies between the Gulf of Olutorsk and the Gulf of Penshinsk. Its southern extremity is Cape Lopatka, a word signifying the blade-bone of a man, and is so called from its supposed resemblance to it. The shape of the whole peninsula is not unlike that of a shoe, widening from the toe (which we may suppose to be Cape Lopatka) toward the middle, and narrowing again toward the heel, the neck of land above-mentioned connecting it with the continent.

Its greatest breadth is from the mouth of the river Tigil to that of Kamtschatka, and is computed to be two hundred and thirty-six miles, from whence it narrows very gradually toward each extremity. It is bounded on the north by the country of the Koriacks; to the south and east by the north Pacific Ocean; and to the west by the sea of Okotsk. A chain of high mountains stretches the whole length of the country, from north to south, dividing it nearly into two equal parts, from whence a great number of rivers take their rise, and empty themselves, on each side, into the Pacific Ocean and the sea of Okotsk.

There are three rivers of much greater magnitude than the rest; the Bolchoireka, or Great River, so called from *bolchoia*, which signifies great, and *reka*, a river; the river Kamtschatka and the Awatska. The first empties itself into the sea of Okotsk, and is navigable for the Russian galliots upwards of five leagues from its mouth, or within nine miles of Bolcheretsk, a town situated at the conflux of the Goltsoffka and the Bistraia, which here lose themselves in the Bolchoireka. The Bistraia itself is no inconsiderable river. It derives its source from the same mountain with the river Kamtschatka, and, by taking a direct contrary course, affords the Kamtschadales the means of transporting their goods by water in small canoes, almost across the whole peninsula. The river Kamtschatka, after maintaining a course of near three hundred miles from south to north, winds round to the eastward, in which direction it empties itself into the ocean, a little to the southward of Kamtschatkoi Noss. Near the mouth of the Kamtschatka, to the north-west, lies the great lake called Nerpitsch, from *nerpi*, a Kamtschadale word, signifying a seal, with which this lake abounds. About twenty miles up the river, reckoning from the mouth of the lake, is a fort called Nishnei Kamtschatka ostrog, where the Russians have built a hospital and barracks, and which, we were informed, is become the principal mart in this country.

The river Awatska arises from the mountains situated between the Bolchoireka and the Bistraia, and running from north-west to south-east, a course of one hundred miles, falls into the bay of Awatska. The Tigil is likewise a river of considerable size, rising amidst some very high mountains, which lie under the same parallel with Kamtschatkoi Noss, and running in an even course from south-east to north-west, falls into the sea of Okotsk. All the other rivers of this peninsula, which are almost infinite in number, are too small to deserve a particular enumeration.

If I may judge of the soil from what I saw of its vegetable productions, I should not hesitate in pronouncing it barren in the extreme. Neither in the neighbourhood of the bay, nor in the country I traversed on my journey to Bolcheretsk, nor in any of our hunting expeditions, did I ever meet with the smallest spot of ground that resembled what in England is called a good green turf, or that seemed as if it could be turned to any advantage, either in the way of pasturage, or other mode of cultivation. The face of the country in general was thinly covered with stunted trees, having a bottom of moss, mixed with low weak heath. The whole bore a more striking resemblance to Newfoundland than to any other part of the world I had ever seen. It must, however, be observed, that I saw at Paratounca three or four stacks of sweet and very fine-looking hay; and Major Behm informed me, that many parts of the peninsula, particularly the banks of the river Kamtschatka and the Bistraia, produce grass of great height and strength, which they cut twice in the summer; and that the hay is of a succulent quality, and particularly well adapted to the fattening of cattle. Indeed it should appear, from the size and fatness of the thirty-six head that were sent down to us from the Verchnei ostrog, and which we were told were bred and fattened in the neighbourhood, that they must have had the advantage of both good pastures and meadows. For it is worth our notice, that the first supply we received, consisting of twenty, came to us just at the close of the winter, and before the snow was off the ground, and therefore probably had tasted nothing but hay for the seven preceding months. And this agrees with what is related by Krascheninicoff, that there is no part of the country equal in fertility to that which borders on the river Kamtschatka; and that to the north and south it is much inferior, both in point of soil and climate. He relates, that repeated experiments have been made in the culture of oats, barley, and rye, in different quarters near this river, which have generally succeeded; that, in particular, some persons belonging to the convent of Jakutsk, who had settled in that part of the country, had sown

barley there, which had yielded an extraordinary increase; and he has no doubt but that wheat, in many parts, particularly near the source of the Bistraia and Kamtschatka, would grow as well as in the generality of countries situated in the same latitude. Perhaps the superior fertility of the country here spoken of may, in a great measure, be accounted for, from its lying in that part of the peninsula which is by much the widest, and consequently farthest removed from the sea, on each side. The moist chilling fogs, and drizzling weather, which prevail almost perpetually along the coast, must necessarily render the parts adjacent very unfit for all the purposes of agriculture.

It is natural to suppose, that the severity of the climate must be in due proportion to the general sterility of the soil, of which it is probably the cause. The first time we saw this country was in the beginning of May, 1779, when the whole face of it was covered with snow, from six to eight feet deep. On the 6th we had snow, with the wind from the north-east. On the 8th of May, at noon, the thermometer stood at 32°; and the same day, some of our men were sent on shore to try to cut wood; but the snow was still so deep on the ground, as to render all their attempts fruitless. Nor was it found practicable to proceed in this necessary business, with all the efforts of a very stout party, till the 12th, at which time the thaw began to advance gradually. The sides of the hills were now in some places free from snow; and by the beginning of June, it was generally melted from the low lands. On the 15th of June, the day we sailed out of the harbour, the thermometer had never risen higher than 58°, nor the barometer than 30° 04′. The winds blew almost invariably from the east during our stay, and the south-east was more prevalent than any other. On our return, the 24th of August, the foliage of the trees, and all other sorts of vegetation, seemed to be in the utmost state of perfection. For the remainder of this month, and through September, the weather was very changeable, but in no respect severe. The winds, at the beginning of the month, were, for the most part, easterly, after which they got round to the west. The greatest height of the thermometer was 65°, the lowest 40°. The barometer's greatest height 30°, its lowest 29° 3′. So that upon the whole, during this month, an equal and moderate degree of temperature prevailed. But at the beginning of October, the tops of the hills were again covered with new-fallen snow, the wind continuing westerly.

In computing the seasons, the spring ought certainly not to be taken into the account. From the middle of June to the middle of September may be properly said to constitute the summer. October may be considered as an autumnal month; from thence till the middle of June it is perfect winter. It was toward the end of May that we made our journey between Bolcheretsk and Awatska, over the snow in sledges. It is said that the climate in the country adjoining to the river Kamtschatka, is not less serene and temperate than in many parts of Siberia that are under the same latitude. This variation is probably owing to the same causes, to which the superior fertility of the soil in those parts has been before attributed. But it is not in the sterility of the ground alone that the Kamtschadales feel the unfavourable temperature of their climate. The uncertainty of the summer season sometimes prevents their laying up a sufficient stock of dried fish for their winter's provision, and the moisture of the air causes worms to breed in them, which not unfrequently destroy the greatest part.

I do not remember that we had either thunder or lightning during our stay, excepting on the night of the eruption of the volcano; and, from the account of the inhabitants, they are very seldom troubled with storms of this kind, and never but in a slight degree. The general severity of the winter, as well as the dreadful hurricanes of wind and snow that season brings along with it, cannot be questioned, from the subterraneous habitations the natives are under a necessity of retiring to, for warmth and security. Major Behm told us, that the cold and inclemency of the winter of 1779 was such, that, for several weeks, all intercourse between the inhabitants was entirely stopped, every one being afraid to stir, even from one house to another, for fear of being frost-bitten. This extraordinary rigour of climate, in so low a latitude, may be accounted for, from its being situated to the east of an immense uncultivated tract of country, and from the prevalence of the westerly winds, blowing over so extensive and cold a continent. The extraordinary violence and impetuosity of the winds, is attributed to the subterraneous fires, the sulphureous exhalations,

and the general volcanic disposition of the country. This peninsula abounds in volcanoes, of which only three have, for some time past, been subject to eruptions. We have already mentioned that which is situated in the neighbourhood of Awatska. Besides this, there are others not less remarkable, according to the account given of them by Krascheninicoff.

The volcano of Tolbatchick is situated on a neck of ground between the river of Kamtschatka and Tolbatchick. The mountain, from the summit of which the eruptions proceed, is of a considerable height, and terminates in pointed rocks. In the beginning of the year 1739, there issued from it a whirlwind of flames, which reduced to ashes the forests of the neighbouring mountains. This was succeeded by a cloud of smoke, which spread over and darkened the whole country, till it was dissipated by a shower of cinders, that covered the ground to the distance of thirty miles. M. Krascheninicoff, who was at this time on a journey from Bolchoireka to the Kamtschatka ostrog, at no great distance from the mountain, relates, that the eruption was preceded by an alarming sound in the woods, which he thought the forerunner of some dreadful storm or hurricane, till three shocks of an earthquake, at about a minute's interval each, convinced him of its real cause; but that he was hindered from approaching nearer the mountain by the cinders that fell, and prevented him from proceeding on his journey. The third volcano is on the top of the mountain of Kamtschatka, which is mentioned as by far the highest in the peninsula. A thick smoke never ceases to ascend from its summit, and it has frequent eruptions of the most violent and dreadful kind, some of which were much talked of, and seemed to be fresh in the memories of the Kamtschadales. The country is likewise said to contain numerous springs of hot water. The only one that I had an opportunity of seeing was at Natchekin ostrog, and hath been already described. Krascheninicoff makes mention of several others, and also of two very extraordinary pits or wells, at the bottom of which the water is seen to boil as in a caldron, with prodigious force and impetuosity; at the same time a dreadful noise issues out of them, and so thick a vapour, that a man cannot be seen through it.

Of the trees which fell under our notice, the principal are the birch, the poplar, the alder (with the bark of which they stain their leather), many species of the willow, but all small, and two sorts of dwarfish pines or cedars*. One of these grows upon the coast, creeping along the ground, and seldom exceeds two feet in height. It was of this sort we made our essence for beer, and found it excellent for the purpose. The other grows on the mountains, to a greater height, and bears a small nut or apple. We were told by the old *Toion* at St. Peter and St. Paul, that Beering, during the time he lay in that harbour, first taught them the use of the decoction of these pines, and that it had proved a most excellent remedy for the scurvy; but, whether from the great scarcity of sugar, or from what other cause we could not learn, we were sorry to find that it was no longer in use amongst them. The birch was by far the most common tree we saw, and of this we remarked three sorts. Two of them fit for timber, and differing only in the texture and colour of the bark; the third of a dwarfish kind. This tree is applied to a great variety of uses by the inhabitants. The liquor which, on tapping, it yields in great abundance, they drink without mixture or any preparation, as we had frequent opportunities of observing upon our journey to Bolcheretsk, and found it ourselves pleasant and refreshing, but somewhat purgative. The bark they convert into vessels for almost all their domestic and kitchen purposes; and it is of the wood of this tree the sledges and canoes are also made †. The birch, and every kind of tree in the neighbourhood of the bay, were small and stunted; and they are obliged to go many miles up into the country for wood of a proper size to work into canoes, for the principal timbers of their *balagans*, and the like uses.

Besides the trees above mentioned, Krascheninicoff relates, that the larch grows on the banks of the river Kamtschatka, and of those that fall into it, but nowhere else, and that there are firs in the neighbourhood of the river Berezowa; that there is likewise the service-

* Krascheninicoff says that the tree here spoken of is a dwarf cedar, for that there is not a pine in the peninsula.

† Krascheninicoff says that the natives likewise convert the bark into a pleasant wholesome food, by stripping it off whilst it is young and green, and cutting it into long narrow stripes, like vermicelli, drying it, and stowing it afterward along with their caviar.

tree (*Padus foliis annuis*); and two species of the whitethorn, one bearing a red the other a black berry. Of the shrub kind, as junipers, the mountain-ash, wild rose-trees, and raspberry-bushes, the country produces great abundance, together with a variety of berries; blue-berries, of two sorts, round and oval; partridge-berries, cranberries, crow-berries, and black-berries. These the natives gather at proper seasons, and preserve, by boiling them into a thick jam, without sugar. They make no inconsiderable part of their winter provisions, and are used as sauce to their dried and salt fish, of which kind of food they are unquestionably excellent correctives. They likewise eat them by themselves, in puddings and various other ways, and make decoctions of them for their ordinary liquor.

We met with several wholesome vegetables, in a wild state, and in great quantities, such as wild celery, angelica, chervil, garlic, and onions. Upon some few patches of ground in the valleys, we found excellent turnips, and turnip-radishes. The garden cultivation went no farther; yet from hence I am led to conclude, that many of the hardy sorts of vegetables (such at least as push their roots downward), like carrots, parsnips, and beet, and perhaps potatoes, would thrive tolerably well. Major Behm told me, that some other sorts of kitchen vegetables had been tried, but did not answer; that neither any of the cabbage or lettuce kind would ever head; and that peas and beans shot up very vigorous stalks, flowered and podded, but the pods never filled. He likewise told me, that in the experiments made by himself at Bolcheretsk, with different sorts of farinaceous grain, there generally came up a very high and strong blade, which eared, but that the ears never yielded flour. This short account of the vegetable productions reaches to such parts of the country only as fell within our notice. In the neighbourhood of the Kamtschatka river, where (as has been observed) both the soil and climate is by much the best in the whole peninsula, garden culture is attended to, and probably with great success, as appears from our having received at the same time, with a second drove of cattle from Verchnei, a present of cucumbers, of very large fine turnips, celery, and some other garden-stuff, of which I do not recollect the kinds.

There are two plants, which, from the great use made of them, merit a particular mention and description. The first is called by the natives the *sarana;* and by botanists, *Lilium Kamtskatiense flore atro rubente* *. The stem is about the thickness of that of the tulip, and grows to the height of five inches, is of a purple colour toward the bottom, and green higher up, and hath growing from it two tier of leaves of an oval figure, the lower consisting of three leaves, the uppermost of four, in the form of a cross: from the top of the stalk grows a single flower, of an exceedingly dark red colour, in shape resembling the flower of the narcissus, only much smaller: from the centre of the flower rises a style of a triangular form, and obtuse at the end, which is surrounded by six white stamina, whose extremities are yellow. The root is of the bulbous kind, and resembles in shape that of garlic, being much of the same size, but rounder, and having, like that, four or five cloves hanging together. The plant grows wild, and in considerable abundance: the women are employed in collecting the roots at the beginning of August, which are afterwards dried in the sun, and then laid up for use. On our second arrival, this harvest was just over, and had fallen much short of

THE SARANA, OR LILIUM KAMTSKATIENSE.

* Gmelin, p. 41. Steller enumerates five different species of this plant.

its usual produce. It is a common observation among the Kamtschadales, that the bounty of Providence never fails them; for that such seasons as are most hurtful to the sarana, are always the most favourable for fishing; and that, on the contrary, a bad fishing month is always made up by the exuberance of the sarana harvest. It is used in cookery in various ways. When roasted in embers, it supplies the place of bread, better than anything the country affords. After being baked in an oven, and pounded, it becomes an excellent substitute for flour and meal of every sort, and in this form is mixed in all their soups, and most of their other dishes. It is esteemed extremely nourishing, has a pleasant bitter taste, and may be eaten every day without cloying. We used to boil these roots, and eat them as potatoes, either alone or with our meat, and found them very wholesome and pleasant. It has been already mentioned, that this useful plant grows also at Oonalashka, where the roots of it are used, and constitute a considerable part of their food, in like manner as in Kamtschatka.

The other plant alluded to is called the sweet-grass; the botanical description is, *Heracleum Sibericum foliis pinnatis, foliolis quinis, intermediis sessilibus corollulis uniformibus.* Hort. Upsal. 65. The time I took particular notice of it was in May, when it was about a foot and a half high, had much the appearance of sedge, and was covered with a white down, or dust, which looked exceedingly like the hoar-frost hanging upon it, and might be rubbed off: it tasted as sweet as sugar, but was hot and pungent. The stalk is hollow, and consists of three or four joints, from each of which arise large leaves, and, when at its full growth, is six feet high. This plant was formerly a principal ingredient in the cookery of most of the Kamtschadale dishes; but since the Russians got possession of the country, it has been almost entirely appropriated to the purpose of distillation. The manner in which it is gathered, prepared, and afterward distilled, is as follows: having cut such stalks as have leaves growing on them, of a proper age (the principal stem, by the time the plant has attained its full growth, having become too dry for their purpose), and scraped off with shells the downy substance on their surface, they are laid in small heaps, till they begin to sweat and smell. On growing dry again, they put them into sacks made of matting; where, after remaining a few days, they are gradually covered with a sweet saccharine powder, which exudes from the hollow of the stalk. From thirty-six pounds of the plant, in this state, they obtain no more than a quarter of a pound of powder. The women, whose province it is to collect and prepare the materials, are obliged to defend their hands with gloves whilst they are scraping the stalks, the rind they remove being of so acrid a quality, as to blister and even ulcerate whatever it touches.

SWEET GRASS, OR HERACLEUM SIBERICUM.

The spirit is drawn from the plant in this state by the following process. After steeping bundles of it in hot water, they promote its fermentation in a small vessel, by the help of berries of the *gimolost**, or of the *golubitsa*†, being careful to close up well the mouth of the vessel, and to keep it in a warm place whilst the fermentation is going on, which is generally so violent as to occasion a considerable noise, and to agitate the vessel in which it is contained. After drawing off this first liquor, they pour on more hot water, and make a second in the same manner. They then pour both liquor and herbs into a copper still, and

* Lonicera pedunculis bifloris, floribus in fundibiliformis, baccâ solitariâ, oblongâ, angulosâ. Gmel. Flor. Sib.

† Myrtillus grandis cæruleus.

draw off the spirit after the usual method. The liquor, thus obtained, is of the strength of brandy; and is called by the natives *raka*. Two pood (seventy-two pounds) of the plant yield generally one *vedro* (twenty-five pints) of *raka*. Steller says, that the spirit distilled from this plant, unscraped, is exceedingly prejudicial to the health, and produces the most sudden and terrible nervous effects.

Besides these, Krascheninicoff mentions a variety of other plants, from whence the inhabitants prepare several decoctions; and which, being mixed with their fish, make palatable and wholesome ragouts. Such as the *kipri**, with which is brewed a pleasant common beverage; and, by boiling this plant and the sweet herb together, in the proportion of one to five of the latter, and fermenting the liquor in the ordinary way, is obtained a strong and excellent vinegar. The leaves of it are used instead of tea; and the pith is dried and mixed in many of their dishes; the *morlovai* †, which is very like angelica; the *kotkorica*‡, the root of which they eat indifferently, green or dried; the *ikoum* §; the *utchichlei* ‖, which is much eaten with fish; with many others. It is said, that the Kamtschadales (before their acquaintance with fire-arms), poisoned their spears and arrows with the juice of the root of the *zgate* ¶; and that wounds inflicted by them are equally destructive to land and marine animals. The Tschutski are reported to use the same drug for this purpose at present.

I shall conclude this part of the natural history of Kamtschatka with an account, from the same author, of three plants, which furnish the materials of all their manufactures. The first is the *Triticum radice perenni spiculis binis lanuginosis* **, which grows in abundance along the coast. Of the straw of this grass they make a strong sort of matting, which they use not only for their floors, but for sacks, bed-clothes, curtains, and a variety of other domestic purposes. Of the same materials, they also make very neat little bags and baskets, of different forms, and for various uses. The plant called *bolotnaia*, which grows in the marshes, and resembles *cyperoides*, is gathered in the autumn, and carded like wool, with a comb made of the bones of the sea-swallow; with this, in lieu of linen and woollen clothes, they swathe their new-born infants, and use it for a covering next the skin whilst they are young. It is also made into a kind of wadding, and used for the purpose of giving additional warmth to various parts of their clothing.

There remains still a vulgar and well-known plant, which, as it contributes more effectually to their subsistence than all the rest put together, must not be passed over in silence. This is the nettle; which, as the country produces neither hemp nor flax, supplies the materials of which are made their fishing-nets; and without which they could not possibly subsist. For this purpose they cut it down in August, and, after hanging it up in bundles in the shade, under their *balagans*, the remainder of the summer, treat it like hemp. They then spin it into thread with their fingers, and twist it round a spindle; after which they twine several threads together, according to the different purposes for which it may be designed.

Though there is little doubt but that many parts of this peninsula would admit of such cultivation as might contribute considerably to the comfort of the inhabitants, yet its real riches must always consist in the number of wild animals it produces; and no labour can ever be turned to so good account as what is employed upon their furrieries. The animals, therefore, which supply these, come next to be considered: and these are, the common fox; the stoat or *ermine*; the *zibelline* or sable; the *isatis* or arctic fox; the varying hare; the mountain rat or earless marmot; the weasel; the glutton or *wolverine*; the *argali* or wild sheep; rein-deer, bears, wolves, dogs.

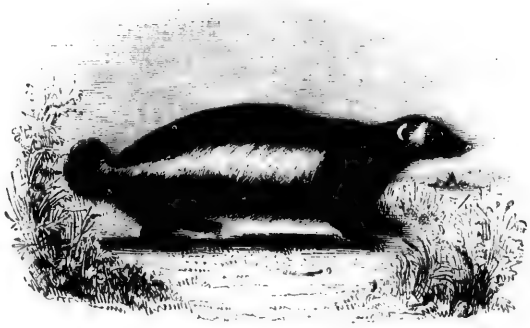
The fox†† is the most general object of the chase; and they are found in great numbers, and of variety of colours. The most common is the same in species with the European, with this variation, that the colours are more bright and shining; some are of a dark chesnut, others are striped with dark-coloured bars; others have the belly black, and the rest of the body of a light chesnut. Some again are of a very dark brown, some black,

* Epilobium.
† Chœrophyllum seminibus levibus.
‡ Tradescantia fructu molli edulo.
§ Bistorta foliis ovatis, oblongis, acuminatis.
‖ Jacobea foliis cannabis. Steller.
¶ Anemonoides et ranunculus.
** Gmel. Flor. Sib. tom. i. p. 119. Tab. XXV.
†† Canis vulpes.

others of a stone colour; and there are a few quite white; but these last are very scarce. Their fur is exceedingly thick and fine, and of a quality much superior to those either of Siberia or America. A variety of artifices are made use of by the hunters to catch this animal, which, in all climates, seems to preserve the same character of craftiness and cunning. Traps of different sorts, some calculated to fall upon them, others to catch them by the feet, others by the head, are amongst the most common; to which may be added, several ingenious contrivances for taking them in nets. Poisoned baits are likewise in use; and the *nux vomica* is the drug principally employed for this purpose. Before their knowledge of the Russians, by which they became acquainted with fire arms, they also carried bows and arrows to the chase. But since that period, almost every Kamtschadale is provided with a rifle-barrel gun; and, though far from being dexterous in the use of it, its superiority over the former instruments he is ready to acknowledge.

The sables* of Kamtschatka are said to be considerably larger than those of Siberia, and their fur much thicker and brighter, though not of so good a black as those in the neighbourhood of the Olekma and the Vitime†, a circumstance which depreciates their value much more than their superiority in other respects enhances it. The sables of the Tigil and Ouka are counted the best in Kamtschatka; and a pair of these sometimes sell for thirty roubles (five pounds sterling). The worst are those of the southern extremity. The apparatus of the sable hunters consist of a rifle-barrel gun of an exceedingly small bore, a net, and a few bricks: with the first they shoot them when they see them on the trees; the net is to surround the hollow trees in which, when pursued, they take refuge; and the bricks are heated and put into the cavities, in order to smoke them out.

I must refer the reader for an account of the *isatis*,‡ or arctic fox, to Mr. Pennant's Arctic Zoology, as I never saw either the animal or the skin, which I understand they set no value upon. The varying hare§ is also neglected on the same account. They are in great abundance; and, as is always the case with this species, turn quite white during the winter. Our shooting parties saw several of this colour the beginning of May, but found them so shy, that they were not able to get within gun-shot. The mountain-rat or earless marmot ||, is a beautiful little animal, considerably smaller than a squirrel, and, like it, feeds upon roots, berries, the cedar apple, &c. which it eats sitting up on its hindlegs, and holding them up to its mouth with the paws. Its skin is much valued by the Kamtschadales, is both warm and light, and of a bright shining colour, forming like the plumage of some birds, various colours when viewed in different lights. The stoat, or *ermine*,¶ is here held in no estimation, and, consequently never engages the attention of the hunters, because, as I have heard, its fur is of an ordinary kind. I saw many of these little animals running about; and we bought several of their skins, which were of a bad white, and of a dirty yellow toward the belly. The common weasel** is also neglected, and for the same reason. On



WOLVERINE.

* Mustela zibellina.
† Rivers emptying themselves into the Lena, near its source.
‡ Canis casopus.
§ Lepus timidus.
|| Mus citellus.
¶ Mustela erminia.
** Mustela nivalis.

the contrary, the skin of the glutton, or wolverine*, is here in the highest repute; insomuch that a Kamtschadale looks upon himself as most richly attired, when a small quantity o this fur is seen upon him. The women adorn their hair with its pats, which are white and considered as an extraordinary piece of finery; and they have a superstitious opinion that the angels are clad with the skins of these animals. It is said, that this creature is easily tamed, and taught a number of pleasant tricks.†

Having already had occasion to speak, as fully as my own knowledge enables me, of the bears, and the method of killing them, I shall only here observe, that all those I saw were of a dun brown colour; that they are generally seen in companies of four or five together; that the time they are most abroad is during the season that the fish (which is their principal food) are pushing up from the sea into the rivers, and that they are seldom visible in the winter months‡. Their skins are exceedingly useful. They make both excellent warm mattresses, and coverings for their beds; comfortable bonnets and gloves, and good collars for the dogs' harness. Their flesh, and particularly the fat, is considered as great delicacies. The wolves are only seen in the winter, at which season they prowl about, as I was told, in large companies in search of prey.

There are rein-deer, both wild and tame, in several parts of the peninsula, but none in the neighbourhood of Awatska. It is somewhat singular, that this nation should never have used the rein-deer for the purposes of carriage, in the same manner as their neighbours, both to the north and the eastward. Their dogs, indeed, seem fully sufficient for all the demands of the natives in their present state; and the breed of Russian horses will, probably, increase with the future necessities of the country. But when it is recollected that the use of dogs, in a great measure, precludes them from the advantage of bringing up any other domestic animals, it will appear the more extraordinary that they should not have adopted the services of an animal so much more gentle as well as powerful.

The *argali*, or wild mountain sheep§, an animal, I believe, unknown in Europe (except in Corsica and Sardinia), is here in great plenty. Its skin is like the deer's, but in gait and general appearance it partakes more of the goat. It has two large twisted horns, sometimes weighing, when at full growth, from twenty-five to thirty pounds, which in running it rests upon its back. These creatures are exceedingly nimble and swift, haunt only the most craggy and mountainous parts, and make their way among the steepest rocks with an agility that is astonishing. The natives work their horns into spoons, and small cups, and platters; and have frequently one of a smaller size hanging to a belt, which serves them to drink out of in their hunting expeditions. This animal is gregarious. I frequently tasted the flesh of them, and thought it had a very sweet and delicate flavour, but never had an opportunity of seeing one alive. I must, therefore, refer the reader for a particular description of this beautiful animal (for such it is said to be), to the Memoirs of the Academy of Petersburg, tom. iv. tab. xiii.

I have already observed, that the dogs of this country are, in shape and mien, exceedingly like the Pomeranian, with this difference, that they are a great deal larger, and the hair somewhat coarser. They are of a variety of colours; but the most general is a light dun, or dirty cream colour. Toward the end of May they are all turned loose, and left to provide for themselves through the summer, being sure to return to their respective homes when the snow begins to fall. Their food in the winter consists entirely of the head, entrails, and back-bones of salmon, which are put aside and dried for that purpose; and with this diet they are fed but sparingly. The number of dogs must needs be very great, since five are yoked to a sledge, and a sledge carries but one person; so that, on our journey to Bolcheretsk we required no fewer than a hundred and thirty-nine, at the two stages of Karatchin and Natchikin. It is also to be remarked, that they never make use of bitches

* Ursus luscus.

† Krascheninicoff relates, that this small animal frequently destroys deer, and the wild mountain sheep, in the following way: they scatter at the bottom of trees bark and moss, which those animals are fond of: and whilst they are picking it up, drop suddenly upon them, and fastening behind the head, suck out their eyes.

‡ The Koriacks make use of a very simple method of catching bears. They suspend, between the forks of a tree, a running noose, within which they fasten a bait, which the animal endeavouring to pull away, is caught, sometimes by the neck and sometimes by the paw.

§ Capra ammon.

for the draft, nor dogs but those that are cut. The whelps are trained to this business, by being tied to stakes with light leathern thongs, which are made to stretch, and having their victuals placed at a proper distance out of their reach, so that, by constantly pulling and labouring in order to come at their food, they acquire both the strength of limbs and the habit of drawing that are necessary for their future destination.

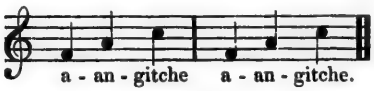
The coasts and bays of this country are frequented by almost every kind of northern sea-fowl; and amongst the rest are the sea-eagles, but not, as at Oonalashka, in great numbers. The rivers inland (if I may judge from what I saw in our journey to Bolcheretsk), are stored with numerous flocks of wild-ducks of various species; one kind of which, in particular, has a most beautiful plumage, and is called by the natives *a-an-gitche*, a word intended to express its cry, which is not less singular than agreeable, consisting of three distinct notes, rising at equal intervals above each other*. There is another species called the mountain-duck†, which, Steller says, is peculiar to Kamtschatka. The drake is covered with plumage of extraordinary beauty. Besides these, we observed a variety of other water-fowl, which, from their size, seemed to be of the wild-goose kind.

In the woods through which we passed, were seen several eagles of a prodigious size, but of what species they were I cannot pretend to determine. These are said to be of three different sorts; the black eagle, with a white head, tail, and legs‡, of which the eaglets are as white as snow; the white eagle, so called, though in fact it is of a light grey; and the lead, or stone-coloured eagle§, which is the most common, and probably those I saw were of this sort. Of the hawk, falcon, and bustard kind, there are great numbers. This country likewise affords woodcocks, snipes, and two sorts of grouse, or moor-game. Swans are also said to be in great plenty, and, in their entertainments, generally to make a part of the repast, though I do not remember to have seen one on any occasion. The vast abundance of wild-fowl with which the country is stored, was manifest from the numerous presents we received from the *Toion* of Saint Peter and Saint Paul, and which sometimes consisted of twenty brace.

We met with no amphibious sea-animals on the coast, except seals, with which the bay of Awatska swarmed; as they were, at this time, in pursuit of the salmon that were collecting in shoals, and ready to ascend the rivers. Some of them are said to pursue the fish into the fresh water, and to be found in most of the lakes which communicate with the sea. The sea-otters ‖ are exactly the same with those we met with at Nootka Sound, which have been already fully described, and where they are in great plenty. They are also said to have been formerly in equal abundance here; but, since the Russians have opened a trade for their skins to China, where they are sold at a price much beyond that of any other kind of fur, they have been hunted almost entirely out of the country. Amongst the Kurile Islands they are still caught, though in no great numbers; but are of a superior quality to those of Kamtschatka, or the American coast. We are informed that on Mednoi and Beering's Island, scarce a sea-otter is now to be found; though it appears from Muller ¶, that in his time they were exceedingly plentiful.

The Russian voyagers make mention of a great variety of amphibious sea-animals, which are said to frequent these coasts: the reason why we saw no other kinds might be, that this was the season of their migration. Not having it in my power to treat these articles more fully, I conclude them with the less regret, since the ingenious Mr. Pennant has a work,

* Mr. Steller has made the following scale of its cry :—



For a further account of this bird, I must refer the reader to Krascheninicoff, Vol. II. part 4.

† Anas picta, capite pulchrè fasciato. Steller.

‡ Falco leucocephalus.

§ Vultur albiulla.

‖ Mustela lutris.

¶ English translation, p. 59.

almost ready for publication, entitled "Arctic Zoology," in which the learned will receive full information concerning the animals of this peninsula. This gentleman has very obligingly communicated to me his Catalogue of Arctic Animals, with references to his work, and permission to insert it. It will be found at the end of this chapter; and I feel myself extremely happy in laying it before the reader, and thereby presenting him with what could have been furnished from no other quarter, one entire view of Kamtschadale zoology.

Fish may be considered as the staple article of food with which Providence hath supplied the inhabitants of this peninsula, who in general must never expect to draw any considerable part of their sustenance either from grain or cattle. It is true, the soil, as has been remarked, affords some good and nourishing roots, and every part of the country abounds in berries; but though these alone would be insufficient for the support of the people, yet, at the same time they are necessary, correctives of the putrescent quality of their dried fish. In short, fish may, with much greater justice, be here called the staff of life, than bread is in other countries; since it appears that neither the inhabitants, nor the only domestic animal they have, the dog, could exist without it.

Whales are very frequently seen, both in the sea of Okotsk and on the side of the eastern ocean, and when caught are turned to a variety of uses. Of the skin they make the soles of their shoes, and straps and thongs for various other purposes. The flesh they eat, and the fat is carefully stored, both for kitchen use and for their lamps. The whiskers are found to be the best material for sewing together the seams of their canoes; and they likewise make nets of them for the larger kinds of fish; and with the under jaw-bones, their sledges are shod. They likewise work the bones into knives; and formerly the chains with which their dogs are tied were made of that material, though at present iron ones are generally used. The intestines they clean, then blow, and dry like bladders, and it is in these their oil and grease is stored; and of the nerves and veins, which are both strong and slip readily, they make excellent snares; so that there is no part of the whale which here does not find its use.

From the middle of May till our departure on the 2[illegible] of June, we caught great quantities of excellent flat-fish, trout, and herrings. Upwa[illegible] [illegible]hree hundred of the former, beside a number of sea-trout, were dragged out at one ha[illegible] [illegible]he seine, the 15th of May. These flat-fish are firm, and of a good flavour, studded upon the back with round prickly knobs, like turbot, and streaked with dark brown lines, running from the head toward the tail. About the end of May the first herring season begins. They approach in great shoals, but do not remain long on the coast. They had entirely left the bay before we sailed out of it the first time, but were beginning to revisit it again in October. It has been already mentioned that the herrings were remarkably fine and large, and that we filled a great part of our empty casks with them. The beginning of June, large quantities of excellent cod were taken, a part of which were likewise salted. We caught too, at different times, numbers of small fish, much resembling a smelt, and once drew out a wolf-fish.

Notwithstanding this abundance of flat-fish, cod, and herring, it is on the salmon fishery alone that the Kamtschadales depend for their winter provisions. Of these, it is said by naturalists, there are to be found on this coast all the different species that are known to exist, and which the natives formerly characterised by the different months in which they ascend the rivers. They say, too, that though the shoals of different sorts are seen to mount the rivers at the same time, yet they never mix with each other; that they always return to the same river in which they were bred, but not till the third summer; that neither the male nor female live to regain the sea; that certain species frequent certain rivers, and are never found in others, though they empty themselves nearly at the same place. The first shoals of salmon begin to enter the mouth of the A[illegible]vatska about the middle of May; and this kind, which is called by the Kamtschadales *tchavitsi*, is the largest and most valued. Their length is generally about three feet and a half; they are very deep in proportion, and their average weight is from thirty to forty pounds. The tail is not forked, but straight. The back is of a dark blue, spotted with black; in other respects they are much like our common salmon. They ascend the river with extraordinary velocity, insomuch that the water is sensibly agitated by their motion; and the Kamtschadales, who are always on the watch for

them about the time they are expected, judge of their approach by this circumstance, and immediately let drop their nets before them. We were presented with one of the first that was caught, and given to understand that it was the greatest compliment that could be paid to us. Krascheninicoff relates, that formerly the Kamtschadales made a point of eating the first fish they took, with great rejoicings, and a variety of superstitious ceremonies; and that after the Russians became their masters, it was for a long time a constant subject of quarrel between them to whom the first should belong. The season for fishing for this species lasts from the middle of May till the end of June.

The other sort is of a smaller kind, weighing only from eight to sixteen pounds. They are known by the general name of the red fish, and begin to collect in the bays, and at the mouths of the rivers, the beginning of June; from which time till the end of September they are caught in great quantities, both upon the eastern and western coast, where any fresh water falls into the sea, and likewise all along the course of the rivers to their very source. The manner in which they draw their nets within the bay of Awatska, is as follows: they tie one end of the net to a large stone at the water's edge, they then push off in a canoe about twenty yards in a right line, dropping their net as they advance, after which they turn and run out the remainder of the net in a line parallel to the shore; in this position they wait, concealing themselves very carefully in the boat, and keeping a sharp look-out for the fish, which always direct their course close in with the shore, and whose approach is announced by a rippling in the water, till they find that the shoal has advanced beyond the boat, when they shoot the canoe to shore in a direct line, and never fail of enclosing their prey. Seldom more than two men are employed to a net, who haul with facility, in this manner, seines larger than ours to which we appoint a dozen. We at first met with very poor success in our own method of hauling; but after the Kamtschadales had very kindly put us in the way, we were not less successful than themselves. In the rivers, they shoot one net across, and haul another down the stream to it. The lakes that have a communication with the sea, which was the case of all those that I saw, abound with fish that have very much the resemblance of small salmon, and are from four to six pounds' weight. I could not understand that the inhabitants thought it worth their while to fish for them. As these lakes are not deep, they become an easy prey to the bears and dogs during the summer; and if I might judge from the quantity of bones to be seen upon the banks, they devour vast numbers of them.

The inhabitants for the most part dry their salmon, and salt very little of it. Each fish is cut into three pieces, the belly-piece being first taken off, and afterward a slice along each side the back-bone. The former of these are dried and smoked, and esteemed the finest part of the fish, and sold, when we were at Saint Peter's and Saint Paul's, at the rate of one hundred for a rouble. The latter are dried in the air, and either eaten whole as bread, or reduced to powder, of which they make pastes and cakes, that are not unpleasant to the taste. The head, tail, and bones, are hung up and dried for winter provision for the dogs.

LIST OF ANIMALS FOUND IN KAMTSCHATKA, COMMUNICATED BY MR. PENNANT.*

** Argali, wild sheep, Arct. Zool. vol. i. p. 12		Capra ammon, Lin. Syst.	97	** Bear	57	Ursus arctos	
Ibex, or wild goat	16	Capra Ibex	90	** Wolverine	66	Ursus luscus	71
** Rein	22	Cervus tarandus	93	** Common weasel	75	Mustela nivalis	69
** Wolf	38	Canis lupus	58	** Stoat or ermine	*ib.*	Mustela erminia	68
** Dog	40			** Sable	79	Mustela zibellina	*ib.*
** Arctic fox	42	Canis lagopus	59	Common otter	86	Mustela lutra	66
** European fox	45	Canis vulpes	*ib.*	** Sea otter	88	Mustela lutris	*ib.*
a. black	45			** Varying hare	94	Lepus timidus	
b. cross	*ib.*			Alpine hare	97		
** Polar bear, in the frozen sea only	55	Ursus arctos	69	** Earless marmot	113	Mus citellus	113
				Bobak marmot	115		
				Water rat	130	Mus amphibius	82

* The quadrupeds and birds mentioned in this part of the voyage are marked in this list with a double asterisk.

	Common mouse	. 131	Mus musculus	. 83
	Oeconomic mouse	. 134		
	Red mouse	. 136		
	Ichelag mouse	. 138		
	Fœtid shrew	. 139	Sorex araneus	. . 74
**	Walrus. Icy sea	. 144	Trichecus rosmarus	49
**	Common seal	. 151	Phoca vitulina	. 56
	Great seal	. 159		
	Leporine seal	. 161		
	Harp seal	. 163		
	Rubbon seal. Kurile Isles	. 165		
	Ursine seal	. ib.	Phoca ursina	. . 58
	Leonine seal	. 172		
**	Whale-tailed manati	177		

There were no domestic animals in Kamtschatka, till they were introduced by the Russians. The dogs, which seem to be of wolfish descent, are aboriginal.

BIRDS.

LAND BIRDS.

I.	Sea eagle, vol. ii. p. 194		Falco ossifragus	124
**	Cinereous eagle.	214	Vultur albiulla	. 123
	White-headed eagle	. 196	Falco leucocephalus	ib.
	Crying eagle	. 215		
	Osprey	. 199	Falco haliætus	. 120
	Peregrine falcon	202		*73
	Goshawk	. 204	Falco palumbarius	130
II.	Eagle owl	. 228	Strix bubo	. 131
	Snowy owl	. 233	Strix nyctea	. 132
III.	Raven	. 246	Corvus corax	. 155
	Magpie	. 147	Corvus pica	. 157
	Nutcracker	. 252	Corvus caryocatactes	ib.
IV.	Cuckoo	. 266	Cuculus canorus	. 168
V.	Wryneck	. 267	Jynx Torquilla	. 172
VI.	Nuthatch	. 281	Sitta Europæa	. 177
VII.	White grouse	. 308	Tetrao lagopus	. 274
	Wood grouse	. 312	Tetrao urogallus	. 273
VIII.	Water ouzel	. 332	Sturnus cinclus.	
IX.	Fieldfare	. 341	Turdus pilaris	. 291
	Redwing thrush	. 341	Turdus iliacus	. 292
	Kamtschatkan	. 343	(Latham, iii. 28.)	
X.	Greenfinch	. 353	Loxia chloris	. . 304
XI.	Golden bunting.	367	(Latham, ii. 201.)	
XII.	Lesser red-headed linnet	379	(Latham, ii. 305.)	
XIII.	Dun fly-catcher	. 390	(Latham, ii. 351.)	
XIV.	Sky-lark	. 394 A.	Alauda arvensis	. 287
	Wood-lark	. 395 B.	Alauda arborea	. ib.
XV.	White wagtail	. 396 E.	Motacilla alba	. 331
	Yellow wagtail	. ib. F.	Motacilla flava	. ib.
	Tschutski wagtail	397 H.		
XVI.	Yellow wren	. 413	Motacilla trochilus	338
	Redstart	. 416	Motacilla phœnicurus	. 335
	Longbilled	. 420		
	Stapazina	. 421	Motacilla stapazina	331
	Awatska	. 422		
XVII.	Marsh titmouse	. 427	Parus palustris	. 341
XVIII.	Chimney swallow	429	Hirundo rustica	. 343
	Martin	. 430	Hirundo urbica	. 344
	Sand martin	. ib.	Hirundo riparia	. ib.
XIX.	European goat-sucker	. 437	Caprimulgus Europæus	. . 346

WATER-FOWL.

CLOVEN-FOOTED WATER-FOWL.

Great tern	. No. 448	Sterna hirundo.	
Kamtschatkan	. P. 525 A.		
Black-headed gull	No. 455	Larus ridibundus	. . . 225
Kittiwake gull	No. 147	Larus rissa	. 224
Ivory gull	. No. 457		
Arctic gull	. No. 459		
Tarrock	. . P. 533 D.	Larus tridactylus	. . 224
Red-legged	. No. 533 E.		
Fulmar petrel	No. 464	Procellaria glacialis	. . 213
Stormy petrel	ib.	Procellaria pelagica	. . 212
Kurile Petrel	. P. 536 A.		
Blue Petrel.†	Preface.		
Goosander merganser	No. 465	Mergus merganser	. . 208
Smew	. No. 468	Mergus albellus	. . 208
Whistling Swan	No. 469	Anas cygnus ferus	. . 194 A.
Great goose	. P. 570		
Chinese goose	. P. 571	Anas cygnoides	ib. B.
Snow goose	. No. 477		
Brent goose	. No. 478	Anas bernicla	. 198
Eider duck	. No. 480	Anas mollissima	ib.
Black duck	. No. 483	Anas spectabilis	195
Velvet duck	. No. 481	Anas fusca	. 196
Shoveler	. No. 485	Anas clypeata	. 200
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Harlequin	. No. 490	Anas Histrionica	. . . 204
Mallard	. No. 494	Anas boschas	. 205
** Western	. No. 497		
Pintail	. . No. 500	Anas acuta	. 202
** Longtailed	. No. 501	Anas glacialis	. 203
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Gargany	. P. 576 O.	Anas querquedula	. . 263
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Corvorant	. No. 509	Pelecanus corvo	216
Violet corvorant	P. 584 B.		
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Crane	. . P. 453 A.	Ardea grus	. 334
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Whimbrel	. P. 462 B.	Scolopax phœopus	. 243
Common sandpiper	No. 388	Tringa hypoleucos	. 250
Gambet	. No. 394	Tringa gambetta	. . 248
Golden plover	No. 399	Charadrius pluvialis	. 254
Pied oyster-catcher		Hæmatopus Ostralegus	257

WITH PINNATED FEET.

Plain phalarope

* The birds which are not described by Linnæus, are referred to the "History of Birds," now publishing by Mr. Latham, surgeon, in Dartford, Kent.

† I never saw this; but it is mentioned by Mr. Ellis. I had omitted it in my zoologic part.

WITH WEBBED FEET.

Wandering albatross No. 423	Diomedea exulans . 214	Crested . . No. 434	
Razor-bill auk No. 425	Alca torda . . 210	Dusky . . No. 435	
Puffin . . No. 427	Alca arctica . . 211	Foolish guillemot No. 436	Colymbus troille . 220
Antient . . No. 430		Black guillemot No. 437	Colymbus grylle . *ib.*
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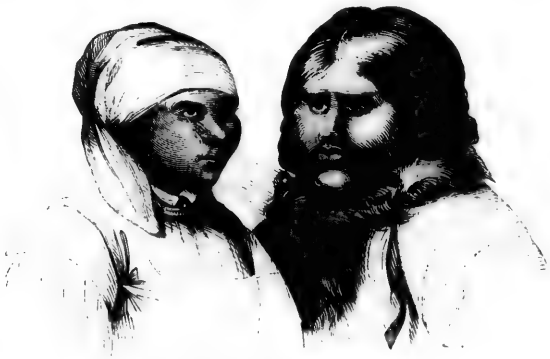
Tufted . . No. 432		Imber diver . No. 440	Colymbus immer . 222
Parroquet . No. 433		Speckled diver. No. 441	
		Red-throated diver No. 443	Colymbus septentrionalis . . . 220

CHAPTER VII.—GENERAL ACCOUNT OF KAMTSCHATKA CONTINUED.—OF THE INHABITANTS.—ORIGIN OF THE KAMTSCHADALES.—DISCOVERED BY THE RUSSIANS.—ABSTRACT OF THEIR HISTORY.—NUMBERS.—PRESENT STATE.—OF THE RUSSIAN COMMERCE IN KAMTSCHATKA.—OF THE KAMTSCHADALE HABITATIONS AND DRESS.—OF THE KURILE ISLANDS.—THE KOREKI.—THE TSCHUTSKI.

The present inhabitants of Kamtschatka are of three sorts. The natives, or Kamtschadales; the Russians and Cossacks; and a mixture of these two by marriage. Mr. Steller, who resided some time in this country, and seems to have taken great pains to gain information on this subject, is persuaded, that the true Kamtschadales are a people of great antiquity, and have for many ages inhabited this peninsula; and that they are originally descended from the Mungalians, and not either from the Tongusian Tartars, as some, or the Japanese, as others, have imagined.



MAN AND WOMAN OF KAMTSCHATKA.

The principal arguments, by which he supports these opinions, are, that there exists not among them the trace of a tradition of their having migrated from any other country; and they believe themselves to have been created and placed in this very spot by their god Koutkou; that they are the most favoured of his creatures; the most fortunate and happy of beings; and that their country is superior to all others, affording means of gratification far beyond what are anywhere else to be met with; that they have a perfect knowledge of all the plants of the country, their virtues and uses, which could not be acquired in a short time; that their instruments and household utensils differ greatly from those of any other nation, and are made with an extraordinary degree of neatness and dexterity, which implies that they are both of their own invention, and have been long in arriving at so great perfection; that antecedently to the arrival of the Russians and Cossacks among them, they had not the smallest knowledge of any people except the Koreki; that it is but of late that they have had any intercourse with the Kuriles, and still later (and happened by means of a vessel being shipwrecked on their coast) that they knew anything of the Japanese; and, lastly, that the country was very populous, at the time the Russians first got footing in it.

The reasons he alleges for supposing them to be originally descended from the Mungalians are; that many words in their language have terminations similar to those of Mungalian Chinese, such as, *ong*, *ing*, *oing*, *tching*, *tcha*, *tchoing*, *ksi*, *ksung*, &c.; and moreover, that the same principle of inflexion or derivation obtains in both languages; that they are in

general under-sized, as are the Mungalians; that their complexion, like theirs, is swarthy; that they have black hair, little beard, the face broad, the nose short and flat, the eyes small and sunk, the eye-brows thin, the belly pendent, the legs small; all which are peculiarities that are to be found among the Mungalians. From the whole of which he draws this conclusion, that they fled for safety to this peninsula, from the rapid advances of the eastern conquerors; as the Laplanders, the Samoides, &c. were compelled to retreat to the extremities of the north, by the Europeans.

The Russians having extended their conquests, and established posts and colonies along that immense extent of coast of the frozen sea, from the Jenesei to the Anadir, appointed commissaries for the purpose of exploring and subjecting the countries still farther eastward. They soon became acquainted with the wandering Koriacs, inhabiting the north and north-east coast of the sea of Okotsk, and without difficulty made them tributary. These being the immediate neighbours of the Kamtschadales, and likewise in the habit of bartering with them, a knowledge of Kamtschatka followed of course. The honour of the first discovery is given to Feodot Alexeieff, a merchant, who is said to have sailed from the river Kovyma round the peninsula of the Tschutski, in company with seven other vessels, about the year 1648. The tradition goes, that being separated from the rest by a storm, near the Tschukotskoi Noss, he was driven upon the coast of Kamtschatka, where he wintered; and the summer following coasted round the promontory of Lopatka, into the sea of Okotsk, and entered the mouth of the Tigil; but that he and his companions were cut off by the Koriacs, in endeavouring to pass from thence by land to the Anadirsk. This in part is corroborated by the accounts of Simeon Deshneff, who commanded one of the seven vessels, and was thrown on shore at the mouth of the Anadir. Be this as it may, since these discoveries, if such they were, he did not live to make any report of what they had done.* Volodimir Atlassoff, a Cossack, stands for the first acknowledged discoverer of Kamtschatka †.

This person was sent, in the year 1697, from the fort Jakutsk to the Anadirsk, in the quality of commissary, with instructions to call in the assistance of the Koriacs, with a view to the discovery of countries beyond theirs, and to the subjecting them to a tribute. In 1699, he penetrated, with about sixty Russian soldiers, and the same number of Cossacks, into the heart of the peninsula, gained the Tigil, and from thence, levying a tribute in furs, in his progress crossed over to the river Kamtschatka, on which he built the higher Kamtschatka ostrog, called Verchnei, where he left a garrison of sixteen Cossacks, and returned to Jakutsk in 1700, with an immense quantity of rare and valuable tributary furs. These he had the good sense and policy to accompany to Moscow, and, in recompense for his services, was appointed commander of the fort of Jakutsk, with farther orders to repair again to Kamtschatka, having first drawn from the garrison at Tobolsk a reinforcement of a hundred Cossacks, with ammunition, and whatever else could give efficacy to the completion and settlement of his late discoveries. Advancing with this force toward the Anadirsk, he fell in with a bark on the river‡ Tunguska, laden with Chinese merchandize, which he pillaged; and, in consequence of a remonstrance from the sufferers to the Russian court, he was seized upon at Jakutsk, and thrown into prison.

In the mean time, Fotop Serioukoff, who had been left by Atlassoff, kept peaceable possession of the garrison of Verchnei; and though he had not a sufficient force to compel the payment of a tribute from the natives, yet, by his management and conciliating disposition, he continued to carry on an advantageous traffic with them as a merchant. On his

* There is still existing in the imperial library of St. Petersburg, Deshneff's own manuscript account of this voyage. Six vessels were lost, with their crews, the seventh, commanded by Deshneff himself, was wrecked in the bay of Okotsk; he and his companions spent the whole winter in the Siberian wilderness, subsisting chiefly on the bark of trees. Several sunk under the hardships they were exposed to. The survivors at length reached the Anadyr, built some boats there, and sailing up that river, made their way to the settlements on the Kovyma. Deshneff made several other attempts to explore the northern seas, but never returned from an expedition on which he set out from the Kolyma, in 1652, in a large boat built expressly for his use. He and his companions undoubtedly perished on that occasion, but his account of his first expedition in 1648 is still preserved, although it has never been published.—Ed.

† It is proper to remark, that Atlassoff sent an advanced party, under the command of a subaltern, called Lucas Moloskoff, who certainly penetrated into Kamtschatka, and returned with an account of his success before Atlassoff set out, and is therefore not unjustly mentioned as the discoverer of Kamtschatka.

‡ This river empties itself into the Jenesei.

return to the Anadirsk, with the general good-will of the natives of Kamtschatka, himself and party were attacked by the Koriacs, and unfortunately all cut off. This happened about 1703; and several other successive commissaries were sent into Kamtschatka, with various success, during the disgrace and trial of Atlassoff. In 1706, Atlassoff was reinstated in his command, and appointed to conduct a second expedition into Kamtschatka, with instructions to gain upon the natives by all peaceable means, but on no pretence to have recourse to force and compulsion; but, instead of attending to his orders, he not only, by repeated acts of cruelty and injustice, made the natives exceedingly hostile and averse to their new governors, but likewise so far alienated the affections of his own people, that it ended in a mutiny of the Cossacks, and their demand of another commander. The Cossacks having carried their point in displacing Atlassoff, seized upon his effects; and after once tasting the sweets of plunder, and of living without discipline or control, in vain did his successors attempt to reduce them to military discipline and subjection. Three successive commanders were assassinated in their turn; and the Cossacks, being thus in open rebellion to the Russian government, and with arms in their hands, were let loose upon the natives. The history of this country from that period, till the grand revolt of the Kamtschadales in 1731, presents one unvaried detail of massacres, revolts, and savage and sanguinary rencounters between small parties, from one end of the peninsula to the other.

What led to this revolt, was the discovery of a passage from Okotsk to the Bolchoireka, which was first made by Cosmo Sokoloff, in the year 1715. Hitherto the Russians had no entrance into the country, but on the side of Anadirsk; so that the natives had frequent opportunities of both plundering the tribute, as it was carried by so long a journey out of the peninsula, and harassing the troops in their march into it. But, by the discovery of this communication, there existed a safe and speedy means, as well of exporting the tribute, as of importing troops and military stores into the very heart of the country; which the natives easily saw gave the Russians so great an advantage, as must soon confirm their dominion, and therefore determined them to make one grand and immediate struggle for their liberty. The moment resolved upon for carrying their designs into execution was when Beering should have set sail, who was at this time on the coast with a small squadron, and had despatched all the troops that could well be spared from the country, to join Fouloutski, in an expedition against the Tschutski. The opportunity was well chosen; and it is altogether surprising that this conspiracy, which was so general, that every native in the peninsula is said to have had his share in it, was at the same time conducted with such secrecy, that the Russians had not the smallest suspicion that anything hostile to their interests was in agitation. Their other measures were equally well taken. They had a strong body in readiness to cut off all communication with the fort Anadirsk; and the eastern coast was likewise lined with detached parties, with a view of seizing on any Russians that might by accident arrive from Okotsk. Things were in this state, when the commissary Cheekaerdin marched from Verchnei with his tribute, escorted by the troops of the fort, for the mouth of the Kamtschatka river, where a vessel was lying to convey them to the Anadir. Besides waiting for the departure of Beering, the revolt was to be suspended till this vessel should be out at sea, notice of which was to be given to the different chiefs. Accordingly, the moment she was out of sight, they began to massacre every Russian and Cossack that came in their way, and to set fire to their houses. A large body ascended the river Kamtschatka, made themselves masters of the fort and ostrog the commissary had just quitted, put to death all that were in it, and, except the church and fort, reduced the whole to ashes. Here it was that they first learned that the Russian vessel, in which the commissary had embarked, was still on the coast, which determined them to defend themselves in the fort. The wind fortunately soon brought the vessel back to the harbour; for had she proceeded in her voyage, nothing probably could have prevented the utter extirpation of the Russians. The Cossacks finding, on their landing, that their houses had been burnt to the ground, and their wives and children either massacred or carried off prisoners, were enraged to madness. They marched directly to the fort, which they attacked with great fury, and the natives as resolutely defended, till at length, the powder-magazine taking fire, the fort was blown up, together with most of those that were in it. Various

rencounters succeeded to this event, in which much blood was spilled on both sides. At length, two of the principal leaders being slain, and the third (after despatching his wife and children, to prevent their falling into the enemy's hands) having put an end to himself, peace was established. From that period everything went on very peaceably, till the year 1740, when a few Russians lost their lives in a tumult which was attended with no farther consequences; and, except the insurrection at Bolcheretsk in 1770, (which hath been already noticed), there has been no disturbance since.

Though the quelling the rebellion of 1731 was attended with the loss of a great number of inhabitants, yet I was informed, that the country had recovered itself, and was become more populous than ever, when, in the year 1767, the small-pox, brought by a soldier from Okotsk, broke out among them for the first time, marking its progress with ravages not less dreadful than the plague, and seeming to threaten their entire extirpation. They compute, that near twenty thousand died of this disorder in Kamtschatka, the Koreki country, and the Kurile Islands. The inhabitants of whole villages were swept away. Of this we had sufficient proofs before our eyes. There are no less than eight ostrogs scattered about the bay of Awatska, all which, we were informed, had been fully inhabited, but are now entirely desolate, except Saint Peter and Saint Paul, and even that contains no more than seven Kamtschadales, who are tributary. At Paratounca ostrog there are but thirty-six native inhabitants, men, women, and children, which, before it was visited by the small-pox, we were told, contained three hundred and sixty. In our road to Bolcheretsk, we passed four extensive ostrogs, with not an inhabitant in them. In the present diminished state of the natives, with fresh supplies of Russians and Cossacks perpetually pouring in, and who intermix with them by marriage, it is probable that in less than half a century there will be very few of them left. By Major Behm's account, there are not now more than three thousand who pay tribute, the Kurile islanders included. I understood that there are at this time, of the military, in the five forts of Nichnei, Verchnei, Tigil, Bolcheretsk, and Saint Peter and Saint Paul, about four hundred Russians and Cossacks, and near the same number at Ingiga, which, though to the north of the peninsula, is, I learned, at present under the commander of Kamtschatka. To these may be added the Russian traders and emigrants, whose numbers are not very considerable.

The Russian government established over this country is mild and equitable, considered as a military one, in a very high degree. The natives are permitted to choose their own magistrates from among themselves, in the way and with the same powers they had ever been used. One of these, under the title of *Toion*, presides over each ostrog; is the referee in all differences; imposes fines, and inflicts punishments for all crimes and misdemeanors; referring to the governor of Kamtschatka such only as he does not choose, from their intricacy or heinousness, to decide upon himself. The *Toion* has likewise the appointment of a civil officer, called a corporal, who assists him in the execution of his office, and in his absence acts as his deputy. By an edict of the present empress, no crime whatsoever can be punished with death. But we were informed, that in cases of murder (of which there are very few), the punishment of the knout is administered with such severity, that the offender for the most part dies under it.

The only tribute exacted (which can be considered as little more than an acknowledgment of the Russian dominion over them) consists, in some districts, of a fox's skin; in others of a sable's; and in the Kurile Isles of a sea-otter's; but as this is much the most valuable, one skin serves to pay the tribute of several persons. The *Toions* collect the tribute in their respective districts. Besides the mildness of their government, the Russians have a claim to every praise for the pains they have bestowed, and which have been attended with great success, in converting them to Christianity, there remaining, at present, very few idolaters among them. If we may judge of the other Missionaries, from the hospitable and benevolent pastor of Paratounca (who is a native on the mother's side), more suitable persons could not be set over this business. It is needless to add, that the religion taught is that of the Greek church. Schools are likewise established in many of the ostrogs, where the children of both the natives and Cossacks are gratuitously instructed in the Russian language.

The commerce of this country, as far as concerns the exports, is entirely confined to furs, and carried on principally by a company of merchants, instituted by the present empress. This company originally consisted of twelve, and three have been lately added to it. They are indulged with certain privileges, and distinguished by wearing a golden medal, as a mark of the empress's encouragement and protection of the fur trade. Besides these, there are many inferior traders (particularly of the Cossacks) scattered through the country. The principal merchants, for the time they are here, reside at Bolcheretsk, or the Nishnei ostrog, in which two places the trade almost wholly centres. Formerly this commerce was altogether carried on in the way of barter; but of late years every article is bought and sold for ready money only; and we were surprised at the quantity of specie in circulation in so poor a country. The furs sell at a high price, and the situation and habits of life of the natives call for few articles in return. Our sailors brought a great number of furs with them from the coast of America, and were not less astonished than delighted with the quantity of silver the merchants paid down for them; but on finding neither gin-shops to resort to, nor tobacco, or any thing else that they cared for, to be had for money, the roubles soon became troublesome companions, and I often observed them kicking them about the deck. The merchant I have already had occasion to mention, gave our men at first thirty roubles for a sea-otter's skin, and for others in proportion; but finding that they had considerable quantities to dispose of, and that he had men to deal with who did not know how to keep up the market, he afterward bought them for much less.

The articles of importation are principally European, but not confined to Russian manufactures; many are English and Dutch, several likewise come from Siberia, Bucharia, the Calmucs, and China. They consist of coarse woollen and linen cloths, yarn stockings, bonnets, and gloves, thin Persian silks, cottons, and pieces of nankeen, silk, and cotton handkerchiefs; brass coppers and pans, iron stoves, files, guns, powder and shot; hardware, such as hatchets, bills, knives, scissors, needles, looking-glasses, flour, sugar, tanned hides, boots, &c. We had an opportunity of seeing a great many of these articles in the hands of a merchant, who came in the empress's galliot from Okotsk; and I shall only observe, generally, that they sold for treble the price they might have been purchased for in England. And though the merchants have so large a profit upon these imported goods, they have still a larger upon the furs at Kiachta, upon the frontiers of China, which is the great market for them. The best sea-otter skins sell generally in Kamtschatka for about thirty roubles a-piece. The Chinese merchant at Kiachta purchases them at more than double that price, and sells them again at Pekin at a great advance, where a farther profitable trade is made with some of them to Japan. If, therefore, a skin is worth thirty roubles in Kamtschatka, to be transported first to Okotsk, thence to be conveyed by land to Kiachta, a distance of one thousand three hundred and sixty-four miles, thence on to Pekin, seven hundred and sixty miles more, and after this to be transported to Japan, what a prodigiously advantageous trade might be carried on between this place and Japan, which is but about a fortnight's, at most three weeks', sail from it.

All furs exported from hence across the sea of Okotsk, pay a duty of ten per cent., and sables a duty of twelve. And all sorts of merchandise, of whatever denomination, imported from Okotsk, pay half a rouble for every pood*. The duties arising from the exports and imports, of which I could not learn the amount, are paid at Okotsk; but the tribute is collected at Bolcheretsk, and, I was informed by Major Behm, amounted in value to ten thousand roubles annually. There are six vessels (of forty to fifty tons burthen) employed by the empress between Okotsk and Bolcheretsk, five of which are appropriated to the transporting of stores and provisions from Okotsk to Bolcheretsk, except that once in two or three years, some of them go round to Awatska, and the Kamtschatka river; the sixth is only used as a packet-boat, and always kept in readiness, and properly equipped for conveying dispatches. Besides these, there are about fourteen vessels employed by the merchants in the fur trade, amongst the islands to the eastward. One of these we found frozen up in the harbour of Saint Peter and Saint Paul, which was to sail on a trading voyage to Oonalashka, as soon as the season would permit.

* Thirty-six pounds English.

It is here to be observed, that the most considerable and valuable part of the fur-trade is carried on with the islands that lie between Kamtschatka and America. These were first discovered by Beering, in 1741, and being found to abound with sea-otters, the Russian merchants became exceedingly eager in searching for the other islands seen by that navigator to the south-east of Kamtschatka, called, in Muller's map, the Islands of Seduction, St. Abraham, &c. In these expeditions they fell in with three groups of islands. The first about fifteen degrees to the east of Kamtschatka, in 53° N. latitude; the second about twelve degrees to the eastward of the former; and the third, Oonalashka, and the islands in its neighbourhood. These trading adventurers advanced also as far east as Shumagin's Islands (so called by Beering), the largest of which is named Kodlak. But here, as well as on the continent at Alashka, they met with so warm a reception in their attempts to compel the payment of a tribute, that they never afterward ventured so far. However, they conquered and made tributary the three groups before mentioned.

In the Russian charts, the whole sea between Kamtschatka and America is covered with islands; for the adventurers in these expeditions frequently falling in with land, which they imagined did not agree with the situation of other laid down by preceding voyagers, immediately concluded it must be a new discovery, and reported it as such on their return; and since the vessels employed in these expeditions were usually out three or four years, and oftentimes longer, these mistakes were not in the way of being soon rectified. It is, however, now pretty certain, that the islands already enumerated are all that have yet been discovered by the Russians in that sea to the southward of 60° of latitude. It is from these islands that the sea-otter skins, the most valuable article of the fur trade, are for the most part drawn; and as they are brought completely under the Russian dominion, the merchants have settlements upon them, where their factors reside for the purpose of bartering with the natives. It was with a view to the farther increase and extension of this trade, that the admiralty of Okotsk fitted out an expedition for the purpose of making discoveries to the north and north-east of the islands above mentioned, and gave the command of it, as I have already observed, to Lieutenant Synd. This gentleman, having directed his course too far to the northward, failed in the object of his voyage; for, as we never saw the sea-otter to the northward of Bristol Bay, it seems probable that they shun those latitudes where the larger kinds of amphibious sea animals abound. This was the last expedition undertaken by the Russians for prosecuting discoveries to the eastward; but they will undoubtedly make a proper use of the advantages we have opened to them, by the discovery of Cook's river*.

Notwithstanding the general intercourse that, for the last forty years, hath taken place between the natives, the Russians, and the Cossacks, the former are not more distinguished from the latter by their features and general figure, than by their habits and cast of mind. Of the persons of the natives, a description hath already been given; and I shall only add, that their stature is much below the common size. This Major Behm attributes, in a great measure, to their marrying so early; both sexes generally entering into the conjugal state at the age of thirteen or fourteen. Their industry is abundantly conspicuous, without being contrasted with the laziness of their Russian and Cossack inmates, who are fond of intermarrying with them, and, as it should seem, from no other reason but that they may be supported in sloth and inactivity. To this want of bodily exertion may be attributed those dreadful scorbutic complaints which none of them escape; whilst the natives, by constant exercise and toil in the open air, are entirely free from them.

Referring the reader for an account of the manners, customs, and superstitions of the Kamtschadales at the time the Russians became first acquainted with this country, to Krascheninicoff, I shall proceed to a description of their habitations and dress. The houses (if they may be allowed that name) are of three distinct sorts, *jourts*, *balagans*, and *log-houses*, called here *isbas*. The first are their winter, the second their summer habitations; the third are altogether of Russian introduction, and inhabited only by the better and wealthier sort.

* The chief expedition undertaken by the Russians for the further exploration of the north-eastern coast of Asia, is that of Wrangel, of which some account will be found in the Appendix.—Ed.

The *jourts*, or winter habitations, are constructed in the following manner:—An oblong square of dimensions proportioned to the number of persons for whom it is intended (for it is proper to observe, that several families live together in the same *jourt*), is dug in the earth to the depth of about six feet. Within this space strong posts, or wooden pillars, are fastened in the ground, at proper distances from each other, on which are extended the beams for the support of the roof, which is formed by joists resting on the ground with one end, and on the beams with the other. The interstices between the joists are filled up with a strong wicker-work, and the whole covered with turf; so that a *jourt* has externally the appearance of a round squat hillock. A hole is left in the centre, which serves for chimney, window, and entrance, and the inhabitants pass in and out by means of a strong pole (instead of a ladder) notched just deep enough to afford a little holding to the toe. There is likewise another entrance in the side, even with the ground, for the convenience of the women; but if a man makes use of it, he subjects himself to the same disgrace and derision as a sailor would who descends through lubbers' hole. The *jourt* consists of one apartment of the form of an oblong square. Along the sides are extended broad platforms made of boards, and raised about six inches from the ground, which they use as seats, and on which they go to rest, after strewing them with mats and skins. On one side is the fire-place, and the side opposite is entirely set apart for the stowage of provisions and kitchen utensils. At their feasts and ceremonious entertainments, the hotter the *jourts* are made for the reception of the guests the greater the compliment. We found them at all times so hot, as to make any length of stay in them to us intolerable. They betake themselves to the *jourts* the middle of October; and, for the most part, continue in them till the middle of May.

INTERIOR OF A JOURT OR WINTER HABITATION IN KAMTSCHATKA.

The *balagans* are raised upon nine posts, fixed into the earth in three rows, at equal distances from one another, and about thirteen feet high from the surface. At the height of between nine and ten feet, rafters are passed from post to post, and firmly secured by strong ropes. On these rafters are laid the joists, and the whole being covered with turf, constitutes the platform or floor of the *balagan*. On this is raised a roof of a conical figure, by means of tall poles, fastened down to the rafters at one end, and meeting together in a point at the top, and thatched over with strong coarse grass. The *balagans* have two doors placed opposite each other, and they ascend to them by the same sort of ladders they use in the *jourts*. The lower part is left entirely open; and within it they dry their fish, roots, vegetables, and other articles of winter consumption. The proportion of *jourts* to *balagans* is as one to six; so that six families generally live together in one *jourt*.

The loghouses (*isbas*) are raised with long timbers piled horizontally, the ends being let into one another, and the seams caulked with moss. The roof is sloping like that of our common cottage houses, and thatched with coarse grass or rushes. The inside consists of three apartments. At one end is what may be called the entry, which runs the whole width and height of the house, and is the receptacle of their sledges, harness, and other more bulky gears and household stuff. This communicates with the middle and best

apartment, furnished with broad benches for the purpose, as hath been above mentioned, of both eating and sleeping upon. Out of this is a door into the kitchen, one half of which is taken up by the oven or fire-place, so contrived, by being let into the wall that separates the kitchen and the middle apartment, as to warm both at the same time. Over the middle apartment and kitchen are two lofts, to which they ascend by a ladder placed in the entry. There are two small windows in each apartment made of talc, and, in the houses of the poorer sort, of fish-skin. The beams and boards of the ceiling are dubbed smooth with a hatchet (for they are unacquainted with the plane); and, from the effects of the smoke, are as black and shining as jet.

A town of Kamtschatka is called an ostrog, and consists of several of the three sorts of houses above described; but of which *balagans* are much the most numerous; and I must observe, that I never met with a house of any kind detached from an ostrog. Saint Peter and Saint Paul consists of seven log-houses, or *isbas*, nineteen *balagans*, and three *jourts*. Paratounca is of about the same size. Karatchin and Natchekin contain fewer log-houses, but full as many *jourts* and *balagans* as the former; from whence I conclude, that such is the usual size of the ostrogs.

Having already had occasion to mention the dress of the Kamtschadale women, I shall here confine myself to a description of that of the men. The outermost garment is of the shape of a carter's frock. Those worn in summer are of nankeen; in winter they are made of skins, most commonly of the deer or dog, tanned on one side, the hair being left on the other, which is worn innermost. Under this is a close jacket of nankeen, or other cotton stuffs; and beneath that a shirt of thin Persian silk, of a blue, red, or yellow colour. The remaining part of their dress consists of a pair of tight trowsers, or long breeches, of leather, reaching down to the calf of the leg; of a pair of dog or deer-skin boots, with the hair innermost; and of a fur cap, with two flaps, which are generally tied up close to the head, but in bad weather are let to fall round the shoulders.

The fur dress presented to me by a son of Major Behm (as already mentioned), is one of those worn by the Toions, on ceremonious occasions. The form exactly resembles that of the common exterior garment just described. It is made of small triangular pieces of fur, chequered brown and white, and joined so neatly as to appear to be one skin. A border of six inches breadth, wrought with threads of different coloured leather, and producing a rich effect, surrounds the bottom, to which is suspended a broad edging of the sea-otter skin. The sleeves are turned up with the same materials; and there is likewise an edging of it round the neck, and down the opening at the breast. The lining is of a smooth white skin. A cap, a pair of gloves, and boots, wrought with the utmost degree of neatness, and made of the same materials, constitute the remainder of this suit. The Russians in Kamtschatka wear the European dress; and the uniform of the troops quartered here is of a dark green, faced with red.

As the people situated to the north and south of this country are yet imperfectly known, I shall conclude the account of Kamtschatka with such information concerning the Kurile Islands, and the Koreki and Tschutski, as I have been able to acquire. The chain of islands, running in a south-west direction from the southern promontory of Kamtschatka to Japan, extending from latitude 51° to 45°, are called the Kuriles. They obtained this name from the inhabitants of the neighbourhood of Lopatka, who being themselves called Kuriles, gave their own name to these islands, on first becoming acquainted with them. They are, according to Spanberg, twenty-two in number, without reckoning the very small ones. The northernmost, called Shoomska, is not more than three leagues from the promontory Lopatka, and its inhabitants are a mixture of natives and Kamtschadales. The next to the south, called Paramousir, is much larger than Shoomska, and inhabited by the true natives; their ancestors, according to a tradition among them, having come from an island a little farther to the south, called Onecutan. Those two islands were first visited by the Russians in 1713, and at the same time brought under their dominion. The others in order, are at present made tributary down to Ooshesheer inclusive, as I am informed by the worthy pastor of Paratounca, who is their missionary, and visits them once in three years, and speaks of the islanders in terms of the highest commendation, representing them

as a friendly, hospitable, generous, humane race of people, and excelling their Kamtschadale neighbours, not less in the formation of their bodies, than in docility and quickness of understanding. Though Ooshesheer is the southernmost island that the Russians have yet brought under their dominion, yet I understand that they trade to Ooroop, which is the eighteenth; and, according to their accounts, the only one where there is a good harbour for ships of burthen. Beyond this, to the south, lies Nadeegsda, which was represented to us by the Russians as inhabited by a race of men remarkably hairy, and who, like those of Ooroop, live in a state of entire independence *.

In the same direction, but inclining somewhat more to the westward, lie a group of islands, which the Japanese call Jeso; a name which they also give to the whole chain of islands between Kamtschatka and Japan. The southernmost, called Matmai, hath been long subject to the Japanese, and is fortified and garrisoned on the side toward the continent. The two islands to the north-east of Matmai, Kunachir, and Zellany, and likewise the three still farther to the north-east, called the Three Sisters, are perfectly independent. A trade of barter is carried on between Matmai and the islands last mentioned, and between those again and the Kuriles, to the northward; in which, for furs, dried fish, and oil, the latter get silk, cotton, iron, and Japanese articles of furniture †.

The inhabitants of as many of the islands as are brought under the Russian dominion, are at present converted to Christianity. And probably the time is not very distant, when a friendly and profitable intercourse will be brought about between Kamtschatka and the whole of this chain of islands; and which will draw after it a communication with Japan itself. This may eventually be greatly facilitated by a circumstance related to me by Major Behm, that several Russians, who had been taught the Japanese language by two men belonging to a vessel of that nation, which had been ‡ shipwrecked on the coast of Kamt-

* Spanberg places the island here spoken of, in 43° 50′ north latitude, and mentions his having watered upon it; and that this watering party brought off eight of the natives, of whom he relates the following circumstances:—That their bodies were covered all over with hair; that they wore a loose striped silk gown, reaching as low as their ankles; and that some of them had silver rings pendant from the ears: that, on spying a live cock on deck, they fell on their knees before it; and likewise before the presents that were brought out to them, closing and stretching forth their hands, and bowing their heads at the same time down to the ground; that, except the peculiarity of their hairiness, they resembled the other Kurile islanders in their features and figure, and spoke the same language. The journal of the ship Castricom also mentions this circumstance of the inhabitants of the country discovered by them, and called Jeso, being hairy all over the body.

[The inhabitants of the island of Jeso, Jesso, or more properly Yezo, which gives the sound of the Japanese letters with which the name is written, more correctly, have been rendered tributary by the Japanese, who possess there several ports on the southern and western coasts; the principal of which is Matsumai, at the southern extremity of the island, being a town of some size, and the residence of the Governor. The inhabitants, who are generally called Aïnos, from a word in their language signifying man, but are called Yezos by the Japanese, appear formerly to have occupied the northern parts of Japan, from whence they have been expelled by their more civilized neighbours, and are now apparently fading away from Yezo, sharing the general fate of perfect savages when in contact with civilization. The account which the Japanese give of them, representing them as but one degree removed from wild beasts, covered with a fur nearly as thick as dogs, bears, or foxes, and even Spanberg, (or Spangenberg's) relation, is greatly exaggerated. Krusenstern, who saw more of them than any other traveller, describes them as of a middling height, nearly black, with bushy beards, black rough large hair, but more regular features than the Kamtschadales. Their character he represents as mild and inoffensive, and their chief occupation is hunting and fishing. —Ed.]

† This accounts for what Krascheninicoff says, that he got from Paramousir a japanned table and vase, a scimetar, and a silver ring, which he sent to the cabinet of her imperial majesty at Petersburg. And if what M. Steller mentions on the authority of a Kurile, who was interpreter to Spanberg in his voyage to Japan, is to be credited, that nearly the same language is spoken at Kunashir and Paramousir, it cannot be questioned that some intercourse has always subsisted between the inhabitants of this extensive chain of islands.

‡ The vessel here spoken of was from Satsma, a port in Japan, bound for another Japanese port, called Azaka, and laden with rice, cotton, and silks. She sailed with a favourable wind; but, before she reached her destination, was driven out to sea by a violent storm, which carried away her masts and rudder. On the storm's abating, not one of the crew, which consisted of seventeen (having probably never made other than coasting voyages), knew where they were, or what course to steer. After remaining in this situation six months, they were driven on shore near the promontory Lopatka; and having cast out an anchor, began to carry on shore such articles as were necessary to their existence. They next erected a tent, and had remained in it twenty-three days, without seeing a human being, when chance conducted a Cossack officer, called Andrew Chinnicoff, with a few Kamtschadales, to their habitation. The poor unfortunate Japanese, overwhelmed with joy at the sight of fellow-creatures, made the most significant tenders they were able of friendship and affection; and presented their visitors with silks, sabres, and a part of whatever else they had brought from the ship. The treacherous Chinnicoff made reciprocal returns of kindness and good-will; and, after remaining with them long enough to make such observations as suited his designs, withdrew from them in the night. The Japanese, finding that their visitors did not return, knew

schatka, had been sent amongst those islands. The advantages that would accrue to the Russians by an immediate trade to Japan, have been already adverted to, and are too many, and too obvious, to need insisting upon.

The Koreki country includes two distinct nations, called the Wandering and Fixed Koriacs. The former inhabit the northern part of the isthmus of Kamtschatka, and the whole coast of the Eastern Ocean, from thence to the Anadir. The country of the Wandering Koriacs stretches along the north-east of the sea of Okotsk to the river Penskina, and westward toward the river Kovyma. The fixed Koriacs have a strong resemblance to the Kamtschadales, and, like them, depend altogether on fishing for subsistence. Their dress and habitations are of the same kind. They are tributary to the Russians, and under the district of the Ingiga. The Wandering Koriacs occupy themselves entirely in breeding and pasturing deer, of which they are said to possess immense numbers; and that it is no unusual thing for an individual chief to have a herd of four or five thousand. They despise fish, and live entirely on deer. They have no *balagans;* and their only habitations are like the Kamtschadale *jourts*, with this difference, that they are covered with raw deer-skins in winter, and tanned ones in summer. Their sledges are drawn by deer, and never by dogs; which, like the latter, are likewise always spayed, in order to be trained to this business. The draft-deer pasture in company with the others; and when they are wanted, the herdsmen make use of a certain cry, which they instantly obey, by coming out of the herd. The priest of Paratounca informed me, that the two nations, of the Koriacs and the Tschutski, speak different dialects of the same language; and that it bears not the smallest resemblance to the Kamtschadale.

The country of the Tschutski is bounded on the south by the Anadir, and extends along the coast to the Tschutskoi Noss. Like the Wandering Koriacs, their attention is principally confined to their deer, of which their country affords great numbers, both tame and wild. They are a stout, well-made, bold, warlike race of people; redoubtable neighbours to both nations of the Koriacs, who often feel the effects of their depredatory incursions. The Russians have, for many years, been using their endeavours to bring them under their dominion; and, after losing a great many men in their different expeditions for this purpose, have not been able to effect it *. I shall here conclude this article; since all we can say of this people, on our own knowledge, hath been laid already before the reader.

not what course to take. In despair they manned their boat, and were rowing along the coast in search of a habitation, when they came up with their vessel which had been driven ashore, and found Chinnicoff and his companions pillaging her, and pulling her in pieces for the sake of the iron. This sight determined them to continue their course, which Chinnicoff perceiving, ordered his men to pursue and massacre them. The unfortunate Japanese, seeing a canoe in pursuit, and which they could not escape, apprehended what was to follow. Some of them leaped into the sea; others, in vain, had recourse to prayer and entreaties. They were all massacred but two, by the very sabres they had presented to their supposed friends a few days before. One of the two was a boy about eleven years old, named Gowga, who had accompanied his father, the ship's pilot, to learn navigation; the other was a middle-aged man, the supercargo, and called Sosa.

Chinnicoff soon met with the punishment due to his crimes. The two strangers were conducted to Petersburg, where they were sent to the academy, with proper instructors and attendants; and several young men were, at the same time, put about them for the purpose of learning the Japanese language. They were thrown on the coast of Kamtschatka in 1730. The younger survived the absence from his country five, the other six years. Their portraits are to be seen in the cabinet of the empress at Petersburg.—Vid. Krascheninicoff, vol. ii., part 4.—Fr. Ed.

* The Tschutski, or Tsheskois, are remarkable as being the only Siberian nation that has not hitherto submitted to the dominion of Russia. The difference of their language, and their superiority, not only in personal, but mental capacity to their neighbours, deserves greater attention than can be given in a note. All the particulars that can be gathered from more recent travellers, will be found in the Appendix.—Ed.

CHAPTER VIII.—PLAN OF OUR FUTURE PROCEEDINGS.—COURSE TO THE SOUTHWARD, ALONG THE COAST OF KAMTSCHATKA.—CAPE LOPATKA.—PASS THE ISLANDS SHOOMSKA AND PARAMOUSIR.—DRIVEN TO THE EASTWARD OF THE KURILES.—SINGULAR SITUATION WITH RESPECT TO THE PRETENDED DISCOVERIES OF FORMER NAVIGATORS.—FRUITLESS ATTEMPTS TO REACH THE ISLANDS NORTH OF JAPAN.—GEOGRAPHICAL CONCLUSIONS.—VIEW OF THE COAST OF JAPAN.—RUN ALONG THE EAST SIDE.—PASS TWO JAPANESE VESSELS.—DRIVEN OFF THE COAST BY CONTRARY WINDS.—EXTRAORDINARY EFFECT OF CURRENTS.—STEER FOR THE BASHEES.—PASS LARGE QUANTITIES OF PUMICE-STONE.—DISCOVER SULPHUR ISLAND.—PASS THE PRATAS.—ISLES OF LEMA, AND LADRON ISLAND.—CHINESE PILOT TAKEN ON BOARD THE RESOLUTION.—JOURNALS OF THE OFFICERS AND MEN SECURED.

Our instructions from the Board of Admiralty having left a discretionary power with the commanding officer of the expedition, in case of failure in the search of a passage from the Pacific into the Atlantic Ocean, to return to England, by whatever route he should think best for the farther improvement of geography, Captain Gore demanded of the principal officers their sentiments, in writing, respecting the manner in which these orders might most effectually be obeyed. The result of our opinions, which he had the satisfaction to find unanimous, and entirely coinciding with his own, was, that the condition of the ships, of the sails and cordage, made it unsafe to attempt, at so advanced a season of the year, to navigate the sea between Japan and Asia, which would otherwise have afforded the largest field for discovery; that it was therefore advisable to keep to the eastward of that island, and in our way thither to run along the Kuriles, and examine more particularly the islands that lie nearest the northern coast of Japan, which are represented as of a considerable size, and independent of the Russian and Japanese governments. Should we be so fortunate as to find in these any safe and commodious harbours, we conceived they might be of importance, either as places of shelter for any future navigators, who may be employed in exploring the seas, or as the means of opening a commercial intercourse among the neighbouring dominions of the two empires. Our next object was to survey the coast of the Japanese Islands, and afterward to make the coast of China, as far to the northward as we were able, and run along it to Macao.

This plan being adopted, I received orders from Captain Gore, in case of separation, to proceed immediately to Macao; and at six o'clock in the evening of the 9th of October, having cleared the entrance of Awatska Bay, we steered to the south-east, with the wind north-west and by west. At midnight, we had a dead calm, which continued till noon of the 10th; the light-house, at this time, bearing north half west, distant five leagues, and Cape Gavareea south by west half west. Being luckily in soundings of sixty and seventy fathoms' water, we employed our time very profitably in catching cod, which were exceedingly fine and plentiful; and at three in the afternoon a breeze sprung up from the west, with which we stood along the coast to the southward. A headland bearing south by west, now opened, with Cape Gavareea, lying about seven leagues beyond it. Between them are two narrow but deep inlets, which may probably unite behind what appears to be a high island. The coast of these inlets is steep and cliffy. The hills break abruptly, and form chasms and deep valleys, which are well wooded. Between Cape Gavareea (which lies in latitude 52° 21′, longitude 158° 38′) and Awatska Bay, there are appearances of several inlets, which at first sight may flatter the mariner with hopes of finding shelter and safe anchorage: but the Russian pilots assured us, that there are none capable of admitting vessels of the smallest size, as the low land fills up the spaces that appear vacant between the high projecting headlands. Toward evening, it again became calm; but at midnight we had a light breeze from the north, which increased gradually to a strong gale; and at noon the next day, we found ourselves in latitude 52° 4′, longitude 158° 31′, when Cape Gavareea bore north by west one quarter west; the south extreme south-west half west. We were at this time distant from the nearest shore about three leagues, and saw the whole country inland covered with snow. A point of land to the southward, which we place in latitude 51° 54′, formed the north side

of a deep bay, called Achachinskoi, in the distant bottom of which we supposed a large river to empty itself, from the land behind being so unusually low. South of Achachinskoi Bay, the land is not so rugged and barren as that part of the country which we had before passed.

During the night, we had variable winds and rain; but at four in the morning of the 12th, it began to blow so strong from the north-east, as to oblige us to double-reef the top-sails, and make it prudent to stand more off the shore. At six, the weather becoming more moderate and fair, we again made sail, and stood in for the land. At noon, our latitude was 51° 0′, longitude 157° 25′. The northernmost land in sight, being the point we have mentioned as first opening with Cape Gavareea, bore north north-east. A head-land with a flat top, which is in latitude 51° 27′, and makes the south point of an inlet, called Girowara, bore north one quarter east, and the southernmost land in sight west three quarters north, distant six leagues. At this time we could just perceive low land stretching from the southern extreme; but the wind veering round to the north-west, we could not get a nearer view of it. At six in the afternoon, we saw from the mast-head, Cape Lopatka, the southernmost extremity of Kamtschatka. It is a very low flat cape, sloping gradually from the high level land that we saw at noon, and bore west half north, about five leagues distant; and the high land north-west by west half west. As this point of land forms so marked an object in the geography of the eastern coast of Asia, we were glad to be able, by an accurate observation, and several good angles, to determine its precise situation, which is in latitude 51° 0′, longitude 156° 45′. To the north-west of it we saw a remarkable high mountain, the top of which loses itself in the clouds; and, at the same time, the first of the Kurile Islands, called Shoomska, appeared in sight, bearing west half south. The passage between this island and Cape Lopatka, the Russians describe as being three miles broad, and very dangerous, on account of the rapidity of the tides, and the sunk rocks that are off the Cape. From Cape Gavareea to Lopatka, the coast trends south-east, south of Achachinskoi, the land is not so high and broken as between that bay and the mouth of Awatska, being only of a moderate elevation toward the sea, with hills gradually rising farther back in the country. The coast is steep and bold, and full of white chalky patches. At noon, the weather falling again to a calm, afforded us an opportunity of catching some fine cod. We were at this time, in forty fathoms' water, and about five or six leagues from Cape Lopatka. Both in the fore and afternoon, we had observations, with different compasses, for the variation, and found it to be 5° 20′ E.

We stood on all night, under an easy sail, to the south south-west, having the wind westerly. At midnight we sounded, and had sixty fathoms; and at day-break of the 13th, we saw the second of the Kurile Islands (called by the Russians Paramousir), extending from north-west by west, to west half south. This land is very high, and almost entirely covered with snow. At noon, the extremes bore from north north-west half west, to west north-west half west; and a high-peaked mountain, from which some thought they saw smoke issuing, north-west by west half west, about twelve or fourteen leagues distant. At this time our latitude, by observation, was 49° 49′, and our longitude 157° 0′. In the course of the day we saw many gulls and albatrosses, and several whales. Paramousir is the largest of the Kuriles under the dominion of Russia, and well deserves a more accurate survey, than we were at this time allowed to take. For, in the afternoon, the gale increasing from the west, we were never able to approach it nearer than we had done at noon; and were, therefore, obliged to be contented with endeavouring to ascertain its situation at that distance. We place the south end of the island in latitude 49° 58′; the north end in latitude 50° 46′, and in longitude 10′ W. of Lopatka; and as this position is found not to differ materially from that given by the Russians, it is probably very near the truth. Whilst we were abreast of this island, we had a very heavy swell from the north-east, though the wind had, for some time, been from the westward; a circumstance which we have already remarked more than once during the course of our voyage. In the night we tried for soundings, but found no ground with fifty fathoms of line.

On the 14th and 15th, the wind blowing steadily and fresh from the westward, we were obliged to stand to the southward; and consequently hindered from seeing any more of

the Kurile Islands. At noon of the 16th, the latitude, by observation, was 45° 27′; the longitude, deduced from a number of lunar observations taken during the three days past, 155° 30′. The variation 4° 30′ E. In this situation, we were almost surrounded by the supposed discoveries of former navigators, and uncertain to which we should turn ourselves. To the southward and the south-west were placed, in the French charts, a group of five islands, called the Three Sisters, Zellany and Kunashir. We were about ten leagues, according to the same maps, to the westward of the land of De Gama, which we had passed to the eastward in April last, at a distance rather less than this, without seeing any appearance of it; from which circumstance we may now conclude, that, if such land exist at all, it must be an island of a very inconsiderable size.* On the other hand, if we give credit to the original position of this land, fixed by Texiera†, it lay to the west by south; and as the Company's Land ‡, Staten Island §, and the famous land of Jeso ||, were also supposed to lie nearly in the same direction, together with the group first mentioned, according to the Russian charts, we thought this coast deserved the preference, and accordingly hauled round to the westward, the wind having shifted in the afternoon to the northward. During this day, we saw large flocks of gulls, several albatrosses, fulmars, and a number of fish, which our sailors called grampuses; but, as far as we could judge, from the appearance of those that passed close by the ships, we imagined them to be the *kasatka*, or sword-fish, described by Krascheninicoff, to whom I refer the reader, for a curious account of the manner in which they attack the whales. In the evening, a visit from a small land bird, about the size of a goldfinch, and resembling that bird in shape and plumage, made us keep a good look out for land. However, at midnight, on trying for soundings, we found no ground with forty-five fathoms of line.

On the 17th, at noon, we were in latitude 45° 7′, by observation, longitude 154° 0′. The

* From Muller's account of the course steered by Captain Spanberg, in his route from Kamtschatka to Japan, it appears that he must also undoubtedly have seen De Gama's Land, if it really has the extent given it in M. D'Anville's maps. Walton, who commanded a vessel in the same expedition, seems also to have looked in vain for this land on his return from Japan: and three years afterward, on account of some doubts that had arisen respecting Spanberg's course, Beering went directly in search of it as low as the latitude of 46°.—See Voyages et Découvertes, &c. p. 210, et seq.

† See book vi. chap. i. p. 149.

‡ This land was seen by the Dutchmen who sailed in the Castricom and Breskes, and imagined by them to be part of the continent of America. There now remains scarce any doubt of its being the islands of Ooroop and Nadeegsda. See the Journals of the Castricom and Breskes, published by Wetzer.

§ This land was also discovered by the Castricom; and, from its situation, as described in the journal of that vessel, it appears to be the islands of the Three Sisters.

|| The country of Jeso, which has so long been a stumbling-block to our modern geographers, was first brought to the knowledge of Europeans by the Dutch vessels, mentioned in the preceding notes. The name appears, from the earliest accounts, to have been well known, both to the Japanese and the Kamtschadales; and used by them, indiscriminately, for all the islands lying between Kamtschatka and Japan. It has since been applied to a large imaginary island, or continent, supposed to have been discovered by the Castricom and Breskes: and it may not, therefore, be improper to consider the grounds of this mistake, as far as can be collected from the journals of this expedition. The object of the voyage in which those ships were engaged, was to explore the eastern shore of Tartary; but, being separated by a storm off the south-east point of Japan, they sailed in different tracks along the east side of that island; and, having passed its northern extremity, proceeded singly on their intended expedition.

The Castricom, commanded by De Vries, steering northward, fell in with land on the third day, in latitude 42°. He sailed along the south-east coast about sixty leagues in "a constant fog; and having anchored in various places," held a friendly intercourse with the inhabitants. Thus far the journal. Now, as the islands of Matimai, Kunashir, and Zellany appear, from Captain Spanberg's discoveries, to lie exactly in this situation, there can be no doubt of their being the same land; and the circumstance of the fog sufficiently accounts for the error of De Vries, in imagining them to be one continent, without having recourse to the supposition of an earthquake, by which Mr. Muller, from his desire to reconcile the opinion generally received with the latter Russian discoveries, conceives the several parts to have been separated. The journal then proceeds to give an account of the discovery of Staten Island and Company's Land, of which I have already given my opinion, and shall have occasion to speak hereafter. Having passed through the Straits of De Vries, says the journal, they entered a vast, wild, and tempestuous sea, in which they steered, through mists and darkness, to the 48° latitude north; after which they were driven by contrary winds to the southward, and again fell in with land to the westward, in latitude 45°, which they unaccountably still imagined to be part of the continent of Jeso; whereas, whoever examines Jansen's map of their discoveries (which appears to be exceedingly accurate, as far as his information went), will, I believe, have no doubt, that they were, at this time, on the coast of Tartary. Having traced this land four degrees to the northward, they returne' to the southward through the straits they had passed before.

It is not necessary to trouble the reader with the journal of the Breskes, as it contains no new matter, and has been already republished, and very satisfactorily animadverted upon by Mr. Muller.—Voyages from Asia to America, &c. English Translation, p. 78.

wind now again coming to the westward, obliged us to steer a more southerly course; and, at midnight, it blew from that quarter a fresh gale, accompanied with heavy rain. In the morning we saw another land bird, and many flocks of gulls and peterels bending their course to the south-west. The heavy north-east swell, with which we had constantly laboured since our departure from Lopatka, now ceased, and changed suddenly to the south-east. In the forenoon of the 18th, we passed great quantities of rock-weed, from which, and the flights of birds above mentioned, we conjectured that we were at no great distance from the southernmost of the Kuriles; and, at the same time, the wind coming round to the south, enabled us to stand in for it. At two, we set studding-sails, and steered west; but the wind increasing to a gale, soon obliged us to double reef the top-sails; and, at midnight, we judged it necessary to try for soundings. Accordingly we hove to; but finding no bottom at seventy-five fathoms, we were encouraged to persevere, and again bore away west, with the wind at south-east. This course we kept till two in the morning, when the weather becoming thick, we hauled our wind and steered to the south-west till five, when a violent storm reduced us to our courses.

Notwithstanding the unfavourable state of the weather left us little prospect of making the land, we still kept this object anxiously in view; and at day-light, ventured to steer west by south, and continued to stand on in this direction till ten in the forenoon, when the wind suddenly shifting to the south-west, brought with it clear weather. Of this we had scarcely taken advantage, by setting the top-sails, and letting out the reefs, when it began to blow so strong from this quarter, that we were forced to close reef again; and at noon, the wind shifting two points to the west, rendered it vain to keep any longer on this tack. We, therefore, put about, and steered to the southward. At this time, our latitude, by observation, was 44° 12′, and longitude 150° 40′; so that, after all our efforts, we had the mortification to find ourselves, according to the Russian charts, upon a meridian with Nadeegsda, which they make the southernmost of the Kurile Islands, and about twenty leagues to the southward. But, though the violent and contrary winds we had met with during the last six days, prevented our getting in with these islands, yet the course we had been obliged to hold, is not without its geographical advantages. For the group of Islands, consisting of the Three Sisters, Kunashir, and Zellany, which, in D'Anville's maps, are placed in the track we had just crossed; being, by this means, demonstratively removed from that situation, an additional proof is obtained of their lying to the westward, where Spanberg actually places them, between the longitude 142° and 147°. But as this space is occupied in the French charts by part of the supposed land of Jeso and Staten Island, Mr. Muller's opinion becomes extremely probable, that they are all the same lands; and as no reasons appear for doubting Spanberg's accuracy, we have ventured, in our general map,* to reinstate the Three Sisters, Zellany, and Kunashir, in their proper situation, and have entirely omitted the rest. When the reader recollects the manner in which the Russians have multiplied the islands of the Northern Archipelago, from the want of accuracy in determining their real situation, and the desire men naturally feel of propagating new discoveries, he will not be surprised, that the same causes should produce the same effects. It is thus that the Jesoian lands, which appear, both from the accounts of the Japanese and the earliest Russian traditions, to be no other than the southern Kurile Islands, have been supposed distinct from the latter. The Land of De Gama is next on record, and was originally placed nearly in the same situation with those just mentioned; but was removed, as has been already suggested, to make room for Staten Island, and the Company's Land; and as Jeso, and the southernmost of the Kuriles, had also possession of this space, that nothing might be lost, they were provided for, the former a little to the westward, and the latter to the eastward.

As the islands of Zellany and Kunashir, according to the Russian charts, were still to the southward, we were not without hopes of being able to make them, and therefore kept our head as much to the westward as the wind would permit. On the 20th, at noon, we were in latitude 43° 47′, and longitude 150° 30′; and steering west by south, with a moderate

* That given in the original editions. Ed.

breeze from south-east, and probably not more than twenty-four leagues to the eastward of Zellany, when our good fortune again deserted us. For, at three o'clock in the afternoon, the wind veering round to the north-west, began to blow so strong, that we were brought under our foresail and mizen staysail. We had very heavy squalls, and hard rain during the next twenty-four hours; after which, the horizon clearing a little, and the weather growing moderate, we were enabled to set the topsails; but the wind still continuing to blow from the north-west, baffled all our endeavours to make the land, and obliged us at last to give up all further thoughts of discovery to the north of Japan. We submitted to this disappointment with the greater reluctance, as the accounts that are given of the inhabitants of these islands mentioned at the end of the last chapter, had excited in us the greater curiosity to visit them.

In the afternoon the leach-rope of the Resolution's fore-topsail gave way, and split the sail. As this accident had often happened to us in Captain Cook's life-time, he had ordered the foot and leach ropes of the topsails to be taken out, and larger fixed in their stead; and as these also proved unequal to the strain that was on them, it is evident that the proper proportion of strength between those ropes and the sail, is exceedingly miscalculated in our service. This day a land-bird perched on the rigging, and was taken; it was larger than a sparrow, but in other respects very like one. The gale now abated gradually, so that in the morning of the 22d, we let out the reefs of the top sails, and made more sail. At noon, we were in latitude 40° 58′, and longitude 148° 17′; the variation 3° E. In the afternoon, another little wanderer from the land pitched on the ship, and was so worn out with fatigue, that it suffered itself to be taken immediately, and died a few hours afterward. It was not bigger than a wren, had a tuft of yellow feathers on its head, and the rest of its plumage like that of the linnet. The sparrow, being stronger, lived a long time. These birds plainly indicating, that we could not be at any great distance from the land, and the wind after varying a little, fixing in the evening at north, our hopes of making the land again revived, and we hauled up to the west north-west, in which direction, the southernmost islands seen by Spanberg, and said to be inhabited by hairy men, lay at the distance of about fifty leagues. But the wind not keeping pace with our wishes, blew in such light airs, that we made little way, till eight the next morning, when we had a fresh breeze from the south south-west, with which we continued to steer west north-west till the evening. At noon, we were in latitude 40° 35′, longitude 146° 45′; the latter deduced from several lunar observations taken during the night. The variation of the needle we found to be 17′ E. In the evening, we had strong squally gales attended with rain, and having passed, in the course of the day, several patches of green grass, and seen a shag, many small land birds, and flocks of gulls, it was not thought prudent, with all these signs of the vicinity of land, to stand on during the whole night. We therefore tacked at midnight, and steered a few hours to the south-east, and at four in the morning of the 24th, again directed our course to the west north-west, and carried a press of sail till seven in the evening, when the wind shifted from south south-west, to north, and blew a fresh gale. At this time we were in the latitude of 40° 57′, and the longitude of 145° 20′.

This second disappointment, in our endeavours to get to the north-west, together with the boisterous weather we had met with, and the little likelihood, at this time of the year, of its becoming more favourable to our views, were Captain Gore's motives for now finally giving up all farther search for the islands to the north of Japan, and for shaping a course west south-west, for the north part of that island. In the night, the wind shifted to the north-east, and blew a fresh gale, with hard rain and hazy weather, which, by noon of the 25th, brought us to the latitude of 40° 18′, and in the longitude 144° 0′. To-day we saw flights of wild ducks; a pigeon lighted on our rigging, and many birds like linnets flew about us with a degree of vigour that seemed to prove they had not been long upon the wing. We also passed patches of long grass, and a piece either of sugar-cane or bamboo. These signs, that land was at no great distance, induced us to try for soundings, but we found no ground with ninety fathoms of line. Toward evening, the wind by degrees shifted round to the south, with which we still kept on to the west south-west; and at daybreak of the 26th, we had the pleasure of descrying high land to the westward, which proved to be Japan. At

eight it extended from north-west to south by west, distant three or four leagues. A low, flat cape bore north-west three-quarters west, and seemed to make the south part of the entrance of a bay. Toward the south extreme, a conical-shaped hill bore south by west three-quarters west. To the northward of this hill there appeared to be a very deep inlet, the north side of the entrance into which is formed by a low point of land; and, as well as we could judge by our glasses, has a small island near it to the southward.

We stood on till nine, when we were within two leagues of the land, bearing west three-quarters south, and had soundings of fifty-eight fathoms, with a bottom of very fine sand. We now tacked and stood off; but the wind dying away, at noon we had got no farther than three leagues from the coast, which extended from north-west by north three-quarters west, to south half east, and was, for the most part, bold and cliffy. The low cape to the northward bore north-west by west, six leagues distant; and the north point of the inlet south, three-quarters west. The latitude, by observation, was 40° 5′, and longitude 142° 28′. The northernmost land in sight we judged to be the northern extremity of Japan.* It is lower than any other part; and, from the range of the high lands that were seen over it from the mast-head, the coast appeared evidently to incline round to the westward. The north point of the inlet we supposed to be Cape Nambu, and the town to be situated in a break of the high land, toward which the inlet seemed to direct itself †. The country is of a moderate height, consists of a double range of mountains; it abounds with wood, and has a pleasing variety of hills and dales. We saw the smoke of several towns or villages, and many houses near the shore, in pleasant and cultivated situations.

During the calm, being willing to make the best use of our time, we put our fishing lines overboard in ten fathoms water, but without any success. As this was the only amusement our circumstances admitted, the disappointment was always very sensibly felt, and made us look back with regret to the cod-banks of the dreary regions we had left, which had supplied us with so many wholesome meals, and, by the diversion they afforded, had given a variety to the wearisome succession of gales and calms, and the tedious repetition of the same nautical observations. At two in the afternoon, the breeze freshened from the southward, and by four had brought us under close-reefed topsails, and obliged us to stand off to the south-east. In consequence of this course, and the haziness of the weather, the land soon disappeared. We kept on all night, and till eight the next morning, when the wind coming round to the north, and growing moderate, we made sail, and steered west south-west, toward the land; but did not make it till three in the afternoon, when it extended from north-west half west to west. The northernmost extreme being a continuation of the high land, which was the southernmost we had seen the day before; the land to the west we conceived to be the Hofe Tafel Berg (the High Table Hill) of Jansen. Between the two extremes, the coast was low and scarcely perceptible, except from the mast-head. We stood on toward the coast till eight, when we were about five leagues distant; and having shortened sail for the night, steered to the southward, sounding every four hours; but never found ground with one hundred and sixty fathoms of line.

On the 28th, at six in the morning, we again saw land twelve leagues to the southward of that seen the preceding day, extending from west south-west to west by north. We steered south-west obliquely with the shore; and at ten, saw more land open to the south-west. To the westward of this land, which is low and flat, are two islands, as we judged, though some doubts were entertained whether they might not be connected with the adjacent low ground. The hazy weather, joined to our distance, prevented us also from determining whether there are any inlets or harbours between the projecting points, which seem here to promise good shelter. At noon, the north extreme bore north-west by north, and a high-peaked hill, over a steep headland, west by north, distant five leagues. Our latitude at this

* The only authentic survey of the eastern coast of Japan with which I am acquainted, is that published by Jansen in his atlas, and compiled with great accuracy from the charts and journals of the Castricom and Breskes. I have therefore adopted, wherever the identity of the situations could be nearly ascertained, the names given in that map to the corresponding points and headlands seen by us along the coast.

Jansen places the northern extremity of Japan in latitude 40° 15′. The point seen by us was in latitude 40° 27′.

† This town is called by Jansen, Nabo.

time, by observation, was 38° 16′, longitude 142° 9′. The mean of the variation, from observations taken both in the fore and afternoon, was 1° 20′ E. At half past three in the afternoon, we lost sight of the land; and, from its breeaking off so suddenly, conjectured that what we had seen this day is an island, or perhaps a cluster of islands, lying off the main land of Japan; but as the islands, called by Jansen the Schildpads, and by Mr. D'Anville Matsima, though laid down nearly in the same situation, are not equal in extent to the land seen by us, we must leave this point undecided. Having kept a south-west course during the remaining part of the day, we found ourselves, at midnight, in seventy fathoms' water, over a bottom of fine dark brown sand. We therefore hauled up to the eastward till morning, when we saw the land again, about eleven leagues to the southward of that which we had seen the day before; and at eight we were within six or seven miles of the shore, having carried in regular soundings from sixty-five to twenty fathoms, over coarse sand and gravel. Unluckily there was a haze over the land, which hindered our distinguishing small objects on it. The coast is straight and unbroken, and runs nearly in a north and south direction. Toward the sea the ground is low, but rises gradually into hills of a moderate height, whose tops are tolerably even, and covered with wood.

At nine o'clock, the wind shifting to the southward, and the sky lowering, we tacked and stood off to the east, and soon after we saw a vessel close in with the land, standing along the shore to the northward, and another in the offing, coming down on us before the wind. Objects of any kind belonging to a country so famous, and yet so little known, it will be easily conceived, must have excited a general curiosity; and, accordingly, every soul on board was upon deck in an instant to gaze at them. As the vessel to windward approached us, she hauled farther off shore; upon which, fearing that we should alarm them by the appearance of a pursuit, we brought the ships to, and she passed ahead of us, at the distance of about half a mile. It would have been easy for us to have spoken with them; but perceiving, by their manœuvres, that they were much frightened, Captain Gore was not willing to augment their terrors; and, thinking that we should have many better opportunities of communication with this people, suffered them to go off without interruption. Our distance did not permit us to remark any particulars regarding the men on board, who seemed to be about six in number, especially as the haziness of the weather precluded the use of our glasses. According to the best conjectures we were able to form, the vessel was about forty tons burthen. She had but one mast, on which was hoisted a square sail, extended by a yard aloft, the braces of which worked forward. Half way down the sail came three pieces of black cloth at equal distances from each other. The vessel was higher at each end than in the midship; and we imagined, from her appearance and form, that it was impossible for her to sail any otherwise than large.

At noon the wind freshened, and brought with it a good deal of rain; by three it had increased so much, that we were reduced to our courses; at the same time, the sea ran as high as any one on board ever remembered to have seen it. If the Japanese vessels are, as Kæmpfer describes them, open in the stern, it would not have been possible for those we saw to have survived the fury of this storm; but as the appearance of the weather all the preceding part of the day, foretold its coming, and one of the sloops had, notwithstanding, stood far out to sea, we may safely conclude that they are perfectly capable of bearing a gale of wind. Spanberg indeed describes two kinds of Japanese vessels; one answering to the above description of Kæmpfer; the other, which he calls busses, and in which he says they make their voyages to the neighbouring islands, exactly corresponds with those we saw *.

At eight in the evening, the gale shifted to the west without abating the least in violence, and by raising a sudden swell in a contrary direction to that which prevailed before, occasioned the ships to strain and labour exceedingly. During the storm several of the sails were split on board the Resolution. Indeed they had been so long bent, and were worn so thin, that this accident had of late happened to us almost daily in both ships; especially, when, being stiff and heavy with the rain, they became less able to bear the shocks of the

* Vide Muller, Fr. ed. page 215.

violent and variable winds we at this time experienced. The gale at length growing moderate, and settling to the west, we kept upon a wind to the southward; and at nine in the morning of the 30th we saw the land at the distance of about fifteen leagues, bearing from west by north to north-west one quarter west. It appeared in detached parts; but whether they were small islands or parts of Japan, our distance did not enable us to determine. At noon it extended from north-west to west, the nearest land being about thirteen leagues distant, beyond which the coast seemed to run in a westerly direction. The latitude, by observation, was 36° 41′, longitude 142° 6′. The point to the northward, which was supposed to be near the southernmost land seen the day before, we conjectured to be Cape de Kennis, and the break to the southward of this point, to be the mouth of the river on which the town of Gissima is said to be situated. The next cape is probably that called in the Dutch charts Boomtje's Point, and the southernmost, off which we were abreast at noon, we suppose to be near Low Point *, and that we were at too great a distance to see the low land, in which it probably terminates, to the eastward.

In the afternoon, the wind veering round to the north-east, we stood to the southward, at the distance of about eighteen leagues from the shore, trying for soundings, as we went along, but finding none with one hundred and fifteen fathoms of line. At two the next morning it shifted to west, attended with rain and lightning, and blowing in heavy squalls. During the course of the day, we had several small birds of a brown plumage, resembling linnets, flying about us, which had been forced off the land by the strong westerly gales; but toward the evening, the wind coming to the north-west, we shaped our course, along with them, to west south-west, in order to regain the coast. In the morning of the 1st of November, the wind again shifted to south-east, and bringing with it fair weather, we got forty-two sets of distances of the moon from the sun and stars, with four different quadrants, each set consisting of six observations. These agreeing pretty nearly with each other, fix our situation at noon the same day, with great accuracy, in longitude 141° 32′, the latitude, by observation, was 35° 17′. We found an error of latitude in our reckonings of the preceding day, of eight miles, and in this day's of seventeen, from whence, and from our being much more to the eastward than we expected, we concluded that there had been a strong current from the south-west.

At two in the afternoon, we again made the land to the westward, at the distance of about twelve leagues; the southernmost land in sight, which we supposed to be White Point †, bore west south-west half west; a hummock to the northward, which had the appearance of being an island, bore north north-west half west, within which we saw from the mast-head low land, which we took to be Sand-down Point ‡. We stood in toward the land, till half-past five, when we hauled our wind to the southward. At this time we saw a number of Japanese vessels, close in with the land, several seemingly engaged in fishing, and others standing alongshore. We now discovered to the westward a remarkably high mountain, with a round top, rising far inland. There is no high ground near it, the coast being of a moderate elevation, and, as far as we could judge, from the haziness of the horizon, much broken by small inlets. But to the southward of the hummock island before mentioned, there appeared, at a great distance, within the country, a ridge of hills, stretching in a direction toward the mountain, and probably joining with it. As this is the most remarkable hill on the coast, we could have wished to have settled its situation exactly; but having only had this single view, were obliged to be contented with such accuracy as our circumstances would allow. Its latitude, therefore, we conceive to be 35° 20′; its longitude, estimated by its distance from the ships, at this time fifteen leagues, 140° 26′.

As the Dutch charts make the coast of Japan extend about ten leagues to the south-west of White Point, at eight we tacked, and stood off to the eastward, in order to weather the point. At midnight, we again tacked to the south-west, expecting to fall in with the coast to the southward, but were surprised, in the morning at eight, to see the hummock, at the distance only of three leagues, bearing west north-west. We began at first to doubt the

* *Lage Hoeck*, or Low Point, is placed by Jansen in latitude 36° 40′.

† *Witte Hoeck*, placed by Jansen in latitude 35° 24′.

‡ *Sandaynege Hoeck*, in latitude 35° 55′. Jansen.

evidence of our senses, and afterward to suspect some deception from a similarity of land; but, at noon, we found ourselves, by observation, to be actually in latitude 35° 43′, at a time when our reckonings gave us 34° 48′. So that, during the eight hours in which we supposed we had made a course of nine leagues to the south-west, we had in reality been carried eight leagues from the position we left, in a direction diametrically opposite; which made, on the whole, in that short space of time, a difference, in our reckoning, of seventeen leagues. From this error, we calculated that the current had set to the north-east by north, at the rate of at least five miles an hour. Our longitude at this time was 141° 16′.

The weather having now the same threatening appearance as on the 29th of October, which was followed by so sudden and severe a gale, and the wind continuing at south south-east, it was thought prudent to leave the shore, and stand off to the eastward, to prevent our being entangled with the land. Nor were we wrong in our prognostications; for it soon afterward began, and continued till next day, to blow a heavy gale, accompanied with hazy and rainy weather. In the morning of the 3d, we found ourselves, by our reckoning, upward of fifty leagues from the land; which circumstance, together with the very extraordinary effect of currents we had before experienced, the late season of the year, the unsettled state of the weather, and the little likelihood of any change for the better, made Captain Gore resolve to leave Japan altogether, and prosecute our voyage to China; hoping, that as the track he meant to pursue had never yet been explored, he should be able to make amends, by some new discovery, for the disappointments we had met with on this coast. If the reader should be of opinion that we quitted this object too hastily, in addition to the facts already stated it ought to be remarked, Kæmpfer describes the coast of Japan as the most dangerous in the whole world *; that it would have been equally dangerous, in case of distress, to run into any of their harbours, where we know, from the best authorities, that the aversion of the inhabitants to any intercourse with strangers has led them to commit the most atrocious barbarities; that our ships were in a leaky condition; that our sails were worn out, and unable to withstand a gale of wind; and that the rigging was so rotten as to require constant and perpetual repairs.

As the strong currents which set along the eastern coast of Japan, may be of dangerous consequence to the navigator who is not aware of their extraordinary rapidity, I shall take leave of this island, with a summary account of their force and direction, as observed by us from the 1st to the 8th of November. On the 1st, at which time we were about eighteen leagues to the eastward of White Point, the current set north-east by north, at the rate of three miles an hour; on the 2nd, as we approached the shore, we found it continuing in the same direction, but increased in its rapidity to five miles an hour; as we left the shore it again became more moderate and inclined to the eastward; on the 3rd, at the distance of sixty leagues, it set to the east north-east, three miles an hour: on the 4th and 5th it turned to the southward, and at 120 leagues from the land, its direction was south-east, and its rate not more than a mile and a half an hour; on the 6th and 7th it again shifted round to the north-east, its force gradually diminishing till the 8th, when we could no longer perceive any at all.

During the 4th and 5th, we continued our course to the south-east, having very unsettled weather, attended with much lightning and rain. On both days we passed great quantities of pumice-stone, several pieces of which we took up, and found to weigh from one ounce to three pounds. We conjectured that these stones had been thrown into the sea, by eruptions of various dates, as many of them were covered with barnacles, and others quite bare. At the same time, we saw two wild ducks, and several small land-birds, and had many porpusses playing round us. On the 6th, at day-light, we altered our course to the south-south-west; but at eight in the evening we were taken back, and obliged to steer to the south-east. On the 7th, at noon, we saw a small land-bird, our latitude, by observation at this time, being 33° 52′, and longitude 148° 42′. On the 9th, we were in latitude 31° 46′, longitude 146° 20′, when we again saw a small land-bird, a tropic-bird, porpusses, flying-fishes, and had a great swell from the east-south-east. We continued our course to the south-west having the winds from the northward, without any remarkable occurrence,

* See Kæmpfer's Hist. of Japan, vol. i. p. 92, 93, 94, and 102.

till the 12th, when we had a most violent gale of wind from the same quarter, which reduced us to the fore-sail, and mizen-stay-sail; and, as the weather was so hazy that we were not able to see a cable's length before us, and many shoals and small islands are laid down in our charts in this part of the ocean, we brought-to with our heads to the south-west. At noon, the latitude by account, was 27° 36′, longitude 144° 25′. In the morning of the 13th, the wind shifting round to the north-west, brought with it fair weather; but though we were at this time nearly in the situation given to the island of St. Juan, we saw no appearance of land. We now bore away to the south-west, and set the top-sails, the gale still continuing with great violence. At noon the latitude, by observation, was 26° 0′, longitude 143° 40′, and variation 3° 50′ E. In the afternoon, we saw flying-fish and dolphins, also tropic birds and albatrosses. We still continued to pass much pumice-stone; indeed, the prodigious quantities of this substance which float in the sea, between Japan and the Bashee Islands, seem to indicate, that some great volcanic convulsion must have happened in this part of the Pacific Ocean; and, consequently, give some degree of probability to the opinion of Mr. Muller, which I have already had occasion to mention, respecting the separation of the continent of Jeso, and the disappearance of Company's Land and Staten Island.

At six in the afternoon we altered our course to the west-south-west, Captain Gore judging it useless to steer any longer to the south-south-west, as we were near the meridian of the Ladrones, or Marianne Islands, and at no great distance from the track of the Manilla ships. In the morning of the 14th, the weather became fine, and the wind, which was moderate, gradually shifted to the north-east, and proved to be the trade-wind. At ten, Mr. Trevenen, one of the young gentlemen who came along with me into the Discovery, saw land, appearing like a peaked mountain, and bearing south-west. At noon, the latitude, by observation, was 24° 37′, longitude 142° 2′. The land, which we now discovered to be an island, bore south-west half-west, distant eight or ten leagues, and at two in the afternoon, we saw another to the west-north-west. This second island, when seen at a distance, has the appearance of two; the south point consisting of a high conical hill, joined by a narrow neck to the northern land, which is of a moderate height. As this was evidently of greater extent than the island to the south, we altered our course toward it. At four, it bore north-west by west; but not having daylight sufficient to examine the coast, we stood upon our tacks during the night.

On the 15th at six in the morning, we bore away for the south point of the larger island, at which time we discovered another high island, bearing north three-quarters west, the south island being on the same rhomb line, and the south point of the island ahead, west by north. At nine we were abreast, and within a mile of the middle island, but Captain Gore, finding that a boat could not land without some danger from the great surf that broke on the shore, kept on his course to the westward. At noon, our latitude, by observation, was 24° 50′, longitude 140° 56′ E. This island is about five miles long, in a north-north-east and south-south-west direction. The south point is a high barren hill, flattish at the top, and when seen from the west southwest, presents an evident volcanic crater. The earth, rock, or sand, for it was not easy to distinguish of which its surface is composed, exhibited various colours, and a considerable part we conjectured to be sulphur, both from its appearance to the eye, and the strong sulphureous smell which we perceived as we approached the point. Some of the officers on board the Resolution, which passed nearer the land, thought they saw steams rising from the top of the hill. From these circumstances, Captain Gore gave it the name of *Sulphur Island.* A low, narrow, neck of land connects this hill with the south end of the island, which spreads out into a circumference of three or four leagues, and is of a moderate height. The part near the isthmus has some bushes on it, and has a green appearance; but those to the north-east are very barren, and full of large detached rocks, many of which were exceedingly white. Very dangerous breakers extend two miles and a half to the east, and two miles to the west, off the middle part of the island, on which the sea broke with great violence. The north and south islands appeared to us as single mountains, of a considerable height; the former peaked, and of a conical shape; the latter more square, and flat at the top. Sulphur Island we place in latitude 24° 48′, longitude 141° 12′.

The north island in latitude 25° 14′, longitude 141° 10′. The south island in latitude 24° 22′, and longitude 141° 20′. The variation observed was 3° 30′ E.

Captain Gore now directed his course to the west-south-west, for the Bashee Islands, hoping to procure at them such a supply of refreshments as would help to shorten his stay in Macao. These islands were visited by Dampier, who gives a very favourable account, both of the civility of the inhabitants, and of the plenty of hogs and vegetables, with which the country abounds; they were afterward seen by Byron and Wallis, who passed them without landing. In order to extend our view in the day-time, the ships spread between two and three leagues from each other, and during the night we went under an easy sail; so that it was scarcely possible to pass any land that lay in the neighbourhood of our course. In this manner we proceeded, without any occurrence worth remarking, with a fresh breeze from the north-east, till the 22d, when it increased to a strong gale, with violent squalls of wind and rain, which brought us under close-reefed top-sails.

At noon of the 23d, the latitude, by account, was 21° 5′, and longitude 123° 20′; at six in the evening, being now only twenty-one leagues from the Bashee islands, according to the situation in Mr. Dalrymple's map, and the weather squally, attended with a thick haze, we hauled our wind to the north north-west, and handed the fore top-sail. During the whole of the 24th it rained incessantly, and the wind still blew a storm; a heavy sea rolled down on us from the north, and in the afternoon we had violent flashes of lightning from the same quarter. We continued upon a wind to the north north-west till nine o'clock, when we tacked and stood to the south south-east till four in the morning of the 25th, and then wore. During the night there was an eclipse of the moon, but the rain prevented our making any observation; unfortunately, at the time of the greatest darkness, a seaman, in stowing the main top-mast stay-sail, fell overboard, but laying hold of a rope which providentially was hanging out of the fore-chains into the water, and the ship being quickly brought in the wind, he was got on board without any other hurt than a slight bruise on his shoulder. At eight, the weather clearing, we bore away, but the wind blew still so strong, that we carried no other sail than the fore-sail, and the main top-sail close reefed. About this time we saw a land bird resembling a thrush, and a sugar-cane; at noon the latitude, by observation, was 21° 35′, and longitude 121° 35′.

As our situation in longitude was now to the west of the Bashee, according to Mr. Dalrymple's maps, I perceived that Captain Gore was governed, in the course he was steering, by the opinions of Commodore Byron and Captain Wallis, with whom he sailed when they passed these islands; the former placing it near four degrees to the westward, or in longitude 118° 14′. In consequence of this opinion, at two we stood to the southward, with a view of getting into the same parallel of latitude with the islands before we ran down our longitude. At six we were nearly in that situation, and consequently ought to have been in sight of land, according to Mr. Wallis's account, who places the Bashees near three degrees more to the eastward than Mr. Byron. The gale at this time had not in the least abated; and Captain Gore, still conceiving that the islands must undoubtedly lie to the westward, brought the ships to, with their heads to the north-west, under the fore-sail and balanced mizen. At six in the morning of the 26th, the wind having considerably abated, we bore away west, set the top-sails, and let out the reefs. At noon the latitude, by observation, was 21° 12′, and longitude 120° 25′. We saw, this day, a flock of ducks and many tropic-birds, also dolphins and porpusses, and still continued to pass several pumice-stones. We spent the night upon our tacks; and at six in the morning of the 27th again bore away west in search of the Bashees.

I now began to be a little apprehensive, lest, in searching for those islands, we should get so much to the southward as to be obliged to pass to leeward of the Pratas. In this case it might have been exceedingly difficult for such bad-sailing ships as ours to fetch Macao, particularly should the wind continue to blow as it now did, from the north north-east and north. As I had some doubts whether Mr. Dalrymple's charts were on board the Resolution, I made sail and hailed her; and having acquainted Captain Gore with the position of these shoals, and my apprehensions of being driven to the southward, he informed me that he should continue on his course for the day, as he was still in hopes of finding Admiral Byron's longitude

right; and, therefore, ordered me to spread a few miles to the south. At noon the weather became hazy; the latitude, by reckoning, was 21° 2′, and longitude 118° 30′; and at six, having got to the westward of the Bashees, by Mr. Byron's account, Captain Gore hauled his wind to the north-west under an easy sail, the wind blowing very strong, and there being every appearance of a dirty boisterous night. At four in the morning of the 28th, we saw the Resolution, then half a mile ahead of us, wear, and immediately perceived breakers close under our lee. At daylight we saw the island of Prata; and at half past six we wore again, and stood toward the shoal, and finding we could not weather it, bore away and ran to leeward. As we passed the south side, within a mile of the reef, we observed two remarkable patches on the edges of the breakers that looked like wrecks. At noon, the latitude found by double altitudes was 20° 39′, longitude 116° 45′. The island bore north three quarters east, distant three or four leagues. On the south-west side of the reef, and near the south end of the island, we thought we saw from the mast-head openings in the reef, which promised safe anchorage.

The Prata shoal is of a considerable extent, being six leagues from north to south, and stretching three or four leagues to the eastward of the island; its limit to the westward we were not in a situation to determine. The north-east extremity we place in latitude 20° 58′, and longitude 117°; and the south-west in latitude 20° 45′, and longitude 116° 44′. For the remaining part of the day we carried a press of sail, and kept the wind, which was north-east by north, in order to secure our passage to Macao. It was fortunate that, toward evening, the wind favoured us by changing two points more to the east; for, had the wind and weather continued the same as during the preceding week, I doubt whether we could have fetched that port, in which case we must have borne away for Batavia; a place we all dreaded exceedingly, from the sad havoc the unhealthiness of the climate had made in the crews of the former ships that had been out on discovery, and had touched there.

In the forenoon of the 29th, we passed several Chinese fishing-boats, who eyed us with great indifference. They fish with a large dredge-net, shaped like a hollow cone, having a flat iron rim fixed to the lower part of its mouth. The net is made fast with cords to the head and stern of the boat, which being left to drive with the wind, draws the net after it, with the iron part dragging along the bottom. We were sorry to find the sea covered with the wrecks of boats that had been lost, as we conjectured, in the late boisterous weather. At noon we were in latitude, by observation, 22° 1′, having run one hundred and ten miles upon a north-west course since the preceding noon. Being now nearly in the latitude of the Lema Islands, we bore away west by north, and, after running twenty-two miles, saw one of them nine or ten leagues to the westward. At six, the extremes of the islands in sight bore north north-west half west, and west north-west half west; distant from the nearest four or five leagues; the depth of water twenty-two fathoms, over a soft muddy bottom. We now shortened sail, and kept upon our tacks for the night. By Mr. Baily's time-keeper, the Grand Lema bore from the Prata Island north 60° W. one hundred and fifty-three miles; and by our run, north 57° W. one hundred and forty-six miles.

In the morning of the 30th, we ran along the Lema Isles, which, like all the other islands on this coast, are without wood, and, as far as we could observe, without cultivation. At seven o'clock, we had precisely the same view of these islands, as is represented in a plate of Lord Anson's voyage. At nine o'clock, a Chinese boat, which had been before with the Resolution, came alongside, and wanted to put on board us a pilot, which however we declined, as it was our business to follow our consort. We soon after passed the rock marked R, in Lord Anson's plate; but, instead of hauling up to the northward of the Grand Ladrone Island, as was done in the Centurion, we proceeded to leeward. It is hardly necessary to caution the mariner not to take this course, as the danger is sufficiently obvious; for, should the wind blow strong, and the current set with it, it will be extremely difficult to fetch Macao. Indeed we might, with great safety, by the direction of Mr. Dalrymple's map, have gone either entirely to the north of the Lema Isles, or between them, and made the wind fair for Macao. Our fears of missing this port, and being forced to Batavia, added to the strong and eager desires of hearing news from Europe, made us rejoice to see the

Resolution soon after fire a gun, and hoist her colours as a signal for a pilot. On repeating the signal, we saw an excellent race between four Chinese boats; and Captain Gore having engaged with the man who arrived first, to carry the ship to the Typa for thirty dollars, sent me word, that, as we could easily follow, that expense might be saved to us. Soon after, a second pilot getting on board the Resolution, insisted on conducting the ship, and, without further ceremony, laid hold of the wheel, and began to order the sails to be trimmed. This occasioned a violent dispute, which at last was compromised, by their agreeing to go shares in the money. At noon, the latitude, by observation, was 21° 57′ N., and longitude 114° 2′ E.; the Grand Ladrone Island extending from north-west half north, to north half west, distant four miles. The land of which the bearings are here given, we conceived to be one island; but afterward found the western part to be the island marked Z in Mr. Dalrymple's chart of part of the coast of China, &c. which, at that time, we unfortunately had not on board.

In obedience to the instructions given to Captain Cook by the Board of Admiralty, it now became necessary to demand of the officers and men their journals, and what other papers they might have in their possession, relating to the history of our voyage. The execution of these orders seemed to require some delicacy, as well as firmness. I could not be ignorant, that the greatest part of our officers, and several of the seamen, had amused themselves with writing accounts of our proceedings for their own private satisfaction, or that of their friends, which they might be unwilling, in their present form, to have submitted to the inspection of strangers. On the other hand, I could not, consistently with the instructions we had received, leave in their custody papers which, either from carelessness or design, might fall into the hands of printers, and give rise to spurious and imperfect accounts of the voyage, to the discredit of our labours, and perhaps to the prejudice of officers, who, though innocent, might be suspected of having been the authors of such publications. As soon, therefore, as I had assembled the ship's company on deck, I acquainted them with the orders we had received, and the reasons which I thought ought to induce them to yield a ready obedience. At the same time, I told them, that any papers which they were desirous not to have sent to the Admiralty, should be sealed up in their presence, and kept in my own custody, till the intentions of the Board, with regard to the publication of the history of the voyage, were fulfilled; after which they should faithfully be restored back to them. It is with the greatest satisfaction I can relate, that my proposals met with the approbation and the cheerful compliance both of the officers and men; and I am persuaded, that every scrap of paper, containing any transactions relating to the voyage, were given up. Indeed it is doing bare justice to the seamen of this ship to declare, that they were the most obedient and the best-disposed men I ever knew, though almost all of them were very young, and had never before served in a ship of war.

CHAPTER IX.—WORKING UP TO MACAO.—A CHINESE COMPRADOR.—SENT ON SHORE TO VISIT THE PORTUGUESE GOVERNOR.—EFFECTS OF THE INTELLIGENCE WE RECEIVED FROM EUROPE.—ANCHOR IN THE TYPA.—PASSAGE UP TO CANTON.—BOCCA TYGRIS.—WAMPU.—DESCRIPTION OF A SAMPANE.—RECEPTION AT THE ENGLISH FACTORY.—INSTANCE OF THE SUSPICIOUS CHARACTER OF THE CHINESE.—OF THEIR MODE OF TRADING.—OF THE CITY OF CANTON.—ITS SIZE.—POPULATION.—NUMBER OF SAMPANES.—MILITARY FORCE.—OF THE STREETS AND HOUSES.—VISIT TO A CHINESE.—RETURN TO MACAO.—GREAT DEMAND FOR THE SEA-OTTER SKINS.—PLAN OF A VOYAGE FOR OPENING A FUR TRADE ON THE WESTERN COAST OF AMERICA, AND PROSECUTING FURTHER DISCOVERIES IN THE NEIGHBOURHOOD OF JAPAN.—DEPARTURE FROM MACAO.—PRICE OF PROVISIONS IN CHINA.

We kept working to windward till six in the evening, when we came to anchor, by the direction of the Chinese pilot on board the Resolution, who imagined the tide was setting against us. In this, however, he was much deceived; as we found, upon making the experiment, that it set to the northward till ten o'clock. The next morning he fell into a similar mistake; for, at five, on the appearance of slack water, he gave orders to get under

weigh; but the ignorance he had discovered having put us on our guard, we chose to be convinced, by our own observations, before we weighed; and, on trying the tide, we found a strong under-tow, which obliged us to keep fast till eleven o'clock. From these circumstances, it appears that the tide had run down twelve hours. During the afternoon, we kept standing on our tacks, between the island of Potoe and the Grand Ladrone, having passed to the eastward of the former. At nine o'clock the tide beginning to ebb, we again came to anchor in six fathoms' water; the town of Macao bearing north-west, three leagues distant, and the island of Potoe south half-west, two leagues distant. This island lies two leagues to the north north-west of the island marked Z in Mr. Dalrymple's chart, which we at first took to be part of the Grand Ladrone. It is small and rocky; and off the west end there is said to be foul ground, though we passed near it without perceiving any.

In the forenoon of the 2d, one of the Chinese contractors, who are called *Compradors*, went on board the Resolution, and sold to Captain Gore two hundred pounds' weight of beef, together with a considerable quantity of greens, oranges, and eggs. A proportionable share of these articles was sent to the Discovery; and an agreement made with the man to furnish us with a daily supply, for which, however, he insisted on being paid beforehand. Our pilot pretending he could carry the ships no farther, Captain Gore was obliged to discharge him, and we were left to our own guidance.

At two in the afternoon, the tide flowing, we weighed, and worked to windward; and at seven anchored in three and a half fathoms of water, Macao bearing west, three miles distant. This situation was, indeed, very ineligible, being exposed to the north-east, and having shoal water, not more than two fathoms and a half deep, to leeward; but as no nautical description is given in Lord Anson's voyage of the harbour in which the Centurion anchored, and Mr. Dalrymple's general map, which was the only one on board, was on too small a scale to serve for our direction, the ships were obliged to remain there all night.

In the evening, Captain Gore sent me on shore to visit the Portuguese governor, and to request his assistance in procuring refreshments for our crews, which he thought might be done on more reasonable terms than the Comprador would undertake to furnish them. At the same time I took a list of the naval stores, of which both vessels were greatly in want, with an intention of proceeding immediately to Canton, and applying to the servants of the East India Company who were at that time resident there. On my arrival at the citadel, the fort-major informed me that the governor was sick, and not able to see company; but that we might be sure of receiving every assistance in their power. This, however, I understood would be very inconsiderable, as they were entirely dependent on the Chinese, even for their daily subsistence. Indeed, the answer returned to the first request I made, gave me a sufficient proof of the fallen state of the Portuguese power; for, on my acquainting the Major with my desire of proceeding immediately to Canton, he told me, that they could not venture to furnish me with a boat, till leave was obtained from the *Hoppo*, or officer of the customs; and that the application for this purpose must be made to the Chinese government at Canton.

The mortification I felt at meeting with this unexpected delay, could only be equalled by the extreme impatience with which we had so long waited for an opportunity of receiving intelligence from Europe. It often happens, that, in the eager pursuit of an object, we overlook the easiest and most obvious means of attaining it. This was actually my case at present; for I was returning under great dejection to the ship, when the Portuguese officer who attended me asked me, if I did not mean to visit the English gentlemen at Macao. I need not add with what transport I received the information this question conveyed to me; nor the anxious hopes and fears, the conflict between curiosity and apprehension, which passed in my mind, as we walked toward the house of one of our countrymen. In this state of agitation, it was not surprising that our reception, though no way deficient in civility or kindness, should appear cold and formal. In our inquiries, as far as they related to objects of private concern, we met, as was indeed to be expected, with little or no satisfaction; but the events of a public nature which had happened since our departure, and now, for the first time, burst all at once upon us, overwhelmed every other feeling, and left us for some time

almost without the power of reflection. For several days we continued questioning each other about the truth of what we had heard, as if desirous of seeking, in doubt and suspense, for that relief and consolation which the reality of our calamities appeared totally to exclude. These sensations were succeeded by the most poignant regret at finding ourselves cut off at such a distance from the scene, where, we imagined, the fate of fleets and armies was every moment deciding.

The intelligence we had just received of the state of affairs in Europe *, made us the more exceedingly anxious to hasten our departure as much as possible; and I therefore renewed my attempt to procure a passage to Canton, but without effect. The difficulty arising from the established policy of the country, I was now told, would probably be much increased by an incident that had happened a few weeks before our arrival. Captain Panton, in the Seahorse, a ship of war of twenty-five guns, had been sent from Madras, to urge the payment of a debt owing by the Chinese merchants of Canton to private British subjects in the East Indies and Europe, which, including the principal and compound interest, amounted, I understood, to near a million sterling. For this purpose, he had orders to insist on an audience with the viceroy of Canton, which, after some delay, and not without recourse being had to threats, was at length obtained. The answer he received on the subject of his mission was fair and satisfactory; but, immediately after his departure, an edict was stuck up on the houses of the Europeans, and in the public places of the city, forbidding all foreigners, on any pretence, to lend money to the subjects of the emperor.

This measure had occasioned very serious alarms at Canton. The Chinese merchants, who had incurred the debt, contrary to the commercial laws of their own country, and denied, in part, the justice of the demand, were afraid that intelligence of this would be carried to Pekin, and that the emperor, who has the character of a just and rigid prince, might punish them with the loss of their fortunes, if not of their lives. On the other hand, the Select Committee, to whom the cause of the claimants was strongly recommended by the Presidency of Madras, were extremely apprehensive lest they should embroil themselves with the Chinese government at Canton, and by that means bring, perhaps, irreparabl emischief on the Company's affairs in China. For I was further informed, that the Mandarins were always ready to take occasion, even on the slightest grounds, to put a stop to their trading; and that it was often with great difficulty, and never without certain expense, that they could get such restraints taken off. These impositions were daily increasing; and, indeed, I found it a prevailing opinion, in all the European factories, that they should soon be reduced either to quit the commerce of that country, or to bear the same indignities to which the Dutch are subjected in Japan.

The arrival of the Resolution and Discovery at such a time, could not fail of occasioning fresh alarms; and, therefore, finding there was no probability of my proceeding to Canton, I despatched a letter to the English supercargoes, to acquaint them with the cause of our putting into the Tygris, to request their assistance in procuring me a passport, and in forwarding the stores we wanted, of which I sent them a list, as expeditiously as possible. The next morning I was accompanied on board by our countryman, who pointing out to us the situation of the Typa, we weighed at half-past six, and stood toward it; but the wind failing, we came to, at eight, in three and a half fathoms' water; Macao bearing west northwest, three miles distant; the Grand Ladrone, south-east by south. The Resolution here saluted the Portuguese fort with eleven guns, which were returned by the same number. Early on the 4th, we again weighed, and stood in to the Typa, and moored with the stream anchor and cable to the westward. The Comprador whom we at first engaged with, having disappeared with a small sum of money, which had been given him to purchase provisions, we contracted with another, who continued to supply both ships, during our whole stay. This was done secretly, and in the night-time, under pretence that it was contrary to the regulations of the port; but we suspected all this caution to have been used with a view either of enhancing the price of the articles he furnished, or of securing to himself the profits of his employment, without being obliged to share them with the Mandarins.

* The declaration of war with France in 1777, on account of the assistance she rendered to the Americans, whose independence she had acknowledged.—Ed.

On the 9th, Captain Gore received an answer from the committee of the English supercargoes at Canton, in which they assured him that their best endeavours should be used to procure the supplies we stood in need of, as expeditiously as possible; and that a passport should be sent for one of his officers, hoping, at the same time, that we were sufficiently acquainted with the character of the Chinese government, to attribute any delays that might unavoidably happen to their true cause. The day following, an English merchant, from one of our settlements in the East Indies, applied to Captain Gore for the assistance of a few hands to navigate a vessel he had purchased at Macao, up to Canton. Captain Gore, judging this a good opportunity for me to proceed to that place, gave orders that I should take along with me my second lieutenant, the lieutenant of marines, and ten seamen. Though this was not precisely the mode in which I could have wished to visit Canton, yet as it was very uncertain when the passport might arrive, and my presence might contribute materially to the expediting of our supplies, I did not hesitate to put myself on board, having left orders with Mr. Williamson to get the Discovery ready for sea as soon as possible, and to make such additions and alterations in her upper works, as might contribute to make her more defensible. That the series of our astronomical observations might suffer no interruption by my absence, I entrusted the care of continuing them to Mr. Trevenen, in whose abilities and diligence I could repose an entire confidence.

We left the harbour of Macao on the 11th of December, and sailing round the south-eastern extremity of the island, we steered to the northward, leaving, as we passed along, Lantao Lintin, and several smaller islands, to the right. All these islands, as well as that of Macao, which lie to the left, are entirely without wood; the land is high and barren, and uninhabited, except occasionally by fishermen. As we approached the Bocca Tygris, which is thirteen leagues from Macao, the Chinese coast appears to the eastward in steep white cliffs; the two forts commanding the mouth of the river are exactly in the same state as when Lord Anson was here; that on the left is a fine old castle, surrounded by a grove of trees, and has an agreeable romantic appearance. We were here visited by an officer of the customs; on which occasion the owner of the vessel, being apprehensive that, if we were discovered on board, it would occasion some alarm, and might be attended with disagreeable consequences, begged us to retire into the cabin below. The breadth of the river above these forts is variable, the banks being low and flat, and subject to be overflowed by the tide to a great extent. The ground on each side is level, and laid out in rice-fields; but, as we advanced, it rose gradually into hills of considerable declivity, the sides of which are cut into terraces, and planted with sweet potatoes, sugar-canes, yams, plantains, and the cotton-tree. We saw many lofty *pagodas*, scattered over the country, and several towns at a distance, some of which appeared to be of a considerable size.

We did not arrive at Wampû, which is only nine leagues from the Bocca Tygris, till the 18th, our progress having been retarded by contrary winds and the lightness of the vessel. Wampû is a small Chinese town, off which the ships of the different nations who trade here lie, in order to take in their lading. The river, higher up, is said by M. Sonnerat not to be deep enough to admit heavy-laden vessels, even if the policy of the Chinese had suffered the Europeans to navigate them up to Canton; but this circumstance I cannot take upon me to decide on, as no stranger, I believe, has been permitted to inform himself with certainty of the truth. The small islands that lie opposite to the town are allotted to the several factories who have built warehouses for the reception of the merchandise that is brought down from Canton.

From Wampû I immediately proceeded in a *sampane*, or Chinese boat, to Canton, which is about two leagues and a half higher up the river. These boats are the neatest and most convenient for passengers I ever saw. They are of various sizes, almost flat at the bottom, very broad upon the beam, and narrow at the head and stern, which are raised and ornamented; the middle, where we sat, was arched over with a roof of bamboo, which may be raised or lowered at pleasure; in the sides were small windows with shutters, and the apartment was furnished with handsome mats, chairs, and tables. In the stern was placed a small waxen idol, in a case of gilt leather, before which stood a pot containing lighted tapers made of dry chips or matches, and gum. The hire of this boat was a Spanish dollar.

I reached Canton a little after it was dark, and landed at the English Factory, where, though my arrival was very unexpected, I was received with every mark of attention and civility. The select committee, at this time, consisted of Mr. Fitzhugh the president, Mr. Bevan, and Mr. Rapier. They immediately gave me an account of such stores as the India ships were able to afford us; and though I have not the smallest doubt that the commanders were desirous of assisting us with everything they could spare, consistently with a regard to their own safety, and the interest of their employers, yet it was a great disappointment to me to find in their list scarcely any articles of cordage or canvas, of both which we stood principally in need. It was, however, some consolation to understand that the stores were in readiness for shipping, and that the provisions we required might be had at a day's notice. Wishing therefore to make my stay here as short as possible, I requested the gentlemen to procure junks or boats for me the next day, with an intention of leaving Canton the following one; but I was soon informed, that a business of that kind was not to be transacted so rapidly in this country; that leave must be first procured from the viceroy; that the *Hoppo*, or principal officer of the customs, must be applied to for *chops*, or permits; and that these favours were not granted without mature deliberation: in short, that patience was an indispensable virtue in China; and that they hoped to have the pleasure of making the factory agreeable to me, for a few days longer than I seemed willing to favour them with my company.

Though I was not much disposed to relish this compliment, yet I could not help being diverted with an incident that occurred very opportunely to convince me of the truth of their representations, and of the suspicious character of the Chinese. The reader will recollect that it was now about fifteen days since Captain Gore had written to the factory, to desire their assistance in procuring leave for one of his officers to pass to Canton. In consequence of this application, they had engaged one of the principal Chinese merchants of the place, to interest himself in our favour, and to solicit the business with the viceroy. This person came to visit the president whilst we were talking on the subject, and with great satisfaction and complacency in his countenance acquainted him, that he had at last succeeded in his applications, and that a passport for one of the officers of the Ladrone ship (or pirate) would be ready in a few days. The president immediately told him not to give himself any farther trouble, as the officer, pointing to me, was already arrived. It is impossible to describe the terror which seized the old man on hearing this intelligence. His head sunk upon his breast, and the sofa on which he was sitting shook from the violence of his agitation. Whether the Ladrone ship was the object of his apprehensions, or his own government, I could not discover; but after continuing in this deplorable state a few minutes, Mr. Bevan bade him not despair, and recounted to him the manner in which I had passed from Macao, the reasons of my journey to Canton, and my wishes to leave it as soon as possible. This last circumstance seemed particularly agreeable to him, and gave me hopes that I should find him equally disposed to hasten my departure; and yet, as soon as he had recovered the courage to speak, he began to recount the unavoidable delays that would occur in my business, the difficulty of gaining admittance to the viceroy, the jealousies and suspicions of the Mandarins respecting our real designs, which had risen, he said, to an extraordinary height, from the strange account we had given of ourselves.

After waiting several days with great impatience for the event of our application, without understanding that the matter was at all advanced toward a conclusion, I applied to the commander of an English country ship, who was to sail on the 25th, and who offered to take the men and stores on board, and to lie to if the weather should permit, off Macao, till we could send boats to take them out of his ship. At the same time he apprised me of the danger there might be of his being driven with them out to sea. Whilst I was doubting what measures to pursue, the commander of another country ship brought me a letter from Captain Gore, in which he acquainted me that he had engaged him to bring us down from Canton, and to deliver the stores we had procured, at his own risk, in the Typa. All our difficulties being thus removed, I had leisure to attend to the purchase of our provisions and stores, which was completed on the 26th; and the day following the whole stock was sent on board.

As Canton was likely to be the most advantageous market for furs, I was desired by

Captain Gore to carry with me about twenty sea-otter skins, chiefly the property of our deceased commanders, and to dispose of them at the best price I could procure; a commission which gave me an opportunity of becoming a little acquainted with the genius of the Chinese for trade. Having acquainted some of the English supercargoes with these circumstances, I desired them to recommend me to some Chinese merchant of credit and reputation, who would at once offer me a fair and reasonable price. I was accordingly directed to a member of the *Hong*, a society of the principal merchants of the place, who being fully informed of the nature of the business, appeared sensible of the delicacy of my situation; assured me I might depend on his integrity; and that, in a case of this sort, he should consider himself merely as an agent, without looking for any profit to himself. Having laid my goods before him, he examined them with great care over and over again, and at last he told me that he could not venture to offer more than three hundred dollars for them. As I knew from the price our skins had sold for in Kamtschatka that he had not offered me one half their value, I found myself under the necessity of driving a bargain. In my turn I therefore demanded one thousand; my Chinese then advanced to five hundred; then offered me a private present of tea and porcelain, amounting to one hundred more; then the same sum in money; and, lastly, rose to seven hundred dollars, on which I fell to nine hundred. Here, each side declaring he would not recede, we parted; but the Chinese soon returned with a list of India goods, which he now proposed I should take in exchange, and which, I was afterward told, would have amounted in value, if honestly delivered, to double the sum he had before offered. Finding I did not choose to deal in this mode, he proposed as his ultimatum, that we should divide the difference, which, being tired of the contest, I consented to, and received the eight hundred dollars.

The ill health which at this time I laboured under left me little reason to lament the very narrow limits within which the policy of the Chinese obliges every European at Canton to confine his curiosity. I should otherwise have felt exceedingly tantalized with living under the walls of so great a city, full of objects of novelty, without being able to enter it. The accounts given of this place by Pères le Comte and Du Halde are in every one's hand. The authors have lately been accused of great exaggeration by M. Sonnerat; for which reason the following observations, collected from the information with which I have been obligingly furnished by several English gentlemen, who were a long time resident at Canton, may not be unacceptable to the public.

Canton, including the old and new town, and the suburbs, is about ten miles in circuit. With respect to its population, if one may judge of the whole from what is seen in the suburbs, I should conceive it to fall considerably short of a European town of the same magnitude. Le Comte estimated the number of inhabitants at one million five hundred thousand; Du Halde, at one million; and M. Sonnerat says he has ascertained them to be no more than seventy-five thousand *: but as this gentleman has not favoured us with the grounds on which his calculation was founded, and, besides, appears as desirous of depreciating everything that relates to the Chinese as the Jesuits may be of magnifying, his opinion certainly admits of some doubt. The following circumstances may perhaps lead the reader to form a judgment with tolerable accuracy on this subject.

A Chinese house undoubtedly occupies more space than is usually taken up by houses in Europe; but the proportion suggested by M. Sonnerat, of four or five to one, certainly goes much beyond the truth. To this should be added, that a great many houses in the suburbs of Canton are occupied for commercial purposes only, by merchants and rich tradesmen, whose families live entirely within the city. On the other hand, a Chinese family appears to consist, on an average, of more persons than a European. A Mandarin, according to his rank and substance, has from five to twenty wives; a merchant, from three to five.

* "J'ai *vérifié* moi-même, avec plusieurs Chinois, la population de Canton, de la ville de Tartare, et de celle de Battaux," &c. *Voyage aux Indes, &c.*, par M. Sonnerat, tom. ii. p. 14. [It is even at the present day difficult to ascertain the amount of the population of Canton. In the Chinese Repository, vol. ii. p. 307, it is estimated at 1,236,000; while, on the other hand, Mr. Davis, who is a high authority, does not think it possible for even 1,000,000 to find room in the city, and does not consider the actual population to be more than one half the number stated in the Repository.—Ed.]

One of this class at Canton had, indeed, twenty-five wives, and thirty-six children; but this was mentioned to me as a very extraordinary instance. An opulent tradesman has usually two; and the lower class of people very rarely more than one. Their servants are at least double in number to those employed by persons of the same condition in Europe. If, then, we suppose a Chinese family one-third larger, and a European house two-thirds less, than each other, a Chinese city will contain only half the number of inhabitants contained in a European town of the same size. According to these data, the city and suburbs of Canton may probably contain about one hundred and fifty thousand.

With respect to the number of inhabited *sampanes*, I found different opinions were entertained; but none placing them lower than forty thousand *. They are moored in rows close to each other, with a narrow passage, at intervals, for the boats to pass up and down the river. As the Tygris at Canton is somewhat wider than the Thames at London, and the whole river is covered in this manner for the extent of at least a mile, this account of their number does not appear to me in the least exaggerated; and, if it be allowed, the number of inhabitants in the *sampanes* alone (for each of them contains one family) must amount to nearly three times the number supposed by M. Sonnerat to be in the whole city. The military force of the province, of which Canton is the capital, amounts to fifty thousand men. It is said that twenty thousand are stationed in and about the city; and, as a proof of this, I was assured, that, on the occasion of some disturbance that had happened at Canton, thirty thousand men were drawn together within the space of a few hours.

The streets are long, and most of them narrow and irregular; but well paved with large stones; and, for the most part, kept exceedingly clean. The houses are built of brick, one story high, having generally two or three courts backward, in which are the warehouses for merchandize, and, in the houses within the city, the apartments for the women. A very few of the meanest sort are built of wood. The houses belonging to the European factors are built on a handsome quay, with a regular façade of two stories toward the river, and disposed, within, partly after the European and partly after the Chinese manner. Adjoining to these are a number of houses, belonging to the Chinese, and hired out to the commanders of ships, and merchants, who make an occasional stay. As no European is allowed to bring his wife to Canton, the English supercargoes live together, at a common table, which is kept by the Company, and have each a separate apartment, consisting of three or four rooms. The time of their residence seldom exceeds eight months annually; and as they are pretty constantly employed during that time in the service of the Company, they may submit, with the less regret, to the restraints they are kept under. They very rarely pay any visits within the walls of Canton, except on public occasions. Indeed, nothing gave me so unfavourable an idea of the character of the Chinese, as to find, that amongst so many persons of liberal minds and amiable manners, some of whom have resided in that country for near fifteen years together, they have never formed any friendship or social connexion. As soon as the last ship quits Wampû, they are all obliged to retire to Macao; but as a proof of the excellent police of the country, they leave all the money they possess in specie behind them, which, I was told, sometimes amounted to one hundred thousand pounds sterling, and for which they had no other security than the seals of the merchants of the Hong, the viceroy, and Mandarins.

During my stay at Canton, I was carried by one of the English gentlemen to visit a person of the first consequence in the place. We were received in a long room or gallery, at the upper end of which stood a table, with a large chair behind it, and a row of chairs extending from it on each side down the room. Being previously instructed that the point of civility consisted in remaining as long unseated as possible, I readily acquitted myself of this piece of etiquette; after which we were entertained with tea, and some preserved and fresh fruits. Our host was very fat, with a heavy dull countenance, and of great gravity in his deportment. He spoke a little broken English and Portuguese; and, after we had taken our refreshment, he carried us about his house and garden; and having shown us all the improvements he was making, we took our leave.

* These are all registered, and according to an account given in the Chinese Repository, they amounted a few years ago to no less than 84,000.—Ed.

Having procured an account of the price of provisions at Canton, as settled for the year 1780, which the reader will find at the end of this chapter, I have only to observe, that the different articles are supposed to be the best of the kind; and that the natives purchase the same for nearly one-third less than the price, which in the list is fixed only for strangers.

I had hitherto intended, as well to avoid the trouble and delay of applying for passports, as to save the unnecessary expense of hiring a *sampane*, which I understood amounted at least to twelve pounds sterling, to go along with the stores to Macao, in the country merchant's ship I have before mentioned; but having received an invitation from two English gentlemen, who had obtained passports for four, I accepted, along with Mr. Phillips, their offer of places in a Chinese boat, and left Mr. Lannyon to take care of the men and stores, which were to sail the next day. In the evening of the 26th, I took my leave of the supercargoes, having thanked them for their many obliging favours; amongst which I must not forget to mention a handsome present of tea, for the use of the ships' companies, and a large collection of English periodical publications. The latter we found a valuable acquisition, as they both served to amuse our impatience, during our tedious voyage home, and enabled us to return not total strangers to what had been transacting in our native country. At one o'clock the next morning we left Canton, and arrived at Macao about the same hour the day following, having passed down a channel which lies to the westward of that by which we had come up.

During our absence, a brisk trade had been carrying on with the Chinese for the sea-otter skins, which had every day been rising in their value. One of our seamen sold his stock alone for eight hundred dollars; and a few prime skins, which were clean, and had been well preserved, were sold for one hundred and twenty each. The whole amount of the value, in specie and goods, that was got for the furs, in both ships, I am confident did not fall short of two thousand pounds sterling; and it was generally supposed that at least two-thirds of the quantity we had originally got from the Americans were spoiled and worn out, or had been given away, and otherwise disposed of, in Kamtschatka. When, in addition to these facts, it is remembered, that the furs were at first collected without our having any idea of their real value; that the greatest part had been worn by the Indians, from whom we purchased them; that they were afterward preserved with little care, and frequently used for bed-clothes, and other purposes, during our cruise to the north; and that, probably, we had never got the full value for them in China; the advantages that might be derived from a voyage to that part of the American coast, undertaken with commercial views, appear to me of a degree of importance sufficient to call for the attention of the public.

The rage with which our seamen were possessed to return to Cook's River, and, by another cargo of skins, to make their fortunes at one time, was not far short of mutiny; and I must own, I could not help indulging myself in a project, which the disappointment we had suffered, in being obliged to leave the Japanese Archipelago, and the northern coast of China, unexplored, first suggested; and, by what I conceived, that object might still be happily accomplished, through means of the East India Company, not only without expense, but even with the prospect of very considerable advantages. Though the situation of affairs at home, or perhaps greater difficulties in the execution of my scheme than I had foreseen, have hitherto prevented its being carried into effect, yet, as I find the plan in my journal, and still retain my partiality for it, I hope it will not be entirely foreign to the nature of this work if I beg leave to insert it here.

I proposed, then, that the Company's China ships should carry an additional complement of men each, making in all one hundred. Two vessels, one of two hundred and the other of one hundred and fifty tons, might, I was told, with proper notice, be readily purchased at Canton; and, as victualling is not dearer there than in Europe, I calculate that they might be completely fitted out for sea, with a year's pay and provision, for six thousand pounds, including the purchase. The expense of the necessary articles for barter is scarcely worth mentioning. I would, by all means, recommend that each ship should have five tons of unwrought iron, a forge, and an expert smith, with a journeyman and apprentice, who might be ready to forge such tools as it should appear the Indians were most desirous of.

For, though six of the finest skins purchased by us were got for a dozen large green glass beads, yet it is well known that the fancy of these people for articles of ornament is exceedingly capricious; and that iron is the only sure commodity for their market. To this might be added a few gross of large pointed case-knives, some bales of coarse woollen cloth, (linen they would not accept of from us,) and a barrel or two of copper and glass trinkets.

I have here proposed two ships, not only for the greater security of the expedition, but because I think single ships ought never to be sent out on discoveries. For where risks are to be run, and doubtful and hazardous experiments tried, it cannot be expected that single ships should venture so far, as where there is some security provided against an untoward accident. The vessels being now ready for sea, will sail with the first south-westerly monsoon, which generally sets in about the beginning of April. With this wind they will steer to the northward, along the coast of China, beginning a more accurate survey from the mouth of the river Kayana, or the Nankin River, in latitude 30°, which I believe is the utmost limit of this coast hitherto visited by European ships. As the extent of that deep gulf, called Whang Hay, or the Yellow Sea, is at present unknown, it must be left to the discretion of the commander to proceed up it as far as he may judge prudent; but he must be cautious not to entangle himself too far in it, lest he should want time for the prosecution of the remaining part of his enterprise. The same discretion must be used, when he arrives in the straits of Tessoi, with respect to the islands of Jeso, which, if the wind and weather be favourable, he will not lose the opportunity of exploring.

Having proceeded to the latitude of 51° 40′, where he will make the southernmost point of the island of Sagaleen, beyond which the sea of Okotsk is sufficiently known, he will steer to the southward, probably in the beginning of June, and endeavour to fall in with the southernmost of the Kurile Islands. Ouroop, or Nadeschda, according to the accounts of the Russians, will furnish the ships with a good harbour, where they may wood and water, and take in such other refreshments as the place may afford. Toward the end of June, they will shape their course for the Shummagins, and from thence to Cook's River, purchasing, as they proceed, as many skins as they are able, without losing too much time, since they ought to steer again to the southward, and trace the coast with great accuracy from the latitude of 56° to 50°, the space from which we were driven out of sight of land by contrary winds. It should here be remarked, that I consider the purchase of skins, in this expedition, merely as a secondary object for defraying the expense; and it cannot be doubted, from our experience in the present voyage, that two hundred and fifty skins, worth one hundred dollars each, may be procured without any loss of time; especially as it is probable they will be met with along the coast to the southward of Cook's River. Having spent three months on the coast of America, they will set out on their return to China early in the month of October, avoiding in their route, as much as possible, the tracks of former navigators. I have now only to add, that if the fur trade should become a fixed object of Indian commerce, frequent opportunities will occur of completing whatever may be left unfinished, in the voyage of which I have here ventured to delineate the outlines.

The barter which had been carrying on with the Chinese for our sea-otter skins had produced a very whimsical change in the dress of all our crew. On our arrival in the Typa nothing could exceed the ragged appearance both of the younger officers and seamen; for, as our voyage had already exceeded, by near a twelvemonth, the time it was at first imagined we should remain at sea, almost the whole of our original stock of European clothes had been long worn out, or patched up with skins, and the various manufactures we had met with in the course of our discoveries. These were now again mixed and eked out with the gaudiest silks and cottons of China. On the 30th, Mr. Lannyon arrived with the stores and provisions, which were immediately stowed in due proportion on board the two ships. The next day, agreeably to a bargain made by Captain Gore, I sent our sheet-anchor to the country ship, and received in return the guns which she before rode by.

Whilst we lay in the Typa, I was shown a garden belonging to an English gentleman at Macao, the rock under which, as the tradition there goes, the poet Camoens used to sit and compose his Lusiad. It is a lofty arch, of one solid stone, and forms the entrance of a grotto dug out of the rising ground behind it. The rock is overshaded by large spreading

trees, and commands an extensive and magnificent view of the sea, and the interspersed islands.

On the 11th of January, two seamen, belonging to the Resolution, found means to run off with a six-oared cutter, and notwithstanding diligent search was made, both that and the following day, we were never able to learn any tidings of her. It was supposed that these people had been seduced by the prevailing notion of making a fortune, by returning to the fur islands. As we heard nothing, during our stay in the Typa, of the measurement of the ships, it may be concluded, that the point so strongly contested by the Chinese, in Lord Anson's time, has, in consequence of his firmness and resolution, never since been insisted on.*

The following nautical observations were made while we lay here:—

Harbour of Macao	Lat.	22°	12′	0″	N.
	Long.	113	47	0	E.
Anchoring-place in the Typa	Lat.	22	9	20	N.
	Long.	113	48	34	E.
Mean dip of the north pole of the magnetic needle		21	1	0	
Variation of the compass		0	19	0	W.

On the full and change days it was high water in the Typa at $5^h\ 15^m$, and in Macao harbour at $5^h\ 50^m$. The greatest rise was six feet one inch. The flood appeared to come from the south-eastward; but we could not determine this point with certainty, on account of the great number of islands which lie off the mouth of the river of Canton.

PRICE OF PROVISIONS AT CANTON, 1780.

	£	s.	d.	
Ananas	0	4	0	a score.
Arrack	0	0	8	per bottle.
Butter	0	2	4 4/5	per catty†.
Beef, Canton	0	0	2 2/5	
Ditto, Macao	0	0	5 1/5	
Birds'-nests	3	6	8	
Biscuit	0	0	4	
Beache de Mar	0	2	0 4/5	
Calf	1	6	9 3/5	each.
Caravances, dried	0	0	2 2/5	per catty.
Cabbage, Nankeen	0	0	4 4/5	
Curry stuff	0	1	4	
Coffee	0	1	4	
Cocoa-nuts	0	0	4	each.
Charcoal	0	3	4	per pecul.
Coxice	0	1	4	per catty.
Canton nuts	0	0	4	
Chestnuts	0	0	2 3/5	
Cockles	0	0	3 1/5	
Ducks	0	0	5 1/5	
Ditto, wild	0	1	0 4/5	each.
Deers' sinews	0	2	1 3/5	per catty.
Eels	0	0	6 4/5	
Eggs	0	2	0	per hundred.
Fish, common	0	0	3 1/5	per catty.
Ditto, best	0	0	6 2/5	
Ditto salted, Nankeen	0	0	9 3/5	
Fruit	0	0	1 3/5	
Ditto, Nankeen	0	2	0	
Frogs	0	0	6 3/5	
Flour	0	0	1 16/100	
Fowls, capons, &c.	0	0	7 1/5	
Fish maws	0	2	1 1/5	
Geese	0	0	6 2/5	

	£	s.	d.	
Greens	0	0	1 3/4	
Grass	0	0	2 2/5	per bundle.
Grapes	0	1	0 4/5	per catty.
Ham	0	1	2 2/5	
Hartshorn	0	1	4	
Hogs' Lard	0	0	7 3/5	
Hog, alive	0	0	4 2/5	
Kid, alive	0	0	4 3/4	
Limes	0	0	0 4/5	
Litchis, dried	0	0	2 2/5	
Locksoy	0	0	6 2/5	
Lobchocks	0	0	5 3/5	per catty.
Lamp oil	0	0	5 3/5	
Lamp wick	0	0	8	
Melons	0	0	4 4/5	each.
Milk	0	0	1 1/4	per catty.
Ditto, Macao	0	0	3 1/5	
Mustard seed	0	0	6 2/5	
Mushrooms, pickled	0	2	8	
Ditto, fresh	0	1	4	
Oysters	0	3	4	per pecul.
Onions, dried	0	0	2 3/5	per catty.
Pork	0	0	7 1/5	
Pig	0	0	5 3/5	
Paddy	0	0	0 4/5	
Pepper	0	1	0 1/4	
Pheasants	0	5	4	each.
Partridges	0	0	9 3/5	
Pigeons	0	0	5 1/5	
Pomegranates	0	0	2 2/5	
Quails	0	0	1 3/5	
Rabbits	0	1	4	
Rice	0	0	2	per catty.
Ditto, red	0	0	2 2/5	

* The Chinese made many attempts to compel Lord Anson to pay duty for his ships, as if they had been merchant vessels. The firmness of his conduct on that occasion seems to have established a salutary precedent. —Ed.

† A catty is 18 oz.— a pecul 100 catty.

	£	s.	d.	
Ditto coarse	0	0	$1\frac{1}{5}$	
Ditto, Japan	0	0	8	
Raisins	0	2	0	
Sheep	3	6	8	each.
Snipes	0	0	$1\frac{1}{5}$	per catty.
Sturgeon	0	4	$9\frac{4}{5}$	
Ditto, small	0	2	$4\frac{4}{5}$	
Sugar	0	0	$3\frac{1}{5}$	
Salt	0	0	$1\frac{3}{5}$	
Saltpetre	0	2	$1\frac{3}{5}$	
Soy	0	0	$1\frac{3}{5}$	
Spices	0	16	8	
Sweetmeats	0	0	$6\frac{2}{5}$	per catty.
Sago	0	0	$3\frac{1}{5}$	
Salad	0	0	$2\frac{1}{5}$	
Sharks' fins	0	2	$1\frac{3}{5}$	
Samsui soy	0	0	$2\frac{2}{5}$	
Teal	0	0	$6\frac{2}{5}$	each.
Turtle	0	0	$9\frac{3}{5}$	per catty.
Tea	0	2	0	
Turmeric	0	0	$2\frac{2}{5}$	
Tamarinds	0	0	8	
Vinegar	0	0	$1\frac{3}{5}$	
Vermicelli	0	0	$3\frac{1}{5}$	

	£	s.	d.	
Wax candles	0	3	0	
Walnuts	0	0	$4\frac{4}{5}$	
Wood	0	1	4	per pecul.
Water	0	6	8	per 100 B^{s}.
Rent of Poho Factory	400	0	0	per annum.
—— of Lunsoon	316	13	4	
Servants' rice	0	8	0	per month.
Ditto, wages	0	19	$2\frac{2}{5}$	per month for resiants.

	Doll.	
Servants' wages for the season	20	
Stewards' wages	80	per annum.
Butlers' ditto	80	

PRICES OF LABOUR.

	£	s.	d.	
A coolee, or porter	0	0	8	per day.
A tailor	0	0	5	and rice.
A handicraftsman	0	0	8	
A common labourer, from	0	0	3*d.* to 5*d.*	

A woman's labour considerably cheaper.

CHAPTER X.—LEAVE THE TYPA.—ORDERS OF THE COURT OF FRANCE RESPECTING CAPTAIN COOK.—RESOLUTIONS IN CONSEQUENCE THEREOF.—STRIKE SOUNDINGS ON THE MACCLESFIELD BANKS.—PASS PULO SAPATA.—STEER FOR PULO CONDORE.—ANCHOR AT PULO CONDORE.—TRANSACTIONS DURING OUR STAY.—JOURNEY TO THE PRINCIPAL TOWN.—RECEIVE A VISIT FROM A MANDARIN.—EXAMINE HIS LETTERS.—REFRESHMENTS TO BE PROCURED.—DESCRIPTION AND PRESENT STATE OF THE ISLAND.—ITS PRODUCE.—AN ASSERTION OF M. SONNERAT REFUTED.—ASTRONOMICAL AND NAUTICAL OBSERVATIONS.

ON the 12th of January, 1780, at noon we unmoored, and scaled the guns, which on board my ship now amounted to ten; so that, by means of four additional ports, we could, if occasion required, fight seven on a side. In like manner, the Resolution had increased the number of her guns from twelve to sixteen; and in both ships, a stout barricade was carried round their upper works, and every other precaution taken to give our small force as respectable an appearance as possible.

We thought it our duty to provide ourselves with these means of defence, though we had some reason to believe that the generosity of our enemies had, in a great measure, rendered them superfluous. We were informed at Canton, that the public prints, which had arrived last from England, made mention of instructions having been found on board all the French ships of war, captured in Europe, directing their commanders, in case of falling in with the ships that sailed under the command of Captain Cook, to suffer them to proceed on their voyage without molestation. The same orders were also said to have been given by the American Congress to the vessels employed in their service. As this intelligence was farther confirmed by private letters of several of the supercargoes, Captain Gore thought himself bound, in return for the liberal exceptions made in our favour, to refrain from availing himself of any opportunities of capture which these might afford, and to preserve, throughout his voyage, the strictest neutrality.

At two in the afternoon, having got under sail, the Resolution saluted the fort of Macao with eleven guns, which was returned with the same number. At five, the wind dropping, the ship missed stays, and drove into shallow water; but, by carrying out an anchor, she was hauled off without receiving the smallest damage. The weather continuing calm, we were obliged to warp out into the entrance of the Typa, which we gained by eight o'clock, and lay there till nine the next morning; when, by the help of a fresh breeze from the east, we stood to the southward between Potoe and Wungboo. At noon we were saluted by a

Swedish ship as she passed us on her way to Europe. At four, the Ladrone bore east, distant two leagues. We now steered south half-east, with a fresh breeze from the east north-east, without any occurrence worth remarking, till noon of the 15th; when, being in latitude 18° 57′, and longitude 114° 13′, the wind veering to the north, we directed our course half a point more to the eastward, in order to strike soundings over the Macclesfield Bank. This we effected at eight in the evening of the 16th, and found the depth of water to be fifty fathoms over a bottom of white sand and shells. This part of the Macclesfield shoals we placed in latitude 15° 51′, and longitude 114° 20′; which agrees very exactly with the position given in Mr. Dalrymple's map, whose general accuracy, if it stood in need of any support, was confirmed, in this instance, by a great number of lunar observations, which we had an opportunity of making every day since we left the Typa. The variation was found to be, in the forenoon, 0° 39′ W.

On the 17th, we had heavy gales from the east by north, with a rough tumbling sea, and the weather overcast and boisterous. On the 18th, the wind still continuing to blow strong, and the sea to run high, we altered our course to south-west by south; and, at noon, being in latitude 12° 34′, longitude 132°, we began to steer a point more to the westward for Pulo Sapata, which we saw on the 19th, at four in the afternoon, bearing north-west by west, about four leagues distant. This small, high, barren island is called *Sapata*, from its resemblance of a shoe. Our observations, compared with Mr. Bayly's time keeper, place it in latitude 10° 4′ N. longitude 109° 10′ E. The gale had, at this time, increased with such violence, and the sea ran so high, as to oblige us to close-reef the top-sails. During the last three days, the ships had outrun their reckoning at the rate of twenty miles a-day; and as we could not attribute the whole of this to the effects of a following sea, we imputed it in part to a current, which, according to my own calculations, had set forty-two miles to the south south-west, between the noon of the 19th and the noon of the 20th, and is taken into the account in determining the situation of the island.

After passing Sapata, we steered to the westward; and at midnight sounded, and had ground with fifty fathoms of line, over a fine sandy bottom. In the morning of the 20th, the wind becoming more moderate, we let out the reefs, and steered west by south for Pulo Condore. At noon the latitude was 8° 46′ N., longitude 106° 45′ E.; and, at half-past twelve, we got sight of the island, bearing west. At four, the extremes of Pulo Condore, and the islands that lie off it, bore south-east and south-west by west; our distance from the nearest islands being two miles. We kept to the north of the islands, and stood for the harbour on the south-west end of Condore, which having its entrance from the north-west, is the best sheltered during the north-east monsoon. At six we anchored, with the best bower, in six fathoms, veered away two-thirds of the cable, and kept the ship steady with a stream anchor and cable to the south-east. When moored, the extremes of the entrance of the harbour bore north by west, and west north-west, one quarter west; the opening at the upper end, south-east by east, three quarters east; our distance from the nearest shore, a quarter of a mile.

As soon as we were come to anchor, Captain Gore fired a gun, with a view of apprising the natives of our arrival, and drawing them toward the shore, but without effect. Early in the morning of the 21st, parties were sent to cut wood, which was Captain Gore's principal motive for coming hither. In the afternoon, a sudden gust of wind broke the stream-cable, by which the Discovery was riding, and obliged us to moor with the bower anchors. None of the natives having yet made their appearance, notwithstanding a second gun had been fired, Captain Gore thought it advisable to land and go in search of them, that no time might be lost in opening a trade for such provisions as the place could afford. With this view he appointed me to accompany him in the morning of the 22d; and, as the wind at this time blew strong from the east, we did not think it prudent to coast in our boats to the town, which is situated in the east side of the island, but rowed round the north point of the harbour. We had proceeded about two miles along the shore, when observing a road that led into a wood, we landed. Here I quitted Captain Gore, taking with me a mid-shipman and four armed sailors, and pursued the path which seemed to point directly across the island. We proceeded through a thick wood up a steep hill to the distance of a mile,

when, after descending through a wood of the same extent, on the other side, we came out into a flat, open, sandy country, interspersed with cultivated spots of rice and tobacco, and groves of cabbage palm-trees, and cocoa-nut trees. We here spied two huts situated on the edge of the wood, to which we directed our course; and before we came up to them, were descried by two men, who immediately ran away from us, notwithstanding all the peaceable and supplicating gestures we could devise.

On reaching the huts, I ordered the party to stay without, lest the sight of so many armed men should terrify the inhabitants, whilst I entered and reconnoitred alone. I found in one of the huts an elderly man who was in a great fright, and preparing to make off with the most valuable of his effects that he could carry. However, I was fortunate enough, in a very little time, so entirely to dispel his fears, that he came out and called to the two men who were running away to return. The old man and I now soon came to a perfect understanding. A few signs, particularly that most significant one of holding out a handful of dollars, and then pointing to a herd of buffaloes, and the fowls that were running about the huts in great numbers, left him without any doubts as to the real objects of our visit. He pointed toward a place where the town stood, and made us comprehend that, by going thither, all our wants would be supplied. By this time the young men who had fled were returned, and the old man ordered one of them to conduct us to the town as soon as an obstacle should be removed, of which we were not aware. On our first coming out of the wood, a herd of buffaloes, to the number of twenty at least, came running toward us, tossing up their heads, snuffing the air, and roaring in a hideous manner. They had followed us to the huts, and stood drawn up in a body at a little distance: and the old man made us understand that it would be exceedingly dangerous for us to move till they were driven into the woods; but so enraged were the animals grown at the sight of us, that this was not effected without a good deal of time and difficulty. The men not being able to accomplish it, we were surprised to see them call to their assistance a few little boys, who soon drove them out of sight. Afterward we had occasion to observe, that in driving these animals and securing them, which is done by putting a rope through a hole which is made in their nostrils, little boys were always employed, who could stroke and handle them with impunity at times when the men durst not approach them. Having got rid of the buffaloes, we were conducted to the town, which was at a mile's distance, the road to it lying through a deep white sand. It is situated near the sea-side, at the bottom of a retired bay, which must afford a safe roadstead during the prevalence of the south-west monsoons.

This town consists of between twenty and thirty houses, built close together; besides six or seven others that are scattered about the beach. The roof, the two ends, and the side fronting the country, are neatly constructed of reeds; the opposite side, facing the sea, is entirely open; but, by means of a sort of bamboo screens, they can exclude or let in as much of the sun and air as they please. We observed likewise other large screens or partitions for the purpose of dividing, as occasion required, the single room of which the house, properly speaking, consists, into separate apartments. We were conducted to the largest house in the town belonging to their chief, or, as they called him, their captain. This house had a room at each end, separated by a partition of reeds from the middle space, which was open on both sides, and provided with partition-screens like the others. It had, besides, a penthouse projecting four or five feet beyond the roof, and running the whole length on each side. At each end of the middle room were hung some Chinese paintings, representing men and women in ludicrous attitudes. In this apartment we were civilly desired to seat ourselves on mats, and betel was presented to us.

By means of my money, and pointing at different objects in sight, I had no difficulty in making a man, who seemed to be the principal person of the company, comprehend the main business of our errand; and I as readily understood from him that the chief or captain was absent, but would soon return, and that, without his consent, no purchases of any kind could be made, we availed ourselves of the opportunity which this circumstance afforded us to walk about the town; and did not forget to search, though in vain, for the remains of a fort, which had been built by our countrymen near the spot we were now upon in

1702*. On returning to the captain's house, we were sorry to find that he was not yet arrived, and the more so, as the time was almost elapsed which Captain Gore had fixed for our return to the boat. The natives were desirous we should lengthen our stay; they even proposed our passing the night there, and offered to accommodate us in the best manner in their power. I had observed when we were in the house before, and now remarked it the more, that the man I have mentioned above, frequently retired into one of the end rooms, and staid there some little time before he answered the questions that were put to him; which led me to suspect that the Captain was all the time there, though, for reasons best known to himself, he did not choose to appear; and I was confirmed in this opinion by being stopped as I was attempting to go into the room. At length, it clearly appeared that my suspicions were well founded; for, on our preparing to depart, the person who had so often passed in and out came from the room with a paper in his hand, and gave it to me to read; and I was not a little surprised to find it a sort of certificate in French as follows:

Pierre Joseph George, Evêque d'Adran, Vicaire Apost. de Cochin Chine, &c. &c.

Le petit Mandarin, porteur de cet écrit, est véritablement envoyé de la cour à Pulo Condore, pour y attendre et recevoir tout vaisseau européen qui auroit sa destination d'approcher ici. Le capitaine, en conséquence, pourroit se fier ou pour conduire le vaisseau au port, ou pour faire passer les nouvelles qu'il pourroit croire nécessaire.

PIERRE JOSEPH GEORGE, Evêque d'Adran.

A Sai-Gon, 10 d'Août, 1779.

We returned the paper, with many protestations of our being the Mandarin's good friends; begging he might be informed that we hoped he would do us the favour to visit the ships, that we might convince him of it. We now took our leave, well satisfied, on the whole, with what had passed, but full of conjectures about this extraordinary French paper. Three of the natives offered their services to accompany us back, which we readily accepted, and returned by the way we came. Captain Gore felt peculiar satisfaction at seeing us; for, as we had exceeded our time near an hour, he began to be alarmed for our safety, and was preparing to march after us. He and his party had, during our absence, been profitably employed in loading the boat with the cabbage-palm, which abounds in this bay. Our guides were made exceedingly happy, on our presenting them with a dollar each for their trouble, and intrusting to their care a bottle of rum for the Mandarin. One of them chose to accompany us on board.

At two in the afternoon we joined the ships, and several of our shooting-parties returned about the same time from the woods, having had little success, though they saw a great variety of birds and animals, some of which will be hereafter noticed. At five a *proa* with six men rowed up to the ship, from the upper end of the harbour, and a decent-looking personage introduced himself to Captain Gore with an ease and good breeding which convinced us his time had been spent in other company than what this island afforded. He brought with him the French paper above transcribed, and said he was the Mandarin mentioned in it. He spoke a few Portuguese words, but as none of us were acquainted with this language, we were obliged to have recourse to a black man on board, who could speak the Malay, which is the general language of these islanders, and was understood by the Mandarin. After a little previous conversation, he declared to us that he was a Christian, and had been baptised by the name of Luco; that he had been sent hither in August last, from Sai-gon, the capital of Cochin-China, and had since waited in expectation of some French ships, which he was to pilot to a safe port, not more than a day's sail hence, upon

* The English settled here in the year 1702, when the factory of Chiccan, on the coast of China, was broken up, and brought with them some Macassar soldiers, who were hired to assist in building a fort; but the president not fulfilling his engagement with them, they watched an opportunity, and one night murdered all the English in the fort. Those without the fort hearing a noise, took the alarm and ran to their boats, very narrowly escaping with their lives, but not without much fatigue, hunger, and thirst, to the Johore dominions, where they were treated with great humanity. Some of these afterward went to form a settlement at Benjar-Masseau, on the island of Borneo.—East India Directory, p. 86.

the coast of Cochin China. We acquainted him, that we were not French, but English, and asked him whether he did not know that these two nations were now at war with one another? He made answer in the affirmative; but, at the same time, signified to us, that it was indifferent to him to what nation the ships he was instructed to wait for belonged, provided their object was to trade with the people of Cochin China. He here produced another paper which he desired us to read. This was a letter sealed and directed, "To the captains of any European vessels that may touch at Condore." Although we apprehended that this letter was designed for French ships in particular, yet as the direction included all European captains, and as Luco was desirous of our perusing it, we broke the seal, and found it to be written by the bishop who wrote the certificate. Its contents were as follows: "That having reason to expect, by some late intelligence from Europe, that a vessel would soon come to Cochin China, he had, in consequence of this news, got the court to send a Mandarin (the bearer) to Pulo Condore, to wait its arrival; that if the vessel should put in there, the commander might either send by the bearer an account to him of his arrival, or trust himself to the Mandarin, who would pilot him into a well-sheltered port in Cochin-China, not more than a day's sail from Condore; that should he choose to remain in Condore till the return of the messenger, proper interpreters would be sent back, and any other assistance which a letter should point out be furnished; that it was unnecessary to be more particular, of which the Captain himself must be sensible." This letter had the same date as the certificate, and was returned to Luco again, without any copy being taken.

From this letter, and the whole of Luco's conversation, there remained little doubt that it was a French ship he was to expect. At the same time, we found he would be glad not to lose his errand, and had no objection to become our pilot. We could not discover, from the Mandarin, the exact object and business which the vessel he was waiting for intended to prosecute in Cochin China. It is true that our interpreter, the black, was extremely dull and stupid; and I should, therefore, be sorry, with such imperfect means of information, to run the risk of misleading the reader by any conjectures of my own respecting the object of Luco's visit to this island. I shall only add, that he told us the French ships might perhaps have put into Tirnon, and from thence sail to Cochin China; and as he had received no intelligence of them, he thought this most likely to have been the case. Captain Gore's inquiries were next directed to find out what supplies could be obtained from the island. Luco said, that he had two buffaloes of his own, which were at our service; and that there were plenty on the island, which might be purchased for four or five dollars a head; but finding that Captain Gore thought that sum exceedingly moderate, and would willingly give for them a much greater, the price was afterwards raised upon us to seven and eight dollars.

Early in the morning of the 23d, the launches of both ships were sent to the town to fetch the buffaloes which we had given orders to be purchased; but they were obliged to wait till it was high-water, as they could at no other time get through the opening at the head of the harbour. On their arrival at the village, they found the surf breaking on the beach with such force, that it was with the utmost difficulty each launch brought a buffalo on board in the evening, and the officers who were sent on this service gave it as their opinion, that between the violence of the surf and the fierceness of the buffaloes, it would be extremely imprudent to attempt bringing any more off in this way. We had purchased eight, and were now at a loss in what manner to proceed to get them on board. We could kill no more than was just necessary for the consumption of one day, as in this climate meat will not keep till the next. After consulting with Luco, it was concluded, that the remainder should be driven through the wood and over the hill down to the bay, where Captain Gore and I had landed the day before, which being sheltered from the wind, was more free from surf. This plan was accordingly put in execution, but the untractableness and prodigious strength of the buffaloes rendered it a tedious and difficult operation. The method of conducting them was, by passing ropes through their nostrils, and round their horns; but having been once enraged at the sight of our men, they became so furious, that they sometimes broke the trees, to which we were often under the necessity of tying them; sometimes they tore asunder the cartilage of the nostril, through which the ropes ran, and got loose.

On these occasions, all the exertions of our men to recover them would have been ineffectual, without the assistance of some young boys, whom these animals would permit to approach them, and by whose little managements their rage was soon appeased. And when at length they were got down to the beach, it was by their aid, in twisting ropes round their legs in the manner they were directed, that we were enabled to throw them down, and by that means to get them into the boats. A circumstance respecting these animals, which I thought no less singular than this gentleness toward, and, as it should seem, affection for little children, was, that they had not been twenty-four hours on board, before they became the tamest of all creatures. I kept two of them, a male and female, for a considerable time, which became great favourites with the sailors; and thinking that a breed of animals of such strength and size, some of them weighing, when dressed, seven hundred pounds weight, would be a valuable acquisition, I was inclined to have brought them with me to England; but my intention was frustrated by an incurable hurt that one of them received at sea.

It was not till the 28th, that the buffaloes were all got on board; however, there was no reason to regret the time taken up by this service, since, in the interim, two wells of excellent water had been discovered, of which, as also of wood, part of the ship's companies had been employed in laying in a good supply; so that a shorter stop would be necessary for replenishing our stock of these articles in the Strait of Sunda. A party had likewise been occupied in drawing the seine at the head of the harbour, where they took a great many good fish; and another party in cutting down the cabbage-palm, which was boiled, and served out with the meat. Besides this, having been able to procure only a scanty supply of cordage at Macao, the repairing of our rigging was become an object of constant attention, and demanded all our spare time.

Pulo Condore is high and mountainous, and surrounded by several smaller islands, some of which are less than one, and others two miles distant. It takes its name from two Malay words, *Pulo*, signifying an island, and *Condore*, a calabash, of which it produces great quantities. It is of the form of a crescent, extending near eight miles from the southernmost point, in a north-east direction; but its breadth nowhere exceeds two miles. From the westernmost extremity, the land trends to the south-east for about four miles; and opposite to this part of the coast there is an island, called by Monsieur D'Après * Little Condore, which runs two miles in the same direction. This position of the two islands affords a safe and commodious harbour, the entrance into which is from the north-west. The distance between the two opposite coasts is three-quarters of a mile, exclusive of a border of coral rock, which runs down along each side, extending about one hundred yards from the shore. The anchorage is very good, from eleven to five fathoms' water; but the bottom is so soft and clayey, that we found great difficulty in weighing our anchors. Toward the bottom of the harbour there is shallow water for about half a mile, beyond which the two islands approach so near each other, as to leave only a passage at high-water for boats. The most convenient place for watering is at a beach on the eastern side, where there is a small stream which furnished us with fourteen or fifteen tons of water a-day.

This island, both with respect to animal and vegetable productions, is considerably improved since the time when Dampier visited it. Neither that writer, nor the compiler of the East India Directory, makes mention of any other quadrupeds than hogs, which are said to be very scarce, lizards, and the guanoes; and the latter, on the authority of Monsieur Dedier, a French engineer, who surveyed the island about the year 1720, says, that none of the fruits and esculent plants, so common in the other parts of India, are to be found here, except water-melons, a few potatoes, small gourds, *chibbols* (a small species of onion), and little black beans. At present, besides the buffaloes, of which we understood there were several large herds, we purchased from the natives some remarkably fine fat hogs, of the Chinese breed. They brought us three or four of a wild sort; and our sportsmen reported, that they frequently met with their tracks in the woods, which also abound with monkeys and squirrels, but so shy, that it was difficult to shoot them. One species of the squirrel was of a beautiful shining black colour, and another species striped brown and white. This

* Neptune Oriental.

is called the flying-squirrel, from being provided with a thin membrane, resembling a bat's wing, extending on each side the belly, from the neck to the thighs, which, on stretching out their legs, spreads, and enables them to fly from tree to tree, at a considerable distance. Lizards were in great abundance; but I do not know that any of us saw the guano, and another animal, described by Dampier * as resembling the guano, only much larger. Amongst its vegetable improvements, I have already mentioned the fields of rice we passed through; and plantains, various kinds of pompions, cocoa-nuts, oranges, shaddocks, and pomegranates, were also met with; though, except the plantains and shaddocks, in no great abundance. It is probable, from what has been already said relative to the bishop of Adran, that the French have introduced these improvements into the island, for the purpose of making it a more convenient refreshing-station for any of their ships that may be bound for Cambodia, or Cochin China. Should they have made, or intend to make, any settlement in those countries, it is certainly well situated for that purpose, or for annoying the trade of their enemies, in case of war.

Our sportsmen were very unsuccessful in their pursuit of the feathered game, with which the woods are well stocked. One of our gentlemen had the good fortune to shoot a wild hen: and all the shooting parties agreed that they heard the crowing of the cocks on every side, which they described to be like that of our common cock, but shriller; that they saw several of them on the wing, but that they were exceedingly shy. The hen that was shot was of a speckled colour, and of the same shape, though not quite so large, as a full-grown pullet of this country. Monsieur Sonnerat has entered into a long dissertation, to prove that he was the first person who determined the country to which this most beautiful and useful bird belongs, and denies that Dampier met with it here.

The land in the neighbourhood of the harbour is a continued high hill, richly adorned with a variety of fine tall trees, from the summit to the water's edge. Among others, we observed what Dampier calls the tar-tree †; but observed none that were tapped in the manner he describes. The inhabitants, who are fugitives from Cambodia and Cochin China, are not numerous. They are of a short stature, and very swarthy, and of a weak and unhealthy aspect; but, as far as we could judge, of a gentle disposition.

We remained here till the 28th of January; and, at taking leave of the *Mandarin*, Captain Gore, at his own request, gave him a letter of recommendation to the commanders of any other ships that might put in here; to which he added a handsome present. He likewise gave him a letter for the bishop of Adran, together with a telescope, which he begged might be presented to him as a compliment for the services he had received through his means at Condore.

The harbour at Pulo Condore is in latitude	8°	40′	00″	N.
Longitude, deduced from a great number of lunar observations	106	18	46	E.
Dip of the north pole of the magnetic needle	2	1	0	
Variation of the compass	0	14	0	W.

High water at the full and change of the moon, $4^h\ 16^m$ apparent time.

From this time the water continued for twelve hours without any visible alteration, viz.: till $16^h\ 15^m$ apparent time, when it began to ebb; and at $22^h\ 15^m$ apparent time, it was low water. The change from ebbing to flowing was very quick, or in less than 5^m. The water rose and fell seven feet four inches perpendicular; and every day the same whilst we continued there.

* Vide Dampier, vol. i. p. 392.

† Dampier, vol. i., p. 390.

IMAGE EVALUATION
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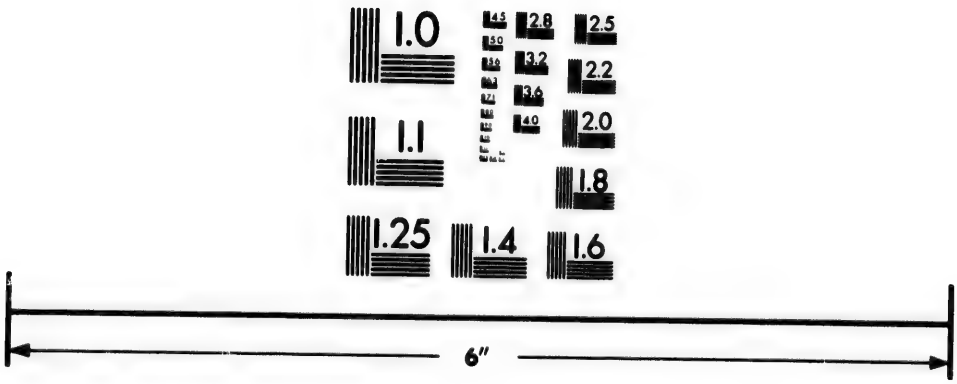

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CHAPTER XI.—DEPARTURE FROM PULO CONDORE.—PASS THE STRAITS OF BANCA.—VIEW OF THE ISLAND OF SUMATRA.—STRAITS OF SUNDA.—OCCURRENCES THERE.—DESCRIPTION OF THE ISLAND OF CRACATOA.—PRINCE'S ISLAND.—EFFECTS OF THE CLIMATE OF JAVA.—RUN TO THE CAPE OF GOOD HOPE.—TRANSACTIONS THERE.—DESCRIPTION OF FALSE BAY.—PASSAGE TO THE ORKNEYS.—GENERAL REFLECTIONS.

On the 28th day of January, 1780, we unmoored; and, as soon as we were clear of the harbour, steered south south-west for Pulo Timoan. On the 30th, at noon, the latitude, by observation, being 5° 0′ N., and longitude 104° 45′ E., we altered our course to south three quarters west, having a moderate breeze from the north-east, accompanied by fair weather. At two in the morning of the 31st, we had soundings of forty-five fathoms, over a bottom of fine white sand; at which time our latitude was 4° 4′ N., longitude 104° 29′ E., and the variation of the compass 0° 31′ E. At one in the afternoon, we saw Pulo Timoan; and, at three, it bore south south-west, three quarters west, distant ten miles. This island is high and woody, and has several small ones lying off to the westward. At five, Pulo Puisang was seen bearing south by east three quarters east; and, at nine, the weather being thick and hazy, and having outrun our reckoning from the effect of some current, we were close upon Pulo Aor, in latitude 2° 46′ N., longitude 104° 37′ E., before we were well aware of it, which obliged us to haul the wind to the east south-east. We kept this course till midnight, and then bore away south south-east for the Straits of Banca.

On the 1st of February, at noon, our latitude, by observation, was 1° 20′ N., and the longitude, deduced from a great number of lunar observations taken in the course of the preceding twelve hours, 105° E. At the same time, the longitude, by Mr. Bayly's time-keeper, corrected, was 105° 15′ E. We now steered south by east; and, at sunset, having fine clear weather, saw Pulo Panjang; the body of the island bearing west north-west, and the small islands, lying on the south-east of it, west half south, seven leagues distant. Our latitude, at this time, was 0° 53′ N. On the 2d, at eight in the morning, we tried for soundings, continued to do the same every hour, till we had passed the straits of Sunda, and found the bottom with twenty-three fathoms of line. At noon, being in latitude, by observation, 0° 22′ S., longitude 105° 14′ E., and our soundings twenty fathoms, we came in sight of the little islands called Dominis, which lie off the eastern part of Lingen; and which bore from north 62° W., to north 80° W., five leagues distant. At this time we passed a great deal of wood drifting on the sea; and, at one o'clock, we saw Pulo Taya, bearing south-west by west, distant seven leagues. It is a small high island, with two round peaks, and two detached rocks lying off it to the northward. When abreast of this island, we had soundings of fifteen fathoms. During this and the preceding day, we saw great quantities of a reddish-coloured scum or spawn, floating on the water in a southerly direction. At daylight, on the 3d, we came in sight of the Three Islands; and soon after, of Monopin Hill, on the island of Banca. At noon, this hill, which forms the north-east point of the entrance of the Straits, bore south-east half south, distant six leagues; our latitude, by observation, being 1° 48′ S., and longitude 105° 3′ E., the soundings seventeen fathoms, and no perceivable variation in the compass.

Having got to the westward of the shoal called Frederick Endric, at half-past two we entered the Straits, and bore away to the southward; and, in the afternoon, Monopin Hill bearing due east, we determined its latitude to be 2° 3′ S., the same as in Mons. D'Apres' map, and its longitude 105° 18′ E. At nine, a boat came off from the Banca shore, and having rowed round the ships, went away again. We hailed her in the Malay tongue to come on board, but received no answer. At midnight, finding a strong tide against us, we anchored in twelve fathoms, Monopin Hill bearing north 29° W. On the 4th, in the morning, after experiencing some difficulty in weighing our anchors, owing to the stiff tenacious quality of the ground, we proceeded with the tide down the Straits; the little wind we had from the northward dying away as the day advanced. At noon, there being a perfect calm, and the tide making against us, we dropt our anchor in thirteen fathoms water, about three miles from what is called the Third Point, on the Sumatra shore; Monopin Hill bearing

N. 54° W. The latitude, by observation, was 2° 22′ S., longitude 105° 38′ E. At three in the afternoon, we weighed and stood on through the Straits with a light breeze; and at eight, were abreast of the second point, and passed it within two miles, in seventeen fathoms water, a sufficient proof that this point may be bordered upon with safety. At midnight, we again came to anchor, on account of the tide, in thirteen fathoms, Mount Permissang, on the island of Banca, bearing N. 7° E., and the First Point S. 54° E, distant about three leagues. In the morning of the 5th, we weighed, and kept on to the south-east; and, at ten, passed a small shoal, lying in a line with Lusepara and the First Point, at the distance of five miles from the latter. At noon, the island of Lusepara, bearing S. 57½° E., four miles distant, we determined its latitude to be 3° 10½′ S., and longitude 106° 15′ E. The difference of longitude between the island Lusepara, which lies in the south entrance of the Straits of Banca, and Monopin Hill, which forms one side of the entrance from the north, we found to be 55′, which is only two miles less than what is given in D'Après' chart.

In passing these Straits, the coast of Sumatra may be approached somewhat closer than that of Banca. At the distance of two or three miles from the shore, there are ten, eleven, twelve, or thirteen fathoms, free from rocks or shoals: however, the lead is the surest guide. The country is covered with wood down to the water's edge, and the shores are so low, that the sea overflows the land, and washes the trunks of the trees. To this flat and marshy situation of the shore, we may attribute those thick fogs and vapours, which we perceived every morning, not without dread and horror, hanging over the island, till they were dispersed by the rays of the sun. The shores of Banca are much bolder, and the country inland rises to a moderate height, and appears to be well wooded throughout. We often saw fires on this island during the night time; but none on the opposite shore. The tide runs through the Straits at the rate of between two and three knots an hour.

In the morning of the 6th, we passed to the westward of Lusepara, at the distance of four or five miles; generally carrying soundings of five and six fathoms' water, and never less than four. We afterward steered south by east; and having brought Lusepara to bear due north, and deepened our water to seven fathoms, we altered our course to south by west, keeping the lead going, and hauling out a little, whenever we shoaled our water. The soundings on the Sumatra side we still found to be regular, and gradually shoaling, as we approached the shore. At five in the afternoon we saw the Three Sisters, bearing south by west half west; and, at seven, we came to an anchor in ten fathoms, about eight miles to the north of the islands. The weather was close and sultry, with light winds, generally from the north-west; but sometimes varying round as far as the north-east; and, during the night, we observed much lightning over Sumatra. We weighed the next morning at five, and at eight were close in with the Sisters. These are two very small islands, well covered with wood, lying in latitude 5° 0½′ S., longitude 106° 12′ E., nearly north and south from each other, and surrounded by a reef of coral rocks; the whole circumference of which is about four or five miles. At noon we got sight of the island of Java to the southward; the north-west extremity of which (Cape St. Nicholas) bore south; North Island, on the Sumatra shore, S. 27° W., and the Sisters north, 27° E., distant four leagues; our latitude was 5° 21′ S., longitude 105° 57′ E.

At four in the afternoon, we saw two sail in the Straits of Sunda; one lying at anchor near the Midchannel Island; the other nearer the Java shore. Not knowing to what nation they might belong, we cleared our ships for action; and at six came to an anchor in twenty-five fathoms, four miles east by south from North Island. Here we lay all night, and had very heavy thunder and lightning to the north-west; from which quarter the wind blew in light breezes, accompanied with hard rain. At eight o'clock the next morning, we weighed, and proceeded through the Straits, the tide setting to the southward, as it had done all night; but about ten the breeze failing, we came to again in thirty-five fathoms; a high island, or rather rock, called the Grand Toque, bearing south by east. We were, at this time, not more than two miles from the ships, which now hoisting Dutch colours, Captain Gore sent a boat on board for intelligence. The rain still continued with thunder and lightning. Early in the afternoon, the boat returned with an account that the large ship was a Dutch East-Indiaman, bound for Europe; and the other a packet from Batavia,

with orders for the several ships lying in the Straits. It is the custom for the Dutch ships, as soon as their lading is nearly completed, to leave Batavia, on account of its extreme unwholesomeness, and proceed to some of the more healthy islands in the Straits, where they wait for the remainder of their cargo, and their despatches. Notwithstanding this precaution, the Indiaman had lost, since her departure from Batavia, four men, and had as many more whose recovery was despaired of. She had lain here a fortnight, and was now about to proceed to water at Cracatoa, having just received final orders by the packet.

At seven in the morning of the 9th, we weighed, and stood on through the straits to the south-west, keeping pretty close in with the islands on the Sumatra shore, in order to avoid a rock near Midchannel Island, which lay on our left. At half after ten, I received orders from Captain Gore to make sail toward a Dutch ship which now hove in sight to the southward, and which we supposed to be from Europe; and, according to the nature of the intelligence we could procure from her, either to join him at Cracatoa, where he intended to stop for the purpose of supplying the ships with arrack, or to proceed to the south-east end of Prince's Island, and there take in our water, and wait for him. I accordingly bore down toward the Dutch ship, which soon after came to an anchor to the eastward; when the wind slackening, and the current still setting very strong through the strait to the south-west, we found it impossible to fetch her, and having, therefore, got as near her as the tide would permit, we also dropped anchor. I immediately dsepatched Mr. Williamson, in the cutter, with orders to get on board her if possible; but as she lay near a mile off, and the tide ran with great rapidity, we soon perceived that the boat was dropping fast astern. We therefore made the signal to return, and immediately began to veer away the cable, and sent out a buoy astern, in order to assist him in getting on board again. Our poverty, in the article of cordage, was here very conspicuous; for we had not a single coil of rope, in the store-room, to fix to the buoy, but were obliged to set about unreeving the studding-sail gear, the topsail-halliards, and tackle-falls, for that purpose; and the boat was at this time driving to the southward so fast, that it was not before we had veered away two cables, and almost all our running-rigging, that she could fetch the buoy.

I was now under the necessity of waiting till the strength of the tide should abate, which did not happen till the next morning, when Mr. Williamson got on board the ship, and learnt, that she had been seven months from Europe, and three from the Cape of Good Hope; that before she sailed, France and Spain had declared war against Great Britain; and that she left Sir Edward Hughes, with a squadron of men-of-war, and a fleet of East India ships, at the Cape. Mr. Williamson having, at the same time, been informed, that the water at Cracatoa was very good, and always preferred by the Dutch ships, to that of Prince's Island, I resolved to rejoin the Resolution at the former place; and a fair breeze springing up, we weighed and stood over toward the island, where we soon after saw her at anchor; but the wind falling, and the tide setting strong against us, I was obliged to drop anchor at the distance of about five miles from the Resolution, and immediately sent a boat on board, to acquaint Captain Gore with the intelligence we had received. As soon as the Resolution saw us preparing to come to, she fired her guns, and hoisted an English jack at the ensign staff, the signal at sea to lead a-head. This we afterward understood was intended to prevent our anchoring, on account of the foul ground, which the maps she had on board placed here. However, as we found none, having a muddy bottom, and good holding ground, in sixty fathoms water, we kept fast till the return of the boat, which brought orders to proceed the next morning to Prince's Island. We were at this time two miles distant from the shore; the peak of Cracatoa bore north-west by north; Bantam Point east north-east half east; Prince's Island south-west by west.

The island of Cracatoa is the southernmost of a group situated in the entrance of the Straits of Sunda. It has a high-peaked hill on the south end *, which lies in latitude 6° 9′ S., and longitude 105° 15′ E.; the whole circuit of the island is not more than three

* The island of Tamarin, or Sambouricou, which lies about four leagues to the north of Cracatoa, may be easily mistaken for the latter, having a hill of nearly the same size and form, situated also near its southern extremity.

leagues. Off the north-east end lies a small island, which forms the road where the Resolution anchored; and within a reef that runs off the south end of the latter, there is good shelter against all northerly winds, with eighteen fathoms water near the reef, and twenty-seven in the mid-channel. To the north-west, there is a narrow pass for boats between the two islands. The shore, which forms the western side of the road, is in a north-west direction, and has a bank of coral stretching into the sea, about one-third of a cable's length, which makes the landing difficult for boats, except at high water; but the anchoring ground is very good, and free from rocks. The place where the Resolution watered is a small spring, situated abreast of the south end of the small island, at a short distance from the water-side. A little to the southward, there is a very hot spring, which is used by the natives as a bath. Whilst we were lying off the south end of this island, we sent a boat with the master on shore, to look for water; but after having landed with some difficulty, he returned unsuccessful.

Cracatoa is esteemed very healthy, in comparison of the neighbouring countries. It consists of high land, rising gradually on all sides from the sea; and the whole is covered with trees, except a few spots which the natives have cleared for rice-fields. The number of people on the island is very inconsiderable. Their chief, as are those of all the other islands in the Straits, is subject to the king of Bantam. The coral reefs afford plenty of small turtles; but other refreshments are very scarce, and sold at an enormous price.

Latitude of the road where the Resolution anchored . .	8°	6′	south.
Longitude, by Mr. Bayly's time-keeper	104	48	east.
Ditto, by observation	105	36	east.
Dip of the south end of the magnetic needle	26	3	
Variation of the compass	1	0	west.

On the full and change days, it is high-water at 7h in the morning. The water rises three feet two inches perpendicular.

At eight o'clock in the evening, it began to blow fresh from the westward, with violent thunder, lightning, and rain; and at three the next morning, we weighed and stood over for Prince's Island, but the westerly wind dying away, was succeeded by a breeze from the south-east, and, at the same time, a strong tide setting to the south-west, prevented our fetching the island, and obliged us, at two in the afternoon, to drop anchor in sixty-five fathoms, over a muddy bottom, at three leagues' distance from it; the high hill bearing south-west by south, and the peak on Cracatoa north by east. We had light airs and calms till six next morning, when we weighed and made sail, having, in our endeavours to heave the anchor out of the ground, twice broken the old messenger, and afterward a new one, cut out of our best hawser. This, however, was entirely owing to the wretched state of our cordage, as the strain was not very considerable, and we had beside assisted the cable in coming in, by clapping the cat-tackle on it. The wind continuing fair, at noon we came to an anchor off the south-east end of Prince's Island, in twenty-six fathoms, over a sandy bottom; the east end of the island bearing north north-east, the southernmost point in sight south-west by south, the high peak north-west half west, distant from the nearest shore half a mile.

As soon as we had come to anchor, Lieutenant Lannyon, who had been here before with Captain Cook, in the year 1770, was sent along with the master, to look for the watering-place. The brook from which, according to the best of his recollection, the Endeavour had been supplied, was found quite salt. Further inland, they saw a dry bed, where the water seemed to have lodged in rainy seasons; and, about a cable's length below, another run, supplied from an extensive pool, the bottom of which, as well as the surface, was covered with dead leaves. This, though a little brackish, being much preferable to the other, we began watering here early the next morning, and finished the same day. The natives, who came to us soon after we anchored, brought a plentiful supply of large fowls, and some turtles; but the last were for the most part very small. In the course of the night we had heavy rain; and on the 14th, at day-light, we saw the Resolution to the northward, standing toward the island, and at two in the afternoon, she dropt anchor close to us. In

the course of the day we heeled the ship, and scrubbed and hogged her bottom, which was very foul; and got ready for sea.

The next day, Captain Gore not having completed his stock of water at Cracatoa, sent his men on shore, who now found the brook that was first mentioned, rendered perfectly sweet by the rain, and flowing in great abundance. This being too valuable a treasure to be neglected, I gave orders that all the casks we had filled before should be started, and replenished with the fresh water, which was accordingly done before noon the next day; and in the evening, we cleared the decks, and both ships were ready for sea. In the forenoon of the 18th, we had heavy rains, and variable winds, which prevented our getting under weigh till two in the afternoon, when a light wind sprung up from the northward; but this soon after leaving us, we were obliged to drop our anchor again at eight o'clock that night, in fifty fathoms water, and wait till the same hour the next morning. At that time, being favoured by a breeze from the north-west, we broke ground, to our inexpressible satisfaction, for the last time in the Straits of Sunda, and, the next day, had entirely lost sight of Prince's Island.

This island having been already described by Captain Cook, in the history of a former voyage, I shall only add, that we were exceedingly struck with the great general resemblance of the natives, both in figure, colour, manners, and even language, to the nations we had been so much conversant with in the South Seas. The effects of the Javanese climate, and I did not escape without my full share of it, made me incapable of pursuing the comparison so minutely as I could have wished. The country abounds with wood to such a degree, that notwithstanding the quantity cut down every year by the ships which put into the road, there is no appearance of its diminution. We were well supplied with small turtle and fowls of a moderate size; the last were sold at the rate of ten for a Spanish dollar. The natives also brought us many hog-deer, and a prodigious number of monkeys, to our great annoyance, as most of our sailors provided themselves with one, if not two of these troublesome animals.

As we should have met with some difficulty in finding the watering-place, if Mr. Lannyon had not been with us, it may be worth while, for the use of future navigators, to describe its situation more particularly. The peaked hill on the island bears from it north-west by north; a remarkable tree growing upon a coral reef, and quite detached from the neighbouring shrubs, stands just to the northward; and, close by it, there is a small plot of reedy grass, the only piece of the kind that can be seen hereabout. These marks will show the place where the pool empties itself into the sea; but the water here is generally salt as well as that which is in the pool. The casks must, therefore, be filled about fifty yards higher up; where, in dry seasons, the fresh water that comes down from the hills is lost among the leaves, and must be searched for by clearing them away.

The latitude of the anchoring-place at Prince's Island was	6°	36′	15″	S.
Longitude	105	17	30	E.
Dip of the south pole of the magnetic needle	28	15	0	
Variation of the compass	0	54	0	W.
Mean of the thermometer	83	0½	0	

From the time of our entering the Straits of Banca, we began to experience the powerful effects of this pestilential climate. Two of our people fell dangerously ill of malignant putrid fevers; which, however, we prevented from spreading, by putting the patients apart from the rest, in the most airy births. Many were attacked with teasing coughs; others complained of violent pains in the head; and even the healthiest among us felt a sensation of suffocating heat, attended by an insufferable languor, and a total loss of appetite. But though our situation was, for a time, thus uneasy and alarming, we had, at last, the singular satisfaction of escaping from these fatal seas without the loss of a single life; a circumstance which was probably owing in part to the vigorous health of the crews when we first arrived here, as well as to the strict attention, now become habitual in our men, to the salutary regulations introduced amongst us by Captain Cook.

On our leaving Prince's Island, and during the whole time of our run from thence to the

Cape of Good Hope, the crew of the Resolution was in a much more sickly state than that of the Discovery; for, though many of us continued for some time complaining of the effects of the noxious climate we had left, yet happily we all recovered from them. Of the two who had been ill of fevers, one, after being seized with violent convulsions on the 12th of February, which made us despair of his life, was relieved by the application of blisters, and was soon after out of danger. The other recovered, but more slowly. On board the Resolution, besides the obstinate coughs and fevers under which they very generally laboured, a great many were afflicted with fluxes, the number of whom, contrary to our expectations, continued increasing till their arrival at the Cape. Captain Gore attributed this difference in part, and probably with some reason, to the Discovery having her fire-place between decks; the heat and smoke of which he conceived might help to mitigate the bad effects of the damp night air. But I am rather inclined to believe that we escaped the flux by the precautions that were taken to prevent our catching it from others. For if some kinds of fluxes be, as I apprehend there is no doubt they are, contagious, it is not improbable that the Resolution caught this disorder from the Dutch ships at Cracatoa. In order to avoid this danger, when Mr. Williamson was sent to the Indiaman in the entrance of the Straits of Sunda, he had the strictest orders not to suffer any of our people, on any account whatever, to go on board; and whenever we had afterwards occasion to have any communication with the Resolution, the same caution was constantly observed.

We were no sooner clear of Prince's Island, than we had a gentle breeze from the west north-west; but this did not last long; for the following day the wind became again variable, and continued so till the noon of the 25th, when it blew squally, and blew fresh from the north. On the 22d at noon, being in latitude 10° 28′ S., and longitude 104° 14′, we saw great quantities of boobies and other fowls that seldom go far from land; from which, we conjectured that we were near some small unknown island. In the evening of the 25th, the wind changed suddenly to the southward, accompanied with heavy rains, and began to blow with great violence. During the night, almost every sail we had bent gave way, and most of them were split to rags; our rigging also suffered materially, and we were, the next day, obliged to bend our last suit of sails, and to knot and splice the rigging, our cordage being all expended. This sudden storm we attributed to the change from the monsoon to the regular trade-wind; our latitude was about 13° 10′ S. and we had made by our reckoning about 4½° of longitude west from Java head.

From the 26th of this month to the 28th of March, we had a regular trade-wind from the south-east to east by south, with fine weather; and, being in an old beaten track, met no occurrence that deserved the smallest notice. In the morning of the 28th of March, being in latitude 31° 42′ S., and longitude 35° 26′ E., the trade-wind left us in a violent thunder-storm. From this time to the 3rd of April, when our latitude was 35° 1′ S., and longitude 26° 3′ E. the winds were moderate, and generally from the south quarter. A fresh breeze then sprung up from the eastward, which continued till the afternoon of the 4th; after which, we had a calm that lasted the two following days.

It had hitherto been Captain Gore's intention to proceed directly to St. Helena, without stopping at the Cape; but the rudder of the Resolution having been for some time complaining, and, on being examined, reported to be in a dangerous state, he resolved to steer immediately for the Cape, as the most eligible place, both for the recovery of his sick, and for procuring a new main-piece to the rudder. From the 21st of March, when we were in latitude 27° 22′ S., longitude 52° 25′ E., to the 5th of April, when we had got into latitude 36° 12′ S., longitude 22° 7′ E., we were strongly affected by the currents, which set to the south south-west, and south-west by west, sometimes at the rate of eighty knots a day. On the 6th, having got under the lee of the African coast, we lost them entirely. In the morning of the 6th, a sail was seen to the south-west, standing toward us; and, as the wind soon after rose from the same quarter, we cleared our ships for action. We now discovered, from the mast-head, five sail more on our lee-bow, standing to the eastward; but the weather coming on hazy, we lost sight of them all in an hour's time. Our latitude at noon was 35° 49′ S., longitude 21° 32′ E. At seven o'clock, the next morning (the seventh), we made

the land to the northward at a considerable distance. On the 8th, the weather was squally, and blew fresh from the north-west; the following day it settled to the west, and we passed pretty close to the sail seen on the 6th, but did not hail her. She was clumsy in figure, and, to appearance, unskilfully managed; yet she out-sailed us exceedingly. The colours which she hoisted were different from any we had seen; some supposed them to be Portuguese, others Imperial.

At day-light the next morning, the land again appeared to the north north-west, and, in the forenoon, a snow was seen bearing down to us, which proved to be an English East India packet, that had left Table Bay three days before, and was cruising with orders for the China fleet, and other India ships. She told us that about three weeks before, Mons. Trongoller's squadron, consisting of six ships, had sailed from the Cape, and was gone to cruise off St. Helena, for our East India fleet. This intelligence made us conjecture, that the five sail we had seen standing to the eastward must have been the French squadron, who, in that case, had given over their cruise, and were probably proceeding to the Mauritius. Having informed the packet of our conjectures, and also of the time we understood the China ships were to sail from Canton, we left them, and proceeded toward the Cape.

In the evening of the 10th, the Gunner's Quoin bore north by east, and False Cape east north-east; but the wind being at south-west, and variable, prevented our getting into False Bay till the evening of the 12th, when we dropt anchor abreast of Simon's Bay. We found a strong current setting to the westward, round the Cape, which, for some time, we could but just stem, with a breeze that would have carried us four knots an hour. The next morning we stood into Simon's Bay; and at eight came to anchor, and moored a cable each way; the best bower to the east south-east, and small bower west north-west; the south-east point of the bay bearing south by east, Table Mountain north-east half north; distant from the nearest shore one-third of a mile. We found lying here the Nassau and Southampton East-Indiamen, waiting for convoy for Europe. The Resolution saluted the fort with eleven guns, and the same number was returned. Mr. Brandt, the governor of this place, came to visit us as soon as we had anchored. This gentleman had conceived a great affection for Captain Cook, who had been his constant guest the many times he had visited the Cape; and though he had received the news of his melancholy fate some time before, he was exceedingly affected at the sight of our ships returning without their old commander. He appeared much surprised to see our crew in so stout and healthy a condition, as the Dutch ship that had left Macao on our arrival there, and had touched at the Cape some time before, reported, that we were in a most wretched state, having only fourteen hands left on board the Resolution, and seven on board the Discovery. It is not easy to conceive the motive these people could have had for propagating so wanton and malicious a falsehood.

On the 15th I accompanied Captain Gore to Cape Town; and the next morning we waited on Baron Plettenberg, the governor, by whom we were received with every possible attention and civility. He had also conceived a great personal affection for Captain Cook, as well as the highest admiration of his character, and heard the recital of his misfortune with many expressions of unaffected sorrow. In one of the principal apartments of the governor's house he showed us two pictures, of Van Tromp and De Ruyter, with a vacant space left between them, which he said he meant to fill up with the portrait of Captain Cook; and for that purpose he requested our assistance, when we should arrive in England, in purchasing one for him at any price. We were afterwards informed by the governor, that all the powers at this time at war with England had given orders to their cruisers to let us pass unmolested. This, as far as related to the French, we had sufficient reason to think true; as Mr. Brandt had already delivered to Captain Gore a letter from Mr. Stephens, inclosing a copy of Mons. de Sartine's orders, taken on board the Licorne. With respect to the Americans, the matter still rested on report; but Baron Plettenberg assured us, that he had been expressly told by the commander of a Spanish ship, which had touched at the Cape, that he, and all the officers of his nation, had received orders to the same effect. These assurances confirmed Captain Gore in the resolution he had taken of maintaining, on

his part, a neutral conduct; and accordingly, when, on the arrival of the Sybil, to convoy the India ships home, it was proposed to him to accompany them on their passage, he thought proper to decline an offer, the acceptance of which might, in case we had fallen in with any of the enemies' ships, have brought him into a very difficult and embarrassing situation.

During our stay at the Cape, we met with every proof of the most friendly disposition toward us, both in the governor and principal persons of the place, as well Africans as Europeans. At our first arrival, Colonel Gordon, the commander of the Dutch forces, with whom, on our former visit here, I had the happiness of being on a footing of intimacy and friendship, was absent on a journey into the interior parts of Africa, but returned before our departure. He had, on this occasion, penetrated farther up the country than any other traveller had done before him, and made great additions to the valuable collection of natural curiosities with which he has enriched the museum of the Prince of Orange. Indeed, a long residence at the Cape, and the powerful assistance he has derived from his rank and situation there, joined to an active and indefatigable spirit, and an eager thirst after knowledge, have enabled him to acquire a more intimate and perfect knowledge of this part of Africa than could have fallen to the lot of any other person; and it is with great pleasure I can congratulate the public on the information I have received of his intentions to give the world, from his own hand, a history of his travels.

False Bay, situated to the eastward of the Cape of Good Hope, is frequented by shipping during the prevalence of the north-west winds, which begin to blow in May, and make it dangerous to lie in Table Bay. It is terminated on the west by the Cape of Good Hope, and on the eastward by False Cape. The entrance of the bay is six leagues wide, the two capes bearing from each other due east and west. About eleven miles from the Cape of Good Hope, on the west side, is situated Simon's Bay, the only convenient station for ships to lie in; for although the road without it affords good anchorage, it is too open, and but ill circumstanced for procuring necessaries, the town being small, and supplied with provisions from Cape Town, which is about twenty-four miles distant. To the north north-east of Simon's Bay there are several others, from which it may be easily distinguished by a remarkable sandy way to the northward of the town, which makes a striking object. In steering for the harbour, along the west shore, there is a small flat rock, called Noah's Ark; and, about a mile to the north-east of it, several others, called the Roman Rocks. These lie one mile and a half from the anchoring place; and either between them, or to the northward of the Roman Rocks, there is a safe passage into the bay. When the north-west gales are set in, the following bearings will direct the mariner to a safe and commodious birth: Noah's Ark, S. 51° E., and the centre of the hospital S. 53° W. in seven fathoms. But if the south-east winds have not done blowing, it is better to stay further out in eight or nine fathoms. The bottom is sandy, and the anchors settle considerably before they get hold. All the north part of the bay is low sandy land, but the east side is very high. About six miles east of Noah's Ark lies Seal Island, the south part of which is said to be dangerous, and not to be approached with safety nearer than in twenty-two fathoms. Off the Cape of Good Hope are many sunk rocks, some of which appear at low water; and others have breakers constantly on them.

The latitude of the anchoring-place in Simon's Bay, by observation	34°	20′	S.
The longitude	18	29	E.
Dip of the south end of the magnetic needle	46	47	
Variation of the compass	22	16	W.

On the full and change days, it was high-water at $5^h\ 55^m$ apparent time; the tide rose and fell five feet five inches; at the neap tides it rose four feet one inch.

From the observations taken by Mr. Bayly and myself, on the 11th of this month, when the Cape of Good Hope bore due west, we found its latitude to be 34° 23′ S., which is 4′ to the northward of its position as determined by the Abbé de la Caille.

Having completed our victualling, and furnished ourselves with the necessary supply of

naval stores, we sailed out of the bay on the 9th of May, and on the 14th we got into the south-east trade-wind, and steered to the westward of the islands of St. Helena and Ascension. On the 31st, being in latitude 12° 48′ S., longitude 15° 40′ W., the magnetic needle was found to have no dip. On the 12th of June we passed the equator for the fourth time during this voyage, in longitude 26° 16′ W. We now began to perceive the effects of a current setting north by east, half a knot an hour. It continued in this direction till the middle of July, when it began to set a little to the southward of the west.

On the 12th of August, we made the western coast of Ireland, and, after a fruitless attempt to get into Port Galway, from whence it was Captain Gore's intention to have sent the journals and maps of our voyage to London, we were obliged, by strong southerly winds, to steer to the northward. Our next object was to put into Lough Swilly, but the wind continuing in the same quarter, we stood on to the northward of Lewis Island; and on the 22nd of August, at eleven in the morning, both ships came to an anchor at Stromness. From hence I was despatched by Captain Gore to acquaint the Board of Admiralty with our arrival; and on the 4th day of October the ships arrived safe at the Nore, after an absence of four years, two months, and twenty-two days.

On quitting the Discovery at Stromness, I had the satisfaction of leaving the whole crew in perfect health; and at the same time, the number of convalescents on board the Resolution did not exceed two or three, of whom only one was incapable of service. In the course of our voyage, the Resolution lost but five men by sickness, three of whom were in a precarious state of health at our departure from England; the Discovery did not lose a man. An unremitting attention to the regulations established by Captain Cook, with which the world is already acquainted, may be justly considered as the principal cause, under the blessing of Divine Providence, of this singular success. But the baneful effects of salt provisions might perhaps, in the end, have been felt, notwithstanding these salutary precautions, if we had not assisted them, by availing ourselves of every substitute our situation at various times afforded. These frequently consisting of articles which our people had not been used to consider as food for men, and being sometimes exceedingly nauseous, it required the joint [illegible] of persuasion, authority, and example, to conquer their prejudices and disgusts. The [illegible]ventives we principally relied on were sour krout and portable soup. As to the [illegible]tiscorbutic remedies, with which we were amply supplied, we had no opportunity of trying their effects, as there did not appear the slightest symptoms of the scurvy, in either ship, during the whole voyage. Our malt and hops had also been kept as a resource, in case of actual sickness, and on examination at the Cape of Good Hope, were found entirely spoiled. About the same time, were opened some casks of biscuit, flour, malt, peas, oatmeal, and grots, which, by way of experiment, had been put up in small casks, lined with tinfoil, and found all, except the peas, in a much better state than could have been expected, in the usual manner of package.

I cannot neglect this opportunity of recommending to the consideration of government, the necessity of allowing a sufficient quantity of Peruvian bark to such of his Majesty's ships as may be exposed to the influence of unwholesome climates. It happened very fortunately in the Discovery, that only one of the men that had fevers in the Straits of Sunda, stood in need of this medicine, as he alone consumed the whole quantity usually carried out by surgeons, in such vessels as ours. Had more been affected in the same manner, they would probably all have perished, from the want of the only remedy capable of affording them effectual relief.

Another circumstance attending this voyage, which, if we consider its duration, and the nature of the service in which we were engaged, will appear scarcely less singular than the extraordinary healthiness of the crews, was, that the two ships never lost sight of each other for a day together, except twice; which was owing, the first time, to an accident that happened to the Discovery off the coast of Owhyhee; and the second, to the fogs we met with at the entrance of Awatska Bay. A stronger proof cannot be given of the skill and vigilance of our subaltern officers, to whom this share of merit almost entirely belongs.

VOCABULARY

OF THE LANGUAGE OF NOOTKA, OR KING GEORGE'S, SOUND, APRIL 1778.

Nootka.	*English.*
Opulszthl	The sun.
Onulszthl	The moon.
Nas, or eenaheehl nas	The sky.
Noohchai	A mountain, or hill.
Mookseo	Rocks, or the shore.
Tanass, or tanas	A man.
Oonook	A song.
Eeneek, or eleek	Fire.
Nuhchee, or nookchee.	The land; a country.
Koassama	The ground.
Mahtai	A house.
Neit, or Neet	A candle, or lamplight.
Neetopok	The smoke of a lamp.
Tassyai	A door.
Ai, and aio	Yes.
Wook, or wik	No.
Wik ait	None, not any.
Macook	To barter.
Kaeeemai, or kyomai	Give me some more for it.
Kootche, or kotche	To paddle.
Aook, or chiamis	To eat, to chew.
Topalszthl, or toopilszthl	The sea.
Oowhabbe	A paddle.
Thapats, or shapitz, or Chapas	A canoe.
Tawailuck	White bugle beads.
Seekemaile	Iron, or metal of any sort.
Ahkoo, or ahko	This.
Kaa, or kaa chelle	Give it me, let me look at it, or examine it.
Wook hak	Will he not do it?
Ma, or maa	Take it.
Chakeuk	A hatchet, or hacking tool.
Eetche, or abeesh	Displeasure.
Haoome, or haooma	Food.
Takho,	Bad. This iron is bad: Takho, seekemaile.
Chello	I, me.
Kaeeo	Broken.
Alle, or alla	(Speaking to one.) Friend; hark ye.
Klao appe, or klao	Keep it; I'll not have it.
Asko	Long, or large.
Iakooeshmaish	Clothing in general.
Tahquoe, or toohquoe	A metal button or ear-ring.
Wae	(Calling to one, perhaps) you!
Weekeetateesh	Sparkling sand, which they sprinkle on their faces.
Chauk	Water.
Pacheetl, or pachatl	To give; give me.
Haweelsth, or hawalth	Friendship, friend.
Kleeseetl	To paint, or mark with a pencil.
Abeetazle	To go away or depart.
Shesookto	To remain, or abide.
Seenik	A stone weapon, with a square point.

Nootka.	*English.*
Suhyaik	A spear, pointed with bone.
Taak	The wood of the depending pine.
Luksheet, or luksheetl	To drink.
Soochis	A tree, a wood.
Haieeaipt,	A broad leaf, shrub, or underwood.
Tohumbeet	Variegated pine; silver pine.
Atlieu	The depending pine, or cypress.
Koeeklipt	The Canadian pine.
Cho	Go.
Sateu	A pine top.
Kleeteenek,	The little cloak that they wear.
Kleethak	A bear's skin.
Klochimme	Muscles.
Ohkullik	A wooden box they hold things in.
H'slaiakasl, or slaikalszth	Coarse mats of bark.
Eesee	An instrument of bone to beat bark.
Chapitz koole	The model of a canoe.
Klapatuketeel	A bag made of mat.
Tahmis	To spit; spittle.
Wasuksheet	To cough.
Poop	Common moss.
Okumha	The wind.
Chutzquabeelsl	A bag made of seal skin.
Konneeemis	A kind of sea weed.
Quaookl, or tookpeetl	To sit down.
Klukeelszthl, or quoeelszthl	To rise up.
Tsookeeats	To walk.
Kummutchchutl	To run.
Klutsklace	To strike or beat.
Teeshcheetl	To throw a stone.
Teelszthtee	To rub or sharpen metal.
Tsook	To cleave or strike hard.
Mahkatte	A small liliaceous root which they eat.
Eumahtame	Fur of a sea otter.
Cheemaine	Their largest fishing hooks.
Moostatte	A bow.
Kahsheetl	Dead.
Kleeshsheetl	To shoot with a bow.
Tseehatte	An arrow.
Katshak	A flaxen garment worn as their common dress.
Heshcheene	A plain Venus shell.
Koohminne	A bag rattle.
Akeeuk	A plain bone point for striking seals with.
Kaheita	A barbed bone point for ditto.
Cheetakulheiwha	Bracelets of white bugle beads.
Mittemulszsth	Thongs of skin worn about the wrist and neck.
Iaiopox	Pieces of copper worn in the ear.
Neeksheetl	To sneeze.

Nootka.	*English.*
Suchkas	A comb.
Seehl	Small feathers which they strew on their heads.
Wamuhte	Twisted thongs and sinews worn about their ankles.
Kutseeoataia	Veins under the skin.
Tookquuk	The skin.
Muszthsle	Pain.
Waeetch	To sleep.
Siksaimaha	To breathe, or pant.
Tuhsheetl	To weep.
Matskoot	A fly.
Matook	To fly.
Kooees, or quooes	Snow, or hail.
Aopk	To whistle.
Asheeaiksheetl	To yawn.
Elsthltleek	An instrument of two sticks standing from each other with barbs.
Cheeeeakis	A scar of a wound.
Tchoo	Throw it down, or to me.
Cheetkoohekai, or Cheetkoaik	A wooden instrument with many bone teeth, to catch small fish with.
Kaenne, or Koenai	A crow, a bird.
Keesapa	A fish; a white bream.
Klaamoo	A bream striped with blue and gold colours.
Taaweesh, or Tsuskeeah	A stone weapon, or tomahawk, with a wooden handle.
Kamaisthlik	A kind of snare, to catch fish or other animals with.
Klahma	Wing feathers of a red bird.
Seetsaennuk	Anger; scolding.
Heeeai, or Heeeee	A brown streaked snake.
Klapissime	A racoon.
Owatinne	A white-headed eagle.
Kluhmiss	Train oil; a bladder filled with it.
Oukkooma	Large carved wooden faces.
Kotyook, or hotyok	A knife.
See-eema	A fishing net.
Weena	A stranger.
Quahmiss	Fish roe strewed upon pine branches and sea-weed.
Kaatl	Give me.
Hooksquaboolsthl	A whale harpoon and rope.
Komook	Chimæra monstrosa.
Quotluk, or quotlukae	A sea-otter's skin.
Maasenulsthl	An oblong wooden weapon, two feet long.
Hookoomag	A wooden mask of the human face.
Tooquacumilsthl	A seal skin.
Chna	Let me see it.
Sooma	A kind of haddock, of a reddish brown colour.
Acea	Assardine.
Koeetsak	A wolf-skin dress.
Keepsleetokszl	A woollen garment.
Isseu	Pine bark.
Wanshee	Wild cat-skin (lynx brunneus).
Chastimmetz	A common, and also pine martin.
Ookoomilszthl	A little, round wooden cup.
Kooomitz	A human skull.
Keehlwahmoot	A skin bladder used in fishing.
Tseeapoox	A conic cap made of mat, worn on the head.
Summeto	A squirrel; they also called a rat by this name.
Maalszthl	A deer's horn.
Jakops	A man, or male.

Nootka.	*English.*
Kolsheetl, or Kolsheat	To sup with a spoon.
Achatla, or Achaklak	What is your name?
Achatlaha	What is his name?
Akassheha, or akassche	What is the name of that?
Haismussik	A wooden sabre.
Maeetsalulsthl	A bone weapon like the Patoo.
Kookelixo	A fish fin; the hand.
Natcha	A fish tail.
Klihkleek	The hoof of an animal.
Klaklasm	A bracelet.
Ko	An article, to give strength of expression to another word.
Nahei, or nahcis	Friendship.
Teelsthoop	A large cuttle fish.
Pachas	He gave it me.
Quaeeaitsaak	A yellow, or red fox.
Atchakoe	A limpet.
Aheita	A sweet fern root they eat.
Kishkilltup	The strawberry plant.
Akhmupt	A narrow grass that grows on the rocks.
Klaiwahmiss	A cloud.
Mollsthapait	A feather.
Taeetcha	Full, satisfied with eating.
Kaaitz	A necklace of small volute shells.
Tahooquossim	A carved human head of wood, decorated with hair.
Moowatche	A carved wooden vizor, like the head of a Quebrentahuessos.
Mamat	A black linnet, with a white bill.
Klaokotl	Give me something.
Pallszthpatl	Glimmer (sheet).
Eineetl	The name they apply to a goat; probably of a deer.
Seeta	The tail of an animal.
Seehsheetl	To kill.
Ooolszth	A sand piper.
Saeemitz	Chequered straw baskets.
Chookwak	To go up, or away.
Kloosasht	Smoked herrings.
Keetsma	Puncturation.
Mikeellzyth	To fasten, or tie a thing.
Cheeteeakamilzsth	White beads.
Kakkumipt	A sea weed, or grass on which they strew fish roe.
Eissuk	A sort of leek; allium triquetrum.
Kutskushilzsth	To tear a thing.
Mitzsleo	A knot.
Mamakeeo	To tie a knot.
Kluksilzsth	To loosen, or untie.
Klakaikom	The leaf of a plant.
Sasinne, or sasin	A humming bird.
Koohquoppa	A granulated lily root they eat.
Seeweebt	Alder tree.
Kaweebt	Raspberry bush.
Kleehseep	The flower of a plant.
Klumma	Large wooden images placed at one end of their houses.
Aiahtoop, or aiahtoopsh	A porpoise.
Toshko	A small brown spotted cod.
Aszlimupt, or ulszthimipt	Flaxen stuff, of which they make their garments.
Wakash	An expression of approbation, or friendship.
Kullekeea	Troughs out of which they eat.
Knots	A twig basket.
Sllook	The roof of a house; boards.
Eilszthmukt	Nettles.
Koeeklass	A wooden stage, or frame, on which the fish roe is dried.

Nootka.	*English.*
Matlieu	A withe of bark for fastening planks.
Nahass	A circular hole that serves as a window.
Neetsoanimme	Large planks, of which their houses are built.
Chaipma	Straw.
Haquanuk	A chest, or large box.
Chahkots	A square wooden bucket, to hold water.
Chahquanna	A square wooden drinking cup.
Klennut	A wooden wedge.
Kolkolsainum	A large chest.
Klieutsunnim	A board to kneel on when they paddle.
Tseelszthook	A frame of square poles.
Aminulszth	A fish.
Natchkoa and Matseeta	The particular names of two of the monstrous images called Klumma.
Houa	To go that way.
Achichil	What does he say?
Aeek	The oval part of a whale dart.
Aptsheetl	To steal.
Quoceup	To break.
Uhshsapai	To pull.
Tsechka	A general song.
Apte, or appe	You.
Kai	Thanks.
Kotl	Me; I.
Punihpunih	A black beating stone.
Yatseenequoppe	The names of three men.
Kakallakeeheelook	
Nololokum	

Nootka.	*English.*
Nootka	The name of the bay or sound.
Satsuheeek	The name of a woman.

NAMES OF DIFFERENT PARTS OF THE BODY.

Oooomitz	The head.
Apsoop	The hair of the head.
Uhpeukel, or upuppea	The forehead.
Cheechcetsh	The teeth.
Choop	The tongue.
Kussee, or kassee	The eye.
Neets	The nose.
Papai	The ear.
Aanuss	The cheek.
Eehthlux	The chin.
Apuxim	The beard.
Tseekoomitz	The neck.
Seekutz	The throat.
Eslulszth	The face.
Eethluxooth	The lips.
Klooshkooah, klah, tamai	The nostrils.
Aeetchse	The eye-brow.
Aapso	The arm.
Aapsoonilk	The arm-pit.
Encema	The nipple.
Kooquainux, or Kooquainuxoo	The fingers.
Chushchuh	Nail of the finger.
Kleashklinne	The thighs and legs.
Klahtimme	The foot.
Aiahkomeetz	The thumb.
Kopeeak	The fore finger.
Taeeai	The middle finger.
Oatso, or akkuklue	The ring finger.
Kasleka	The little finger.

TABLE

TO SHOW THE AFFINITY BETWEEN THE LANGUAGES SPOKEN AT OONALASHKA AND NORTON SOUND, AND THOSE OF THE GREENLANDERS AND ESQUIMAUX.

English.	*Ooonalashka.*	*Norton Sound.*	*Greenland (from Crantz.)*	*Esquimaux.*
A man	Chengan	—	Angut	
A woman	Anagogenach	—	—	Ne-aw-cock
The head	Kameak	—	—	New-rock
The hair	Emelach	Nooit	—	Coup-loot
The eye brow	Kamlik	Kameluk	—	Ehich
The eye	Dhac	Enga	—	Cring-yauk
The nose	Anosche	Ngha	—	Ou-lu-uck-cur
The cheek	Ooloocik	Oollooak	—	Se-u-teck
The ear	Tootoosh	Shudeka	—	
The lip	Adhee	Hashlaw		
The teeth	Agaloo			
The tongue	Agonoc			
The beard	Engelagoong	Oongai		
The chin	Ismaloch	Tamluk	—	Taplou
The neck	Ooioc	—	—	Coon-e-soke
The breast	Shimsen	—	—	Suck-ke-uck
The arm	Toolak	Dallek	—	Telluck
The hand	Kedhachoonge	Aishet	—	Alguit
The finger	Atooch			
The nails	Cagelch	Shetooe		
The thigh	Cachemac	Kookdoshac		
The leg	Ketac	Kanaiak	—	Ki-naw-auk
The foot	Ooleac	Etscheak	—	E-te-ket
The sun	Agadac	Majo	—	Suck-ki-nuch
The moon	Toogedha	—	—	Tac-cock
The sky	Enacac			

English.	*Oonalashka.*	*Norton Sound.*	*Greenland (from Crantz.)*	*Esquimaux.*
A cloud	Aiengich			
The wind	Caitchee			
The sea	Alaooch	Emai	—	Ut-koo-tuk-lea
Water	Tangch	Mooe		
Fire	Keiganach	—	—	E-ko-ma
Wood	Hearach			
A knife	Kamelac			
A house	Oolac	—	Iglo	Tope-uck
A canoe	Eakeac	Caiac	Kaiak	Kirock
A paddle	Chasec	Pangehon	Pautik	Pow
Iron	Comeleuch	Shawik	—	Shaveck
A bow	Seicch	—	—	Petick sic
Arrows	Agadhok	—	—	Caukjuck
Darts	Ogwalook	—	Aglikak	
A fish-hook	Oochtac			
No	Net	Ena	Nag	
Yes, or yea	Ah	Eh	Illisve	
One	Taradac	Adowjak	Attousek	Attouset
Two	Alac	Aiba	Arlak	Mardluk
Three	Canoogn	Pingashook	Pingajuah	Pingasut
Four	Sechu	Shetamik	Sissamat	Sissamat
Five	Chang	Dallamik	Tellimat	Tellimat
Six	Atoo	*In counting more than five, they repeat the same words over again.*	—	Arbanget
Seven	Ooloo		—	Arbanget, Attausek
Eight	Kamching			Arbanget mardlik
Nine	Seching	—	—	Kollin illoet
Ten	Hasc	—	—	Kollit.

A COMPARATIVE TABLE OF NUMERALS,

EXHIBITING THE AFFINITY AND EXTENT OF LANGUAGE, WHICH IS FOUND TO PREVAIL IN ALL THE ISLANDS OF THE EASTERN SEA, AND DERIVED FROM THAT SPOKEN ON THE CONTINENT OF ASIA, IN THE COUNTRY OF THE MALAYES.

N.B. The Malaye being considered as the root, three specimens of its Numerals stand separate at the top of the Table. The derivative branches are ranged and numbered, according to the longitudinal situation of the several places, proceeding from Madagascar, the most western boundary, eastward to Easter Island. In the instances marked with a star, liberty has been taken to separate the Article from the Numeral.

	Malay.	*Malay at Sumatra.*	*Malay.*
One,	Satu	Satoo	Sa.
Two,	Dua	Duo	Dua.
Three,	Tiga	Teego	Teega.
Four,	Enpa	Ampat	Ampat.
Five,	Lyma	Leemoo	Leem.
Six,	Nam	Anam	Nam and Anam.
Seven,	Toufou	Toojoo	Toojoo.
Eight,	De-lappan	Slappan	Delapan.
Nine,	Sambalan	Sambilan	Sambelan.
Ten,	Sapola	Sapooloo	Sapooloo.
	HERBERT, p. 368.	MARSDEN, p. 163.	FORSTER'S *Observations*, p. 284.

	I. *Madagascar.*	II. *Madagascar.*	III. *Madagascar.*	IV. *Madagascar.*	V. *Acheen in Sumatra*
One,	Issee, or Essa	Eser	Isso	Isse	Sah
Two,	Roos	Roos	Tone	Rica	Dua
Three,	Tulloo, or Tailloo	Talu	Tello	Tellou	Tloo
Four,	Efax, or Efar	Effutchi	Effad	Effats	Paat
Five,	Lime, or Leman	Deemo	Fruto	Limi	Leemung
Six,	One, or Aine	Eanning	Woubla	Ene	Nam
Seven,	Heitoo, or Petoo	Feeto	Sidda	Titou	Too-joo
Eight,	Balloo	Varlo	Foulo	Walou	D'Lappan
Nine,	Seeva	Seve	Malo	Sivi	Sakoorang
Ten,	Foroo, and Fooloo	Folo	Nel	Tourou	Saploo
	PARKINSON, p. 205.	DRURY, p. 457.	HERBERT, p. 22.	SIR JOSEPH BANKS, COOK'S *Voyages*, vol. i. p. 321.	MARSDEN, p. 169.

	VI. *Lampoon, in Sumatra.*	VII. *Batta, in Sumatra.*	VIII. *Rejang, in Sumatra.*	IX. *Princes Island.*	X. *Java.*
One,	Sye	Sadah	Do	Hegie	Sigi
Two,	Rowah	Duo	Dooy	Dua	Lorou
Three,	Tulloo	Toloo	Tellou	Tollu	Tullu
Four,	Ampah	Opat	M pat	Opat	Pappat
Five,	Leemah	Leemah	Lema	Limah	Limo
Six,	Annam	Onam	Noom	Gunnap	Nunnam
Seven,	Pectoo	Paitoo	Toojooa	Tudju	Petu
Eight,	Ooalloo	Ooalloa	De-lapoon	Delapan	Wolo
Nine,	Seewah	Seeah	Sembilan	Salapan	Songo
Ten,	Pooloo	Sapooloo	De Pooloo	Sapoulo	Sapoulo
	MARSDEN, p. 168.	MARSDEN, p. 168.	MARSDEN, p. 168.	SIR JOSEPH BANKS, COOK'S *Voyages*, vol. i. p. 321.	SIR JOSEPH BANKS, COOK'S *Voyages*, vol. i. p. 321.

	XI. *Tagales of Leuconia, or Manilla.*	XII. *Pampangos or Philippine.*	XIII. *Mindanao.*	XIV. *Isle of Savu.*	XV. *Island of Savu, or Savoo.*
One,	Ysa	Isa, Meetong	Isa	Isse, or Usse	Usse
Two,	Dalava or Dalova,	Ad-dua	Daua	Rooe	Lhua
Three,	Tatl, or Ytlo	At-lo	Tulu	Tulloa	Tullu
Four,	Apat	Apat	Apat	Uppa	Uppa
Five,	Lima	Lima	Lima	Lumee	Lumme
Six,	Anim	Anam	Anom	Unna	Unna
Seven,	Pito	Pitu	Petoo	Petoo	Pedu
Eight,	Valo	Valo	Walu	Aroo	Arru
Nine,	Siyam	Siam	Scaow	Saio	Saou
Ten,	Polo and Pobo	Apalo	Sanpoolu	Singooroo	Singooroo
	FORSTER'S *Observations*, p. 284.	FORSTER'S *Observations*, p. 284.	FOREST'S *Voyage*, p. 399.	PARKINSON, p. 170.	LIEUT. COOK, vol. i. p. 292.

	XVI. *Isle of Ceram.*	XVII. *Isle of Moses.* 1616.	XVIII. *New Guinea.* 1616.	XIX. *Pappua of New Guinea.*	XX. *Terra del Espiritu Santo.*
One,	O Eenta	Kaou	Tika	Oser	They named numerals as far as five or six, the same as at Annamooka.
Two,	O Looa	Roa	Roa	Serou	
Three,	O Toloo	Tolou	Tola	Kior	
Four,	O Patoo	Wati	Fatta	Tiak	
Five,	O Leema	Rima	Lima, or Liman	Rim	
Six,	O Loma	Eno	Wamma	Onim	
Seven,	O Peeto	Lvijtfou	Fita	Tik	
Eight,	O Aloo	Eialou	Wala	War	
Nine,	O Teeo	Siwa	Siwa	Siou	
Ten,	O Pooloo	Sanga Poulo	Sanga Foula	Samfour	
	PARKINSON, p. 200.	HERRERA, *from* LE MAIRE, p. 82.	HERRERA, *from* LE MAIRE, p. 81.	FOREST'S *Voyage*, p. 402.	COOK, vol. i. p. 522.

	XXI. *New Caledonia.*	XXII. *New Caledonia.*	XXIII. *Malicolo.*	XXIV. *Tanna.*	XXV. *Tanna.*
One,	*Wag Ecaing	*Par Ai	*Tsee Kaee	*Ret Tee	*Ree Dee
Two,	Wa Roo	Par Roo	E-Ry	Car Roo	Ka Roo
Three,	Wat Een	Par Ghen	E-Rei	Ka Har	Ka Har
Four,	Wat Baeek	Par Bai	E-Bats	Ka Fa	Kai Phar
Five,	Wan Nim	Pa Nim	E-Reem	Ka Rirrom	K'Reerum
Six,					
Seven,					
Eight,					
Nine,					
Ten,					
	COOK, end of vol. iii. 4to ed.	FORSTER, p. 284.	COOK, end of vol. iii. 4to ed.	FORSTER, p. 284.	COOK, end of vol. iii. 4to ed.

	XXVI. *New Zealand.*	XXVII. *New Zealand.*	XXVIII. *New Zealand.*	XXIX. *Horn Islands.* 1616.	XXX. *Isle of Cocos.* 1616.
One,	Tahai	Ka Tahe	Tahai	Tacij, or Taci	Taci
Two,	Rua	Ka Rooa	Rooa	Loua, or Loa	Loua
Three,	Torou	Ka Tarroa	Toroa	Tolou	Tolou
Four,	Ha	Ka Wha	T'Fa	Fa, and D'Fa	Fa
Five,	Rema	Ka Reema	Reema	Lima	Lima
Six,	Ono	Ka Onoo	Honnoo	Houw	Houno
Seven,	Etu	Ka Wheetoo	Widdoo		Fitou
Eight,	Warou	Ka Warroo	Warroo		Walou
Nine,	Iva	Ka Eeva	Heeva		Ywou
Ten,	Anga Hourou	Kaea Haowroo	Anga Horro	Onge Foula	Onge Foula
	LIEUT. COOK, 1770, vol. i. p. 199.	PARKINSON, p. 128.	FORSTER, p. 284.	HERRERA, *from* LE MAIRE, p. 81.	HERRERA, *from* LE MAIRE, p. 81.

	XXXI. *Friendly Islands.*	XXXII. *Island of Amsterdam.*	XXXIII. *Sandwich Islands.*	XXXIV. *Otaheite.*	XXXV. *Otaheite.*
One,	A Tahaw	Tahae	Their numerals to ten, the same as at Otaheite.	Tohe	*A Tahay
Two,	Looa	Eooa		Rooa	E Rooa
Three,	Toloo	Tooroa		Torhoa	Toroo
Four,	T'Fa	A Faa		Ha	A Haa
Five,	Neema	Neema		Il Lemi	E Reema
Six,	Vano			Whaine	A Ono
Seven,	Fidda			Hitoo	A Heitoo
Eight,	Varoo			Wallhoa	A Waroo
Nine,	Heeva			Iva	A Eeva
Ten,	Ongofooroo			Hoolhoa	A Hooroo
	FORSTER'S *Obs.* p. 284.	COOK, end of vol. iii. 4to ed.	ANDERSON'S *Vocab. in orig. ed. of* COOK.	PARKINSON, p. 64.	COOK, end of vol. iii. 4to ed.

	XXXVI. *Marquesas.*	XXXVII. *Marquisas.*	XXXVIII. *Easter Island.*	XXXIX. *Easter Island.*
One,	*A Tahee	Bo Dahai	Kat Tahaee	Ko Tahai
Two,	A Ooa	Bo Hooa	Rooa	Rooa
Three,	A Toroa	Bo Dooo	Toroo	Toroo
Four,	A Faa	Bo Ha	Ha, and Fa	Haa
Five,	A Aeema	Bo Heema	Reema	Reena
Six,	A Ono	Bo Na	Honoo	Hono
Seven,	A Wheetoo	Bo Hiddoo	Heedoo	Hiddoo
Eight,	A Waoo	Bo Wahoo	Varoo	Varoo
Nine,	A Eeva	Bo Heeva	Heeva	Heeva
Ten,	Whannahoo, and Whannahooee	Bo Nahoo	Atta Hooroo, Anna Hooroo	Ana Hooroo
	COOK, end of vol. iii. 4to ed.	FORSTER'S *Obs.* p. 284.	COOK, end of vol. iii. 4to ed.	FORSTER'S *Obs.* p. 284.

APPENDIX.

Before proceeding to offer in detail, as we propose, a brief sketch of the remarkable changes in the condition of the several countries which were either in the first instance discovered by Cook, as the Sandwich Islands—or, respecting which we are chiefly indebted to his researches for our most authentic early information, as New Zealand, it may be useful to give a rapid survey of the progress of maritime discovery in the fields which he traversed, both before, and since, his yet unequalled labours.

In his first voyage, commenced in August 1768, and terminating in July 1771, we may recollect, that besides fulfilling the scientific duties which were the immediate cause of the voyage, he discovered the Society Islands; circumnavigated and made a wonderfully accurate survey of New Zealand, which was before very imperfectly known; explored the eastern coast of New Holland for a space comprising twenty-seven degrees of latitude, or upwards of two thousand miles, and passing through Endeavour Strait, determined the disputed question of the insularity of New Guinea:—that in his second voyage, the most arduous of his expeditions, he settled the long-debated problem of a supposed Southern continent, which in the fancies of mere theorists was held to be necessary as a due counterpoise to the preponderance of land in the Northern hemisphere. For although more modern discoveries have ascertained that a Southern continent does exist, yet it is not the continent of the theorists, its utmost possible dimensions falling far short of what they contended for as indispensable. New Caledonia, Georgia, and Sandwich Land were also discovered during this remarkable voyage, in the course of which, the efficacy of the precautions adopted by Cook for the preservation of his ships' crews were severely tested, yet in which, out of the full complement of both ships, only four were lost, and but one of them by sickness. The third voyage, although defeated in its main object, the discovery of the North-West Passage, was, like the former, attended with unexampled success. The shores of Behring's Strait, not only on the American, but on the Asiatic side, were traced and laid down to a greater extent and with far greater accuracy than had been before attempted even by the Russians, who claimed a country, the true boundaries of which were first made known to them by the researches of Cook. His account of Nootka Sound first led to a knowledge of the resources of the North-Western shores of America, and the value of a fur trade with China: and the whole was crowned by the important, but, alas! fatal discovery of the Sandwich Islands, a subject which even now we cannot revert to without painful feelings.

Dr. Douglas, who edited the original edition of Cook's Third Voyage, prefixed a lengthy introduction, in which he traced the career of discovery up to his time. This we had at first intended to give entire, but after consideration suppressed, much of being rendered unnecessary by the present extension of our knowledge. But such facts as are really useful we shall introduce in this place, to which indeed they more properly belong.

For nearly two centuries and a half the greater part of that immense expanse, known as the Pacific Ocean, particularly to the South of the Equator, had remained unexplored. Magalhaens' voyage was undertaken in 1519. But, observes Dr. Douglas,—

"The great aim of Magalhaens, and of the Spaniards in general, its first navigators, being merely to arrive, by this passage, at the Moluccas, and the other Asiatic Spice Islands, every intermediate part of the ocean that did not lie contiguous to their western track, which was on the north side of the Equator, of course escaped due examination; and if Mendana and Quiros, and some nameless conductors of voyages before them, by deviating from this track, and holding a westerly one from Callao, within the Southern tropic, were so fortunate as to meet with various islands there, and so sanguine as to consider those islands as marks of the existence of a neighbouring Southern continent; in the exploring of which they flattered themselves they should rival the fame of De Gama and Columbus; these feeble efforts never led to any effectual disclosure of the supposed hidden mine of the New World. On the contrary, their voyages being conducted without a judicious plan, and their discoveries being left imperfect without immediate settlement, or subsequent examination, and scarcely recorded in any well-authenticated or accurate narrations, had been almost forgot; or were so obscurely remembered, as only to serve the purpose of producing perplexing debates about their situation and extent; if not to suggest doubts about their very existence.

"It seems, indeed, to have become a very early object of policy in the Spanish councils to discontinue and to discourage any farther researches in that quarter. Already masters of a larger empire on the continent of America than they could conveniently govern, and of richer mines of the precious metals on that continent than they could convert into use, neither avarice nor ambition furnished reasons for aiming at a fresh accession of dominions. And thus, though settled all along the shores of this ocean, in a situation so commodious for prosecuting discoveries throughout its wide extent, the Spaniards remained satisfied with a coasting intercourse between their own ports; never stretching across the vast gulph that separates that part of America from Asia, but in an unvarying line of navigation; perhaps in a single annual ship, between Acapulco and Manilla.

"The tracks of other European navigators of the South Pacific Ocean were, in a great measure, regulated by those of the Spaniards; and consequently limited within the same narrow bounds. With the exception, perhaps, of two instances only, those of Le Maire and Roggewein, no ships of another nation had entered this sea, through the Strait of Magalhaens, or round Cape Horn, but for the purposes of clandestine trade with the Spaniards, or of open hostility against them: purposes which could not be answered, without precluding any probable chance of adding much to our stock of discovery. For it was obviously incumbent on all such adventurers, to confine their cruises within a moderate distance of the Spanish settlements, in the vicinity of which alone they could hope to exercise their commerce, or to execute their predatory and military operations. Accordingly, soon after emerging from the Strait, or completing the circuit of Tierra del Fuego, they began to hold a northerly course, to the uninhabited island of Juan Fernandez, their usual spot of rendezvous and refreshment. And, after ranging along the continent of America, from Chili to California, they either reversed their course back to the Atlantic; or, if they ventured to extend their voyage, by stretching over to Asia, they never thought of trying experiments in the unfrequented and unexplored parts of the ocean; but chose the beaten path (if the expression may be used), within the limits of which it was likely they might meet with a Philippine galleon, to make their voyage profitable to themselves; but could have little

prospect, if they had been desirous, of making it useful to the world, by gaining any accession of new land to the map of the world.

"By the natural operation of these causes, it could not but happen that little progress should be made toward obtaining a full and accurate knowledge of the South Pacific Ocean. Something, however, had been attempted by the industrious and once enterprising Dutch; to whom we are indebted for three voyages, undertaken for the purposes of discovery; and whose researches in the southern latitudes of this ocean are much better ascertained than are those of the earlier Spanish navigators above mentioned.

"Le Maire and Schouten, in 1616, and Roggewein, in 1722, wisely judging that nothing new could beg ained by adhering to the usual passage on the north side of the Line, traversed this ocean from Cape Horn to the East Indies, crossing the South tropic, a space which had been so seldom, and so ineffectually visited, though popular belief, fortified by philosophical speculation, expected there to reap the richest harvest of discovery.

"Tasman, in 1642, in his extensive circuit from Batavia through the South Indian Ocean, entered the South Pacific at its greatest distance from the American side, where it never had been examined before. And his range continued from a high Southern latitude, northward to New Guinea, and the islands to the east of it, near the Equator, produced intermediate discoveries that have rendered his voyage memorable in the annals of navigation.

"Still, upon the whole, what was effected in these three expeditions served only to show how large a field was reserved for future and more persevering examination. The discoveries were few, and made very imperfectly. Some coasts were approached but not landed upon, and passed without waiting to examine their extent and connexion with those that might exist at no great distance. If others were landed upon, the visits were in general so transient, that it was scarcely possible to build upon a foundation so weakly laid, any information that could even gratify idle curiosity, much less satisfy philosophical inquiry, or contribute greatly to the safety or to the success of future navigation. Let us, however, do justice to these beginnings of discovery. To the Dutch we must at least ascribe the merit of being our harbingers, though we afterward went beyond them in the road they had first ventured to tread."

The spirit of enterprize, which on the first discovery of North America seemed to animate the whole English nation, soon degenerated from noble objects, and became lost in the lust of plunder; and buccaneering cruises, conducted upon the favourite maxim, that there was "No peace beyond the Line," were thought to be both more pleasant and profitable than the founding of colonies or the extension of commerce. The latter object had, as we have seen, stimulated the Dutch to make an effort, but it was a feeble one. But at length a touch of the old buccaneering spirit led to Lord Anson's memorable voyage, which was undertaken for the purpose of intercepting the annual galleon from Lima to Manilla, in which he succeeded. His success in circumnavigating the globe, and the published account of his voyage, with all the difficulties and dangers encountered in the dreaded Strait of Magalhaens, roused the public from the apathy into which they had fallen respecting further discovery in these unknown regions.

George III., who had then recently ascended the throne, was very earnest in forwarding every design for further discovery, and, under his directions, voyage followed voyage in quick succession. In June 1764, Byron was despatched with two vessels, the Dolphin and the Tamar. He returned in May 1766, and in the following August Captain Wallis, in the Dolphin, and Captain Carteret, in the Swallow, set sail; but the vessels separating

on the voyage, and by keeping different routes having made different discoveries, this expedition may be considered as two distinct voyages. Wallis returned in May 1768, just in time to communicate the important information of the discovery of Tahiti, which changed the destination of Cook, who departed in the Endeavour on his first voyage three months afterwards. Carteret did not return till the following March.

The voyages of Byron, Wallis, and Carteret were principally confined to researches in the South Atlantic, which resulted in little beyond a survey of the Falkland Islands, and an examination of the difficult passage through the Strait of Magalhaens. The discoveries which they made in the Pacific, on their homeward course, were almost accidental, and, with the exception of Tahiti, not very important. It was reserved for Cook to complete the hydrography of that part of the world, or, at least, to use his own words, "to leave little more to be done there."

The discoveries of Cook and his immediate predecessors roused the pride and alarmed the jealousy of the French, who despatched first Bougainville, and subsequently the ill-fated La Peyrouse, on voyages of discovery, which were prosecuted with zeal and talent, but yet contributed little in extending the knowledge of those parts of the globe which Cook had traversed. With respect to the whole of the islands which are so thickly scattered over the tropical portion of the Pacific Ocean, the same has been the result with our own navigators, whether engaged in the service of the Crown, or on private speculations. All the main groups had been visited by Cook. Many islands unknown to him have been discovered, but they may all be referred to some one of the groups he described, and with the exception of Pitcairn's Island, to which a sort of romantic intererest is attached, as the place of refuge sought by the relics of the mutinous crew of the Bounty, none possess any distinctive character which demands special attention. Any detail in this place therefore of discovery in the South Seas, beyond that which will be necessary in noticing the present condition of the more important groups, would occupy our pages unprofitably.

The researches of Cook in the high Southern latitudes, for a great length of time, damped all expectation of further discoveries in that quarter, and it is to observations occurring in private mercantile voyages that we owe the first extension of our knowledge in that quarter. But for all that we can communicate upon this point we must refer to the head of "Sandwich Land" in this Appendix, where we have given a summary of what has been effected in the exploration of the Antarctic regions, up to the latest accounts of the expedition under Capt. J. C. Ross. We now therefore turn to the main object of the third expedition of Captain Cook, the solution of the long-disputed problem of a North-West Passage into the Pacific. This had long been an object of desire, and more expeditions have been fitted out for the attempt than have ever been undertaken for the accomplishment of any single point of maritime discovery. In our own day, the researches of Parry, Franklin, and Ross have determined the point that no passage exists to the southward of the 74th degree of North latitude; but still there seems every probability that beyond that limit a passage exists. Nearly the whole of the northern shores of America having been traced by the joint labours of Hearne, Franklin, Richardson, and Beechey, the improbability, almost the impossibility, of the passage, if there be one, ever becoming navigable is sufficiently proved. A sketch of the various attempts that have been made from time to time will nevertheless here properly find a place, and up to the period of Capt. Cook's expedition we shall have recourse to the account given by Dr. Douglas.

"It was obvious," he remarks, "that if such a passage could be effected, voyages to

Japan and China, and indeed to the East Indies in general, would be much shortened; and consequently become more profitable than by making the tedious circuit of the Cape of Good Hope. Accordingly, it became a favourite object of the English to effectuate this above two centuries ago; and (to say nothing of Cabot's original attempt, in 1497, which ended in the discovery of Newfoundland, and the Labrador coast) from Frobisher's first voyage to find a western passage in 1576, to those of James and of Fox, in 1631, repeated trials had been made by our enterprising adventurers. But though farther knowledge of the northern extent of America was obtained in the course of these voyages by the discovery of Hudson's and Baffin's Bays, the wished-for passage, on that side, into the Pacific Ocean, was still unattained. Our countrymen and the Dutch were equally unsuccessful, in various attempts to find this passage in an eastern direction. Wood's failure in 1676, seems to have closed the long list of unfortunate northern expeditions in that century; and the discovery, if not absolutely despaired of, by having been so often missed, ceased, for many years, to be sought for.

"Mr. Dobbs, a warm advocate for the probability of a North-West Passage through Hudson's Bay, in our own time, once more recalled the attention of this country to that undertaking; and, by his active zeal and persevering solicitation, renewed the spirit of discovery. But it was renewed in vain. For Captain Middleton, sent out by Government in 1741, and Captains Smith and Moore, by a private society, in 1746, though encouraged by an act of parliament passed in the preceding year that annexed a reward of twenty thousand pounds to the discovery of a passage, returned from Hudson's Bay with reports of their proceedings that left the accomplishment of this favourite object at as great a distance as ever.

"When researches of this kind, no longer left to the solicitations of an individual, or to the subscriptions of private adventurers, became cherished by the Royal attention, in the present reign*, and warmly promoted by the minister at the head of the naval department, it was impossible, while so much was done toward exploring the remotest corners of the Southern hemisphere, that the Northern Passage should not be attempted. Accordingly, while Captain Cook was prosecuting his voyage toward the South Pole, in 1773, Lord Mulgrave sailed with two ships, *to determine how far navigation was practicable toward the North Pole.* And though his Lordship met with the same insuperable bar to his progress which former navigators had experienced†, the hopes of opening a communication between the Pacific and Atlantic Oceans, by a northerly course, were not abandoned; and a voyage for that purpose was ordered to be undertaken.

"The operations proposed to be pursued were so new, so extensive, and so various, that the skill and experience of Captain Cook, it was thought, would be requisite to conduct them. Without being liable to any charge of want of zeal for the public service, he might have passed the rest of his days in the command to which he had been appointed in Greenwich Hospital, there to enjoy the fame he had dearly earned in two circumnavigations of the world. But he cheerfully relinquished this honourable station at home; and, happy that the Earl of Sandwich had not cast his eye upon any other commander, engaged in the conduct of an expedition, that would expose him to the toils and perils of a third circumnavigation, by a track hitherto unattempted. Every former navigator round the globe had made his passage home to Europe by the Cape of Good Hope; the arduous task was now assigned to Captain Cook, of attempting it, by reaching the high Northern latitudes between

* That of George III.

† See the history of former attempts to sail toward the North Pole, in the introduction to Lord Mulgrave's Journal. Mr. Barrington has collected several instances of ships advancing to very high latitudes. See his Miscellanies, p. 1—124.

Asia and America. So that the usual plan of discovery was reversed; and instead of a passage from the Atlantic to the Pacific, one from the latter into the former was to be tried. For it was wisely foreseen, that whatever openings or inlets there might be on the east side of America, which lie in a direction which could give any hopes of a passage, the ultimate success of it would still depend upon there being an open sea between the west side of that continent, and the extremities of Asia. Captain Cook, therefore, was ordered to proceed into the Pacific Ocean, through the chain of his new islands in the Southern tropic, and having crossed the equator into its northern parts, then to hold such a course as might probably fix many interesting points in geography, and produce intermediate discoveries in his progress northward to the principal scene of his operations.

"That nothing might be omitted that could facilitate the success of Captain Cook's expedition, some time before he sailed, in the beginning of the summer of 1776, Lieutenant Pickersgill, appointed commander of his Majesty's armed brig the Lion, was ordered 'to proceed to Davis's Straits, for the protection of the British whale-fishers;' and that first object being secured, he was then 'required and directed to proceed up Baffin's Bay, and explore the coasts thereof, as far as, in his judgment, the same could be done without apparent risk, taking care to leave the above-mentioned bay so timely as to secure his return to England in the fall of the year;' and it was farther enjoined to him, 'to make nautical remarks of every kind, and to employ Mr. Lane (master of the vessel under his command) in surveying, making charts, and taking views of the several bays, harbours, and different parts of the coasts which he might visit, and in making such notations thereon as might be useful to geography and navigation.'

"Pickersgill, we see, was not to attempt the discovery of the passage. He was directed to explore the coasts of Baffin's Bay, with a view only to bring back, the same year, some information which might be a useful direction toward planning an intended voyage into that bay the ensuing summer, to try for the discovery of a passage on that side, with a view to co-operate with Captain Cook, who, it was supposed (from the tenor of his instructions), would be trying for this passage about the same time, from the opposite side of America.

"Pickersgill, obeying his instructions, at least in this instance, did return that year; but there were sufficient reasons for not sending him out again; and the command of the next expedition into Baffin's Bay was conferred on Lieutenant Young.

"It was natural to hope, that something would have been done in one or other, or in both these voyages of the Lion, that might have opened our views with regard to the practicability of a passage from this side of America. But, unfortunately, the execution did not answer the expectations conceived. Pickersgill, who had acquired professional experience when acting under Captain Cook, justly merited the censure he received, for improper behaviour when entrusted with command in Davis's Straits; and the talents of Young, as it afterward appeared, were more adapted to contribute to the glory of a victory, as commander of a line-of-battle ship, than to add to geographical discoveries, by encountering mountains of ice, and exploring unknown coasts.

"Both Pickersgill and Young having been ordered to proceed into Baffin's Bay, and Captain Cook being directed not to begin his search till he should arrive in the latitude of 65°, it may not be improper to say something here of the reasons which weighed with those who planned the voyages, and framed the instructions, to carry their views so far northward, as the proper situation, where the passage, if it existed at all, was likely to be attempted with success. It may be asked, why was Hudson's Bay neglected on our side of America? and

why was not Captain Cook ordered to begin his search on its opposite side, in much lower latitudes? particularly, why not explore the strait leading into the Western sea of John de Fuca, between the latitudes of 47° and 48°; the Archipelago of St. Lazarus of Admiral de Fonte, between 50° and 55°; and the rivers and lakes through which he found a passage north-eastward, till he met with a ship from Boston?

"As to the pretended discoveries of de Fuca, the Greek pilot, or of de Fonte, the Spanish admiral, though they have sometimes found their way into fictitious maps, or have been warmly contended for by the espousers of fanciful systems, to have directed Captain Cook to spend any time in tracing them, would have been as wise a measure as if he had been directed to trace the situation of Lilliput or Brobdignac. The latter are, indeed, confessedly, mere objects of imagination; and the former, destitute of any sufficient external evidence, bear so many striking marks of internal absurdity, as warrant our pronouncing them to be the fabric of imposture. Captain Cook's instructions were founded on an accurate knowledge of what had been already done, and of what still remained to do; and this knowledge pointed out the inutility of beginning his search for a passage till his arrival in the latitude of 65°; of which every fair and capable inquirer will be abundantly convinced, by an attention to the following particulars.

"Middleton, who commanded the expedition in 1741 and 1742, into Hudson's Bay, had proceeded farther north than any of his predecessors in that navigation. But though, from his former acquaintance with that Bay, to which he had frequently sailed in the service of the company, he had entertained hopes of finding out a passage through it into the Pacific Ocean, the observations which he was now enabled to make induced him to change his opinion; and on his return to England, he made an unfavourable report. Mr. Dobbs, the patron of the enterprize, did not acquiesce in this; and, fortified in his original idea of the practicability of the passage, by the testimony of some of Middleton's officers, he appealed to the public, accusing him of having misrepresented facts, and of having, from interested motives, in concert with the Hudson's Bay Company, decided against the practicability of the passage, though the discoveries of his own voyage had put it within his reach.

"He had, between the latitude of 65° and 66°, found a very considerable inlet running westward, into which he entered with his ships; and, 'after repeated trials of the tides, and endeavours to discover the nature and course of the opening, for three weeks successively, he found the flood constantly to come from the eastward; and that it was a large river he had got into;' to which he gave the name of Wager River *.

"The accuracy, or rather the fidelity of this report was denied by Mr. Dobbs, who contended that this opening *is a strait, and not a fresh-water river*, and that Middleton, if he had examined it properly, would have found a passage through it to the Western American Ocean. The failure of this voyage, therefore, only served to furnish our zealous advocate for the discovery with new arguments for attempting it once more; and he had the good fortune, after getting the reward of twenty thousand pounds established by act of parliament, to prevail upon a society of gentlemen and merchants to fit out the Dobbs and California; which ships, it was hoped, would be able to find their way into the Pacific Ocean, by the very opening which Middleton's voyage had pointed out, and which he was believed to have misrepresented.

"This renovation of hope only produced fresh disappointment. For it is well known, that the voyage of the Dobbs and California, instead of confuting, strongly confirmed all that

* See the Abstract of his Journal, published by Mr. Dobbs.

Middleton had asserted. The supposed strait was found to be nothing more than a fresh-water river, and its utmost western navigable boundaries were now ascertained, by accurate examination. But though Wager's Strait had thus disappointed our hopes, as had also done Rankin's Inlet, which was now found to be a close bay; and though other arguments founded on the supposed course of the tides in Hudson's Bay appeared to be groundless; such is our attachment to an opinion once adopted, that, even after the unsuccessful issue of the voyage of the Dobbs and California, a passage through some other place in that bay was, by many, considered as attainable; and, particularly, Chesterfield's (formerly called Bowden's) Inlet, lying between latitude 63° and 64°, succeeded Wager's Strait, in the sanguine expectations of those who remained unconvinced by former disappointments.

"But this last gleam of hope disappeared. The Hudson's Bay Company, in 1720, sent Messrs. Knight and Barlow in a sloop on this discovery; but these unfortunate people were never more heard of. Mr. Scroggs, who sailed in search of them, in 1722, only brought back proofs of their shipwreck, but no fresh intelligence about a passage, which he was also to look for. They also sent a sloop and a shallop, to try for this discovery, in 1737; but to no purpose. If obstructions were thrown in the way of Captain Middleton, and of the commanders of the Dobbs and California, the Governor and Committee of the Hudson's Bay Company, since that time, we must acknowledge, have made amends for the narrow prejudices of their predecessors; and we have it in our power to appeal to facts which abundantly testify that everything has been done by them that could be required by the public toward perfecting the search for a North-West Passage.

"In the year 1761, Captain Christopher sailed from Fort Churchill, in the sloop Churchill; and his voyage was not quite fruitless: for he sailed up Chesterfield's Inlet, through which a passage had, by Mr. Ellis's account of it, been so generally expected. But when the water turned brackish, which marked that he was not in a strait, but in a river, he returned.

"To leave no room for a variety of opinion, however, he was ordered to repeat the voyage the ensuing summer, in the same sloop, and Mr. Norton, in a cutter, was appointed to attend him. By the favour of the Governor and Committee of the Company, the Journals of Captain Christopher, and of Mr. Norton, and Captain Christopher's chart of the Inlet, have been readily communicated. From these authentic documents, it appears that the search and examination of Chesterfield's Inlet was now completed. It was found to end in a fresh-water lake, at the distance of about one hundred and seventy miles from the sea. This lake was found also to be about twenty-one leagues long, and from five to ten broad, and to be completely closed up on every side, except to the west, where there was a little rivulet; to survey the state of which, Mr. Norton and the crew of the cutter having landed and marched up the country, saw that it soon terminated in three falls, one above another, and not water for a small boat over them; and ridges, mostly dry from side to side, for five or six miles higher.

"Thus ends Chesterfield's Inlet, and all Mr. Ellis's expectations of a passage through it to the Western Ocean. The other part of the coast, from latitude 62° to the South Point of Main, within which limits hopes were also entertained of finding a passage, have, of late years, been thoroughly explored. It is here that Pistol Bay is situated; which the author who has writ last in this country, on the *probability of a North-West Passage* *, speaks of as the only remaining part of Hudson's Bay where this western communication may exist. But

* Printed for Jeffreys, in 1768. His words are, "There remains then to be searched for the discovery of a passage, the opening called Pistol Bay, in Hudson's Bay." P. 122.

this has been also examined; and, on the authority of Captain Christopher, we can assure the reader that there is no inlet of any consequence in all that part of the coast. Nay, he has, in an open boat, sailed round the bottom of what is called Pistol Bay, and, instead of a passage to a western sea, found it does not run above three or four miles inland.

"Besides these voyages by sea, which satisfy us that we must not look for a passage to the south of 67° of latitude, we are indebted to the Hudson's Bay Company for a journey by land which has thrown much additional light on this matter, by affording what may be called demonstration, how much farther north, at least in some part of their voyage, ships must hold their course, before they can pass from one side of America to the other. The Northern Indians, who come down to the Company's forts for trade, had brought to the knowledge of our people the existence of a river; which, from the copper abounding near it, had got the name of the Copper-mine River."

The Hudson's Bay Company despatched Mr. Hearne, a young gentleman in their service, "who having been an officer in the Navy, was well qualified to make observations for fixing the longitude and latitude, and making drawings," to explore this river to its junction with the sea; a service which he executed in the most satisfactory manner. He reached the mouth of the river, which he found to be in latitude 72° N., communicating with an open sea, navigated coastways by Esquimaux Indians in skin canoes, who carried on there a successful fishing for seals and whales. Hearne's discovery, and the information he was able to obtain from the Indians as to the possibility of navigating the sea bounding the northern shores of America, encouraged the hopes of those who were sanguine as to the practicability of a North-West Passage, although it taught them to seek for it in a more northerly direction than Hudson's Bay.

To meet the general desire for the solution of a problem now more interesting than ever, both in a commercial and in a scientific point of view, Captain Cook was directed to attempt the passage by the way of Behring's Straits, and Pickersgill and Young were successively despatched to make attempts to join him from the opposite shore; a plan very well devised, but, as we have seen, baffled at all points.

Before fresh enterprizes of peace could be undertaken, the clouds of war appeared upon the horizon, and the storm too soon burst, and, with a violence unknown since the disruption of the monarchies of old, shook the foundations of society. The struggle then was to preserve our own station in the advanced posts of civilization, and to lend our aid to those states similarly circumstanced; and the remembrance of these facts will explain the otherwise unaccountable indifference with which, for a long period, the efforts of the Missionaries who so early followed the footsteps of the adventurous seaman were treated at home. But we are here wandering somewhat from our immediate subject, since we have never heard of Missionary enterprize among the Esquimaux, or the natives of Oonalashka, or Nootka Sound.

Peace had no sooner returned to earth than another scientific voyage was undertaken. Lieutenant Kotzebue, in a vessel named the Rurik, fitted out for discovery at the expense of the Russian Count Romansoff, proceeded round Cape Horn, and attempted the discovery of the North-West Passage by the way of Behring's Strait. This he passed, and entered on the sea which washes the northern shore of North America; discovering also the Sound which bears his name, and which had been passed unobserved by Captain Cook. He returned unsuccessful, as far as even the slightest attempt at a passage is concerned, since he did not succeed in reaching Icy Cape.

Kotzebue, in the course of his voyages, visited Otaheite and many of the islands included

in the general title of Polynesia, and gave great offence to the Missionaries by the remarks which, in the published account of his voyage, he made on the line of conduct they had adopted. We shall ourselves, necessarily, though unwillingly, be obliged to express an unfavourable opinion on some parts of the system they have pursued; but in all the observations we have made, or shall make, on that subject, we ground our judgment exclusively on their own statements. We hold the office which they have undertaken to be the highest to which human intellect can aspire, and accordingly reverence it; and if we venture to offer an opinion that in some points they have been in error, we do so not in a captious or inimical spirit, but in one of honest friendship.

The successive voyages of Ross and Parry, extending almost uninterruptedly from 1818 to 1825, and again from 1829 to 1833 (Captain Ross's private voyage), although affording many important additions to science, especially as regards the hitherto but little-understood nature of terrestrial magnetism, have left the question of the existence of any North-West Passage as doubtful as ever.

Meantime the researches of Franklin and Richardson, aided by those of Captain Beechey, have laid open, with the exception of about 150 miles, the whole of the northern coast of America, up to that barrier which seems destined ever to check any advance by sea from the eastward.

Captain Beechey, who, in his voyage round the world, which commencing in 1822 lasted until 1826, ranged through nearly all the tracks covered by Cook, is the only voyager who has gone beyond him in northern discovery. He passed Behring's Straits, and being favoured by the season, weathered Icy Cape, and pushed along by sea on the northern coast of America as far as 156° 21½′ West longitude, being then in latitude 71° 23′ North, leaving only the comparatively insignificant space already mentioned between him and the discoveries of Franklin.

The search for a North-West Passage by sea may now be considered as abandoned, and any immediate benefit which the extensive survey of the northern coasts of America which has resulted from it is, not undeservedly, reaped by the Hudson's Bay Company, a corporate body, the value of whose influence among the North-American Indians is scarcely appreciated by us. To them we owe the important possession of Vancouver, formerly Astoria, on the Columbia River; and if, as is probable, we ultimately secure the whole western coast of America as far south as California, we shall owe it chiefly to the exertions of those hardy pioneers.

Having now completed a general survey of the results of the various enterprizes conducted by Captain Cook, we shall proceed to a minuter notice of the more important subjects alluded to, observing to some extent the order of the several voyages.

POLYNESIA.

UNDER the general title of "Polynesia," geographers have classed the various islands found in the Pacific, from the Ladrones to Easter Island. The principal groups are the Ladrone Islands, the Carolinas, and the Pelew Islands, (which not having been found by Captain Cook, do not demand a place in this Appendix,) the Sandwich Islands, the Friendly Islands, the Navigators' Islands, the Hervey Islands, the Society Islands, the Georgian Islands, the Marquesas, and Easter Island.

Throughout all these islands, the resemblance in the habits of domestic life and in reli-

gious ceremonies is so close as to render it more convenient to consider them in these relations all together, before proceeding to notice them individually; and for this purpose we have availed ourselves of the labours of Mr. Ellis, in his Polynesian Researches, from whence we have transcribed the following general account of the Polynesian Islands.

"The islands of the Pacific are inhabited by two tribes of men totally distinct, and in some respects entirely different from each other. The most ancient tribe is composed of what are designated Oceanic negroes, who are distinguished by the darkness of the skin, smallness of stature, and particularly by their black woolly or crisped hair. The other tribe exhibits many of the distinguishing features which belong to the physical character of the Malayan and aboriginal American tribes. The former race more properly belong to Australasia, as by them New Holland, New Guinea, New Britain, New Caledonia, and the New Hebrides are peopled; while on one of the islands, still farther to the westward, both tribes take up their abode, and yet remain distinct; the Oceanic negroes dwelling in the interior, and among the mountain fastnesses, while those of a fairer complexion form their settlements along the shore. In the vicinity of the Friendly Islands they appear to be blended. The greater part of Polynesia appears to be inhabited by those who present in their physical character many points of resemblance to the Malays and South Americans, but yet differ materially from either, and seem to form an intermediate race.

"Although, with very few exceptions, all the inhabitants of these islands, to which the designation of Polynesia is given, exhibit the leading marks of the tribe to which they belong, the people of each cluster are distinguished by some minor peculiarities. The following description refers to the inhabitants of the Georgian, Society, and adjacent islands, which, for the sake of brevity, are designated Tahitians, or Society Islanders.

"The Tahitians are generally above the middle stature; but their limbs are less muscular and firm than those of the Sandwich Islanders, whom in many respects they resemble. They are, at the same time, more robust than the Marquesans, who are the most light and agile of the inhabitants of Eastern Polynesia. In size and physical power they are inferior to the New Zealanders, and probably resemble in person the Friendly Islanders as much as any others in the Pacific; exhibiting, however, neither the gravity of the latter, nor the vivacity of the Marquesans. Their limbs are well formed, and although, where corpulency prevails, there is a degree of sluggishness, they are generally active in their movements, graceful and stately in their gait, and perfectly unembarrassed in their address. Those who reside in the interior, or frequently visit the mountainous parts of the islands, form an exception to this remark. The constant use of the naked feet in climbing the steep sides of the rocks, or the narrow defiles of the ravines, probably induces them to turn their toes inwards, which renders their gait exceedingly awkward*.

"Among the many models of perfection in the human figure that appear in the islands, (presenting to the eye of the stranger all that is beautiful in symmetry and graceful in action,) instances of deformity are now frequently seen, arising from a loathsome disease, of foreign origin, affecting the features of the face, and muscular parts of the body. There is another disease, which forms such a curvature of the upper part of the spine, as to produce what is termed a humped or broken back. The disease which produces this

* This mode of walking is also that of the North American Indians, and it would appear to be that natural to man. All the toes having thus their due share of work, the traveller suffers much less fatigue than when he relies, as he must when turning the toes out, chiefly on the great toe. Mr. Catlin, in his Letters on the North American Indians, gives a curious account of his personal experience whilst making trial of both modes of walking.

distortion of shape, and deformity of appearance, is declared, by the natives, to have been unknown to their ancestors; and, according to the accounts some of them give of it, was the result of a disease left by the crew of Vancouver's ship. It does not prevail in any of the other groups; and although such numbers are now affected with it, there is no reason to believe, that, formerly, except the many disfigurements produced by the elephantiasis, which appears to have prevailed from their earliest antiquity, a deformed person was seldom seen.

"The countenance of the Society Islander is open and prepossessing, though the features are bold, and sometimes prominent. The facial angle is frequently as perpendicular as in the European structure, excepting where the frontal and the occipital bones of the skull were pressed together in infancy. This was frequently done by the mothers, with the male children, when they were designed for warriors. The forehead is sometimes low, but frequently high, and finely formed; the eye-brows are dark and well defined, occasionally arched, but more generally straight; the eyes seldom large, but bright and full, and of a jet-black colour; the cheek-bones not high; the nose either rectilinear or aquiline, often accompanied with a fulness about the nostrils; it is seldom flat, notwithstanding it was formerly the practice of the mothers and nurses to press the nostrils of the female children, a flat and broad nose being by many regarded as more handsome than otherwise. The mouth in general is well formed, though the lips are sometimes large, yet never so much so as to resemble those of the African. The teeth are always entire, excepting in extreme old age, and, though rather large in some, are remarkably white, and seldom either discoloured or decayed. The ears are large, and the chin retreating or projecting, most generally inclining to the latter. The form of the face is either round or oval, and but very seldom exhibits any resemblance to the angular form of the Tartar visage, while their profile frequently bears a most striking resemblance to that of the European. Their hair is a shining black or dark brown colour; straight, but not lank and wiry like that of the American Indian, nor, excepting in a few solitary instances, woolly like the New Guinea or New Holland negroes. Frequently it is soft and curly, though seldom so fine as that of the civilized nations inhabiting the temperate zones.

"There is a considerable difference between the stature of the male and female sex here, as well as in other parts of the world, yet not so great as that which often prevails in Europe. The females, though generally more delicate in form and smaller in size than the men, are, taken altogether, stronger and larger than the females of England, and sometimes remarkably tall and stout. A roundness and fulness of figure, without extending to corpulency, distinguishes the people in general, particularly the females.

"It is a singular fact in the physiology of the inhabitants of this part of the world, that the chiefs, and persons of hereditary rank and influence in the islands, are, almost without exception, as much superior to the peasantry or common people, in stateliness, dignified deportment, and physical strength, as they are in rank and circumstances; although they are not elected to their station on account of their personal endowments, but derive their rank and elevation from their ancestry. This is the case with most of the groups of the Pacific, but peculiarly so in Tahiti and the adjacent isles. The father of the late king was six feet four inches high; Pomare was six feet two. The present king of Raiatea is equally tall. Mahine, the king of Huahine, but for the effects of age, would appear little inferior. Their limbs are generally well formed, and the whole figure is proportioned to their height; which renders the difference between the rulers and their subjects so striking, that Bougainville and some others have supposed they were a distant race, the descendants of

a superior people, who at a remote period had conquered the aborigines, andp erpetuated their supremacy. It does not, however, appear necessary, in accounting for the fact, to resort to such a supposition: different treatment in infancy, superior and more regular diet, bathing, distinct habits of life, and the relation that often prevails between the physical character of parents and their children, are sufficient. Some individuals among the lower classes exhibit a stature equal to that of the chiefs; but this is of rare occurrence, and that circumstance alone does not facilitate the admission of its possessor to the higher ranks in society, though in the matrimonial alliances of their chiefs, they undoubtedly had respect to the physical superiority of their rulers. Hence, in one of their songs, the following sentiments are inculcated:—'If black be the complexion of the mother, the son will sound the conch-shell; if vigorous and strong the mother, the son will be a governor.'

"The prevailing colour of the natives is an olive, a bronze, or a reddish brown—equally removed from the jet-black of the African and the Asiatic, the yellow of the Malay, and the red or copper colour of the aboriginal American, frequently presenting a kind of medium between the two latter colours. Considerable variety, nevertheless, prevails in the complexion of the population of the same island, and as great a diversity among the inhabitants of different islands. The natives of the Palliser or Pearl Islands, a short distance to the eastward of Tahiti, are darker than the inhabitants of the Georgian group. It is not, however, a blacker hue that their skin presents, but a darker red or brown. The natives of Maniaa, or Mangeea, one of the Hervey cluster, and some of the inhabitants of Rurutu, and the neighbourhood to the south of Tahiti, designated by Malte Brun, 'the Austral Islands,' and the majority of the reigning family in Raiatea, are not darker than the inhabitants of some parts of southern Europe.

"At the time of their birth, the complexion of Tahitian infants is but little if any darker than that of European children, and the skin only assumes the bronze or brown hue as they grow up under repeated or constant exposure to the sun. Those parts of the body that are most covered, even with their loose draperies of native cloth, are, through every period of life, much lighter coloured than those that are exposed; and, notwithstanding the dark tint with which the climate appears to dye their skin, the ruddy bloom of health and vigour, or the sudden blush, is often seen mantling the youthful countenance under the light brown tinge which, like a thin veil, but partially conceals its glowing hue. The females, who are much employed in beating cloth, making mats, or other occupations followed under shelter, are usually fairer than the rest; while the fishermen, who are most exposed to the sun, are invariably the darkest portion of the population."

Government.—"The government of the South Sea Islands, like that in Hawaii, was an arbitrary monarchy. The supreme authority was vested in the king, and was hereditary in his family. It differed materially from the systems existing among the Marquesans in the east, and the New Zealanders in the south-west. There is no supreme ruler in either of these groups of islands, but the different tribes or clans are governed by their respective chieftains, each of whom is, in general, independent of any other. Regarding the inhabitants of Tahiti, and the adjacent islands, as an uncivilized people, ignorant of letters and the arts, their modes of governing were necessarily rude and irregular. In many respects, however, their institutions indicate great attention to the principles of government, an acquaintance with the means of controlling the conduct of man, and an advancement in the organization of their civil polity, which, under corresponding circumstances, is but rarely attained, and could scarcely have been expected.

"Their government, in all its multiplied ramifications, in its abstract theory, and in its practical details, was closely interwoven with their false system of religion. The god and the king were generally supposed to share the authority over mankind. The latter sometimes personated the former, and received the homage and the requests presented by the votaries of the imaginary divinity, and at other times officiated as the head of his people, in rendering their acknowledgments to the gods. The office of high-priest was frequently sustained by the king—who thus united in his person the highest civil and sacerdotal station in the land. The genealogy of the reigning family was usually traced back to the first ages of their traditionary history; and the kings, in some of the islands, were supposed to have descended from the gods. Their persons were always sacred, and their families constituted the highest rank recognized among the people."

State of Society.—"The different grades in society were not so distinctly marked in Polynesia as among the inhabitants of India, where the institution of *caste* exists; nor were they so strongly defined in Tahiti as among the Sandwich Islanders, whose government was perhaps more despotic than that which prevailed in the southern islands. The lines of separation were, nevertheless, sufficiently distinct; the higher orders being remarkably tenacious of their dignity, and jealous of its deterioration by contact with inferiors.

"Society among them was divided into three distinct ranks: the *hui arii*, the royal family and nobility—the *hue raatira*, the landed proprietors, or gentry and farmers—and the *manahune*, or common people. These three ranks were subdivided into a number of distinct classes; the lowest class included the *titi* and the *teuteu*, the slaves and servants: the former were those who had lost their liberty in battle, or who, in consequence of the defeat of the chieftains to whom they were attached, had become the property of the conquerors. This kind of slavery appears to have existed among them from time immemorial. Individuals captured in actual combat, or who fled to the chief for protection when disarmed or disabled in the field, were considered the slaves of the captor or chief by whom they were protected. The women, children, and others, who remained in the districts of the vanquished, were also regarded as belonging to them; and the lands they occupied, together with their fields and plantations, were distributed among the victors.

"We do not know that they ever carried on a traffic in slaves, or sold those whom they had conquered, though a chief might give a captive for a servant to a friend. This is the only kind of slavery that has ever obtained among them, and it corresponds with that which has prevailed in most of the nations of the earth in their rude state, or during the earlier periods of their history. This state of slavery among them was in general mild. If peace continued, the captive frequently regained his liberty after a limited servitude, and was permitted to return to his own land, or remain in voluntary service with his master.

"So long, however, as they continued slaves or captives, their lives were in jeopardy. Sometimes they were suddenly murdered, to satiate the la' t revenge of their conquerors; at others, reserved as human victims, to be offered in sacrifice to their gods. Slavery, in every form, is perfectly consistent with paganism, and it was maintained ame g the islands as one means of contributing to its support. This kind obtains in most of the clusters, but is probably far more oppressive in New Zealand than in the Society Islands. The slaves among the former are treated with the greatest cruelty, and often inhumanly murdered and eaten.

"The manahune also included the teuteu, or servants of the chiefs; all who were destitute of any land, and ignorant of the rude arts of carpentering, building, &c, which were

respected among them, and such as were reduced to a state of dependence upon those in higher stations. Although the manahune have always included a large number of the inhabitants, they have not in modern times been so numerous as some other ranks. Since the population has been so greatly diminished, the means of subsistence so abundant, and such vast portions of the country uncultivated, an industrious individual has seldom experienced much difficulty in securing at least the occupancy of a piece of land. The fishermen and artisans (sometimes ranking with this class, but more frequently with that immediately above it,) may be said to have constituted the connecting link between the two.

"The *bue raatira*, gentry and farmers, has ever been the most numerous and influential class, constituting at all times the great body of the people, and the strength of the nation. They were generally the proprietors and cultivators of the soil, and held their land, not from the gift of the king, but from their ancestors. The petty raatiras frequently possessed from 20 to 100 acres, and generally had more than their necessities required. They resided on their own lands, and enclosed so much as was necessary for their support. They were the most industrious class of the community, working their own plantations, building their own houses, manufacturing their own cloth and mats, besides furnishing these articles for the king.

"The higher class among the raatiras were those who possessed large tracts of land in one place, or a number of smaller sections in different parts. Some of them owned perhaps many hundred acres, parts of which were cultivated by those who lived in a state of dependence upon them, or by those petty raatiras who occupied their plantations on condition of rendering military service to the proprietors, and a portion of the produce. These individuals were a valuable class in the community, and constituted the aristocracy of the country. They were in general more regular, temperate, and industrious in their habits, than the higher ranks, and, in all the measures of government, imposed a restraint upon the extravagance or precipitancy of the king, who, without their co-operation, could carry but few of his measures. In their public national assemblies, the speakers often compared the nation to a ship, of which the king was the mast; and whenever this figure was used, the raatiras were always termed the shrouds, or ropes, by which the mast is kept upright. Possessing at all times the most ample stores of native provisions, the number of their dependents, or retainers, was great. The destitute and thoughtless readily attached themselves to their establishments, for the purpose of securing the means of subsistence without care or apprehension of want.

"The bue raatira, or middle class in society, formed the most important body in times of peace, and the strength of their armies in periods of war. Warriors were sometimes found among the attendants on the king or chief; but the principal dependence was upon the raatiras. These, influenced by a noble spirit of independence, accustomed to habits of personal labour, and capable of enduring the fatigues of war, were, probably from interest in the soil, moved by sentiments of patriotism more powerfully than any other portion of the people. The raatiras were frequently the priests in their own family temples; and the priests of the national maraes, excepting those allied by blood to the reigning families, were usually ranked with them.

"The hui arii, or highest class, included the king or reigning chieftain in each island, the members of his family, and all who were related to them. This class, though not numerous, was considered the most influential in the state. Being the highest in dignity and rank, its elevation in the estimation of the people was guarded with extreme care; and the indi-

viduals of whom it was composed were exceedingly pertinacious of their distinction, and jealous of the least degradation by the admission of inferiors to their dignity.

"Whenever a matrimonial connexion took place between any one of the hui arii with an individual of an inferior order, unless a variety of ceremonies was performed at the temple, by which the inferiority was supposed to be removed, and the parties made equal in dignity, all the offspring of such a union was invariably destroyed, to preserve the distinction of the reigning families."

The Regal Office, Regulations of Descent, &c.—"The king was supreme, and next to him the queen. The brothers of the king, and his parents, were nearest in rank, the other members of the family taking precedence according to their degrees of consanguinity. The regal office is hereditary and descends from the father to the eldest son: it is not, however, confined to the male sex; these islands have often been governed by a queen. Oberea was the queen of Tahiti when it was discovered by Wallis; and Aimata, the daughter of Pomare II., now exercises the supreme authority in Tahiti and Eimeo: the daughter of the king of Raiatea is also the nominal sovereign of the island of Huahine.

"The most singular usage, however, connected with the established law of primogeniture, which obtained in the islands, was the father's abdication of the throne on the birth of his son. This was an invariable, and it appears to have been an ancient practice. If the rank of the mother was inferior to that of the father, the children, whether male or female, were destroyed; but if the mother originally belonged to the hui arii, or had been raised to that elevation on her marriage with the king, she was regarded as the queen of the nation. Whatever might be the age of the king, his influence in the state, or the political aspect of affairs in reference to other tribes, as soon as a son was born, the monarch became a subject —the infant was at once proclaimed the sovereign of the people—the royal name was conferred upon him, and his father was the first to do him homage, by saluting his feet, and declaring him king. The herald of the nation was then despatched round the island with the flag of the infant king. The banner was unfurled, and the young sovereign's name proclaimed in every district. If respected, and allowed to pass, it was considered an acknowledgment, by the raatiras and chiefs, of his succession to the government; but if broken, it was regarded as an act of rebellion, or an open declaration of war. Numerous ceremonies were performed at the marae, a splendid establishment was forthwith formed for the young king, and a large train of attendants accompanied him to whatever place he was conveyed.

"Every affair, however, of importance to the internal welfare of the nation, or its foreign relations, continued to be transacted by the father, and those whom he had formerly associated with him as his counsellors; but every edict was issued in the name and on the behalf of the young ruler; and though the whole of the executive government might remain in the hands of the father, he only acted as regent for his son, and was regarded as such by the nation. The insignia of regal authority, and the homage which the father had been accustomed to receive from the people, were at once transferred to his successor. The lands, and other sources of the king's support, were appropriated to the maintenance of the household establishment of the infant ruler; and the father rendered him those demonstrations of inferiority which he himself had heretofore required from the people.

"This remarkable custom was not confined to the family of the sovereign, but prevailed among the hui arii and the raatiras. In both these classes, the eldest son immediately at his birth received the honours and titles which his father had hitherto borne.

"It is not easy to trace the origin or discover the design of a usage so singular, and appa-

rently of such high antiquity, among a people to whom it is almost peculiar. Its advantages are not very apparent, unless we suppose it was adopted by the father to secure to his son undisputed succession to his dignity and power. If this was the design, the plan was admirably adapted to its accomplishment; for the son was usually firmly fixed in the government before the father's decease, and was sometimes called to act as regent for his own son, before, according to ordinary usage, he would himself have been invested with royal dignity.

"Considering the inhabitants of the South Sea Islands as but slightly removed from barbarism, we are almost surprised at the homage and respect they paid to their rulers. The difference between them and the common people was, in many respects, far greater than that which prevails between the rulers and the ruled in most civilized countries. Whether, like the sovereigns of the Sandwich Islands, they were supposed to derive their origin by lineal descent from the gods, or not, their persons were regarded as scarcely less sacred than the personifications of their deities.

"Everything in the least degree connected with the king or queen—the cloth they wore, the houses in which they dwelt, the canoes in which they voyaged, the men by whom they were borne when they journeyed by land, became sacred—and even the sounds in the language, composing their names, could no longer be appropriated to ordinary significations. Hence, the original names of most of the objects with which they were familiar have from time to time undergone considerable alterations. The ground on which they even accidentally trod became sacred; and the dwelling under which they might enter must for ever after be vacated by its proprietors, and could be appropriated only to the use of these sacred personages. No individual was allowed to touch the body of the king or queen; and every one who should stand over them, or pass the hand over their heads, would be liable to pay for the sacrilegious act with the forfeiture of his life. It was on account of this supposed sacredness of person that they could never enter any dwellings, excepting those that were specially dedicated to their use, and prohibited to all others; nor might they tread on the ground in any part of the island but their own hereditary districts.

"The sovereign and his consort always appeared in public on men's shoulders, and travelled in this manner wherever they journeyed by land. They were seated on the neck or shoulders of their bearers, who were generally stout athletic men. The persons of the men, in consequence of their office, were regarded as sacred. The individuals thus elevated appeared to sit with ease and security, holding slightly by the head, while their feet hung down on the breast, and were clasped in the arms of the bearer. When they travelled, they proceeded at a tolerably rapid pace, frequently six miles within the hour. A number of attendants ran by the side of the bearers, or followed in their train; and when the men who carried the royal personages grew weary, they were relieved by others.

"The king and queen were always accompanied by several pairs of sacred men, or bearers, and the transit from the shoulders of one to those of another, at the termination of an ordinary stage, was accompanied with much greater despatch than the horses of a mail-coach are changed, or an equestrian could alight and remount. On these occasions, their majesties never suffered their feet to touch the ground; but when they wished to change, what to them answered the purpose of horses, they called two of the men, who were running by their side; and while the man, on whose neck they were sitting, made little more than a momentary halt, the individuals who were to take them onward fixed their hands upon their thighs, and bent their heads slightly forward: when they had assumed this position, the royal riders, with

apparently but little effort, vaulted over the head of the man on whose neck they had been sitting, and, alighting on the shoulders of his successor in office, proceeded on their journey with the shortest possible detention.

"This mode of conveyance was called *amo* or *vaha*. It could not have been very comfortable even to the riders, while to the bearers it must have been exceedingly laborious. The men selected for this duty, which was considered the most honourable post next to that of bearers of the gods, were generally exempted from labour, and, as they seldom did anything else, were not perhaps much incommoded by their office; and although the seat occupied by those they bore was not perhaps the most easy, yet as it was a mark of the highest dignity in the nation, and as none but the king and queen, and occasionally their nearest relatives, were allowed the distinction it exhibited, they felt probably a corresponding satisfaction and complacency in thus appearing before their subjects, whenever they left their hereditary district. The effect must have been somewhat imposing, when, on public occasions, vast multitudes were assembled, and their sovereign, thus elevated above every individual, appeared among them. Of the dignity it conferred, the natives themselves appear to have formed no inferior idea. It is said that Pomare II. once remarked, that he thought himself a greater man than king George, who only rode a horse, while he rode on a man.

"I am not aware that the highest rulers in the Society Islands received at any time the same kind of homage which the Hawaians occasionally paid to those chiefs who were considered to have descended from the gods. When these walked out during the season of tabu, the people prostrated themselves, with their faces touching the ground, as they passed along. A mark of homage, however, equally humiliating to those who rendered it, and probably as flattering to the individuals by whom it was received, was in far more extensive and perpetual use among the Tahitians. This was, the stripping down the upper garments, and uncovering the body as low as the waist, in the presence of the king. This homage was paid to the gods, and also to their temples. In passing these, every individual, either walking on the shore, or sailing in a canoe, removed whatever article of dress he wore upon the shoulders and breast, and passed uncovered the depository of the deities, the site of their altars, or the temples of their worship.

"Whenever the king appeared abroad, or the people approached his presence, this mark of reverence was required from all ranks; his own father and mother were not excepted, but were generally the first to uncover themselves. The people inhabiting the district through which he passed, uncovered as he approached, and those who sat in the houses by the road-side, as soon as they heard the cry of *te arii, te arii*, 'the king, the king,' stripped off their upper garments, and did not venture to replace them till he had passed. If by any accident he came upon them unexpectedly, the cloth they wore was instantly rent in pieces, and an atonement offered. Any individual whom he might pass on the road, should he hesitate to remove this part of his dress, would be in danger of losing his life on the spot, or of being marked as a victim of sacrifice to the gods.

"This distinguishing mark of respect was not only rendered at all times, and from every individual, to the person of the king, but even to his dwellings, wherever they might be. These houses were considered sacred, and were the only habitations, in any part of the island, where the king could alight, and take refreshment and repose. The ground, for a considerable space on both sides, was in their estimation sacred. A *tii*, or carved image fixed on a high pedestal, and placed by the road-side, at a short distance from the dwelling, marked the boundary of the sacred soil. All travellers passing these houses, on approaching

the first image, stripped off the upper part of their dress, and, whether the king was residing there or not, walked uncovered to the image at the opposite boundary. After passing this, they replaced their poncho, or kind of mantle, and pursued their journey.

"To refuse this homage would have been considered not only as an indication of disaffection towards the king, but as rebellion against the government, and impiety towards the gods, exposing the individuals to the vengeance of the supreme powers in the visible and invisible worlds. Such was the unapproachable elevation to which the superstitions of the people raised the rulers in the South Sea Islands, and such the marked distinction that prevailed between the king and people, from his birth, until he was superseded in title and rank by his own son!"

"The regal establishment was maintained by the produce of the hereditary districts of the reigning family, and the requisitions made upon the people. Although the authority of the king was supreme, and his power undisputed, yet he does not appear to have been considered as the absolute proprietor of the land, nor do the occupants seem to have been mere tenants-at-will, as was the fact in the Sandwich Islands.

"There were certain districts which constituted the patrimony of the royal family; in these they could walk abroad, as they were sacred lands. The other districts were regarded as belonging to their respective occupants or proprietors, who were generally raatiras, and whose interest in the soil was distinct from that of the king, and often more extensive. These lands they inherited from their ancestors, and bequeathed them to their children, or whomsoever they chose to select as their heirs. At their death the parties to whom land had been thus left, entered into undisturbed possession, as of rightful property.

"The practice of *tutuing*, or devising by will, was found to exist among them prior to the arrival of the Missionaries, and was employed not only in reference to land, but to any other kinds of property. Unacquainted with letters, they could not leave a written will, but, during a season of illness, those possessing property frequently called together the members of the family, or confidential friends, and to them gave directions for the disposal of their effects after their decease. This was considered a sacred charge, and was usually executed with fidelity.

"Every portion of land had its respective owner; and even the distinct trees on the land had sometimes different proprietors, and a tree, and the land on which it grew, different owners. The divisions of land were accurately marked by a natural boundary, as a ridge of mountains, or the course of a river, or by artificial means; and frequently a carved image, or tii, denoted the extent of their different possessions. Whether these tiis were designed to intimate that the spirits they represented guarded the borders of their property, or were used as ornaments, I could not learn, but the removal of the ancient land-marks was regarded as a heinous offence.

"The produce which the king received from his hereditary estates being seldom sufficient for the maintenance of his household, the deficiency was supplied from the different districts of the islands. The frequency, however, with which the inferior chiefs were required to bring provisions, was neither fixed nor regular, but was governed by the number of the districts, or the necessities of the king's steward. Still there was a sort of tacit agreement between the king and chiefs, as to the times when they should furnish his provision; and the usage among them, in this respect, was generally understood.

"The provision was ready dressed, though occasionally the vegetables and roots were brought uncooked, and the pigs led alive to the king's servants. The pigs, after being pre-

sented to the king, were sometimes taken back by the farmer, and fed till required for use. Cloth for the dress of the king's servants, houses for his abode, and canoes, not only for himself, but also for those of his household, were furnished by the inhabitants of the islands.

"Although the king's will was the supreme law, and the government in some respects despotic, it approximated more to a mixed administration, a union of monarchy and aristocracy. The king had usually one confidential chief near his person, who was his adviser in every affair of importance, and was, in fact, his prime minister Frequently there were two or three who possessed the confidence, and aided the counsels, of the king. These ministers were not responsible to any one for the advice they gave. So great, however, was the influence of the raatiras, that a measure of any importance, such as the declaration of war, or the fitting out a fleet, was seldom undertaken without their being first consulted. This was effected by the friends of the king going among them, and proposing the affair in contemplation, or by convening a public council for its consideration.

"Their public measures were not distinguished by promptness or decision, excepting when they wreaked vengeance upon the poor and helpless victims of their displeasure. After a meeting of the chiefs had been summoned, it was a long time before all came together, and their meetings were often interrupted by adjournments.

"Their councils were usually held in the open air, where the chiefs and others formed a circle in which the orators of the different parties took their stations opposite to each other. These orators were the principal, but not the only speakers. The king often addressed the assembly. The warriors and the raatiras also delivered their sentiments with boldness and freedom. When a difference of opinion prevailed, and words ran high, the impetuosity of their passions broke through all restraint, and sometimes the council terminated in scenes of confusion and bloodshed; or if it ended without open hostility, the chieftains returned to their respective districts, to assemble their tenantry, and prepare for war."

AREOI SOCIETY.

The following very full account of this singular institution is given by Mr. Ellis in his Polynesian Researches:—

"Although I never met with an account of any institution analogous to this, among the barbarous nations in any parts of the world, I have reason to believe it was not confined to the Society group, and neighbouring islands. It does not appear to have existed in the Marquesas or Sandwich Islands; but the Jesuit Missionaries found an institution, bearing a striking resemblance to it, among the inhabitants of the Caroline or Ladrone Islands; a privileged fraternity, whose practices were, in many respects, similar to those of the Areois of the southern islands. They were called *uritoy;* which, omitting the *t*, would not be much unlike *areoi:* a greater difference exists in the pronunciation of words known to be radically the same.

"How long this association has existed in the South Sea Islands, we have no means of ascertaining with correctness. According to the traditions of the people, its antiquity is equal to that of the system of pollution and error with which it was so intimately allied; and, by the same authority, we are informed that there have been Areois almost as long as there have been men. These, however, were all so fabulous, that we can only infer from them that the institution is of ancient origin. According to the traditions of the people,

Taaroa created, and, by means of Hina, brought forth, when full grown, Orotetefa and Urutetefa. They were not his sons; *oriori* is the term employed by the people, which seems to mean *create*. They were called the brothers of Oro, and were numbered among the inferior divinities. They remained in a state of celibacy; and hence the devotees were required to destroy their offspring. The origin of the Areois institution is as follows.

"Oro, the son of Taaroa, desired a wife from the daughters of Taata, the first man; he sent two of his brothers, Tufarapainuu and Tufarapairai, to seek among the daughters of man a suitable companion for him; they searched through the whole of the islands, from Tahiti to Borabora, but saw no one that they supposed fit to become the wife of Oro, till they came to Borabora. Here, residing near the foot of Mouatahuhuura, *red-ridged mountain*, they saw Vairaumati. When they beheld her, they said one to the other, 'This is the excellent woman for our brother. Returning to the skies, they hastened to Oro, and informed him of their success; told him they had found among the daughters of man a wife for him, described the place of her abode, and represented her as a *vahine purotu aiai*, a female possessed of every charm. The god fixed the rainbow in the heavens, one end of it resting in the valley at the foot of the red-ridged mountain, the other penetrating the skies, and this formed his pathway to the earth.

"When he emerged from the vapour, which, like a cloud, had encircled the rainbow, he discovered the dwelling of Vairaumati, the fair mistress of the cottage, who became his wife. Every evening he descended on the rainbow, and returned by the same pathway on the following morning to the heavenly regions. His wife bore a son, whom he called *Hoa-tabu-i-te-rai*,—friend, sacred to the heavens. This son became a powerful ruler among men.

"The absence of Oro from his celestial companions, during the frequent visits he made to the cottage of Vairaumati in the valley of Borabora, induced two of his younger brothers, Orotetefa and Urutetefa, to leave their abode in the skies, and commence a search after him. Descending by the rainbow in the position in which he had placed it, they alighted on the earth near the base of the red-ridged mountains, and soon perceived their brother and his wife in their terrestrial habitation. Ashamed to offer their salutations to him and his bride without a present, one of them was transformed on the spot into a pig, and a bunch of *uru*, or red feathers. These acceptable presents the other offered to the inmates of the dwelling, as a gift of congratulation. Oro and his wife expressed their satisfaction at the present; the pig and the feathers remained the same, but the brother of the god assumed his original form.

"Such a mark of attention, on such an occasion, was considered by Oro to require some expression of his commendation. He accordingly made them gods, and constituted them Areois, saying, *Ei Areoi orua i te ao, nei, ia noaa ta orua tuhaa:* 'Be you two Areois in this world, that you may have your portion (in the government,' &c.) In the commemoration of this ludicrous fable of the pig and the feathers, the Areois, in all the taupiti, and public festivals, carried a young pig to the temple; strangled it, bound it in the *ahu haio* (a loose open kind of cloth), and placed it on the altar. They also offered the red feathers, which they called the *uru maru no te Areoi*, 'the shadowy uru of the Areoi,' or the red feathers of the party of the Areoi.

"It has been already stated that the brothers, who were made gods and kings of the Areois, lived in celibacy; consequently they had no descendants. On this account, although they did not enjoin celibacy upon their devotees, they prohibited their having any offspring. Hence, one of the standing regulations of this institution was, the murder of their children.

The first company, the legend states, were nominated, according to the Oro's direction, by Urutetefa and Orotetefa, and comprised the following individuals: Huatua, of Tahiti; Tauraatua, of Moorea, or Eimeo; Temaiatea, of Sir Charles Sanders' Island; Tetoa and Atae, of Huahine; Taramanini and Airipa, of Raiatea; Mutahaa, of Tahaa; Bunaruu, of Borabora; and Marore, of Maurua. These individuals, selected from the different islands, constituted the first Areoi society. To them, also, the gods whom Oro had placed over them delegated authority, to admit to their order all such as were desirous to unite with them, and consented to murder their infants *. These were always the names of the principal Areois in each of the islands, and were borne by them in the several islands at the time of their renouncing idolatry; when the Areois name, and Areois customs, were simultaneously discontinued.

"They were a sort of strolling players, and privileged libertines, who spent their days in travelling from island to island, and from one district to another, exhibiting their pantomimes, and spreading a moral contagion throughout society. Great preparation was necessary before the *mareva*, or company, set out. Numbers of pigs were killed and presented to Oro; large quantities of plantains and bananas, with other fruits, were also offered upon his altars. Several weeks were necessary to complete the preliminary ceremonies. The concluding parts of these consisted in erecting, on board their canoes, two temporary maraes, or temples, for the worship of Orotetefa and his brother, the tutelar deities of the society. This was merely a symbol of the presence of the gods; and consisted principally in a stone for each, from Oro's marae, and a few red feathers from the inside of the sacred image. Into these symbols the gods were supposed to enter when the priest pronounced a short *ubu*, or prayer, immediately before the sailing of the fleet. The numbers connected with this fraternity, and the magnitude of some of their expeditions, will appear from the fact of Cook's witnessing, on one occasion, in Huahine, the departure of seventy canoes filled with Areois.

"On landing at the place of destination, they proceeded to the residence of the king or chief, and presented their *marotai*, or present; a similar offering was also sent to the temple and to the gods, as an acknowledgment for the preservation they had experienced at sea. If they remained in the neighbourhood, preparations were made for their dances and other performances.

"On public occasions, their appearance was, in some respects, such as it is not proper to describe. Their bodies were painted with charcoal, and their faces, especially, stained with the *mati*, or scarlet dye. Sometimes they wore a girdle of the yellow *ti* leaves; which, in appearance, resembled the feather girdles of the Peruvians, or other South American tribes. At other times they wore a vest of ripe yellow plantain leaves, and ornamented their heads with wreaths of the bright yellow and scarlet leaves of the hutu, or *Barringtonia;* but, in general, their appearance was far more repulsive than when they wore these partial coverings.

"*Upaupa* was the name of many of their exhibitions. In performing these, they sometimes sat in a circle on the ground, and recited, in concert, a legend or song in honour of their gods, or some distinguished Areoi. The leader of the party stood in the centre, and introduced the recitation with a sort of prologue, when, with a number of fantastic movements and attitudes, those that sat around began their song in a low and measured tone and voice;

* "The above is one of the most regular accounts of the origin of the Areoi institution, extant among the people. Mr. Barff to whom I am indebted for it, received it from Auna, and Mahine the king of Huahine."

which increased as they proceeded, till it became vociferous and unintelligibly rapid. It was also accompanied by movements of the arms and hands, in exact keeping with the tone of the voice, until they were wrought to the highest pitch of excitement. This they continued, until, becoming breathless and exhausted, they were obliged to suspend the performance.

"Their public entertainments frequently consisted in delivering speeches, accompanied by every variety of gesture and action; and their representations, on these occasions, assumed something of the histrionic character. The priests, and others, were fearlessly ridiculed in these performances, in which allusion was ludicrously made to public events. In the taupiti, or oroa, they sometimes engaged in wrestling, but never in boxing; that would have been considered too degrading for them. Dancing, however, appears to have been their favourite and most frequent performance. In this they were always led by the manager or chief. Their bodies, blackened with charcoal, and stained with mati, rendered the exhibition of their persons on these occasions most disgusting. They often maintained their dance through the greater part of the night, accompanied by their voices, and the music of the flute and the drum. These amusements frequently continued for a number of days and nights successively at the same place. The upaupa was then *hui*, or closed, and they journeyed to the next district or principal chieftain's abode, where the same train of dances, wrestlings, and pantomimic exhibitions, was repeated.

"Several other gods were supposed to preside over the upaupa, as well as the two brothers who were the guardian deities of the Areois. The gods of these diversions, according to the ideas of the people, were monsters in vice, and of course patronized every evil practice perpetrated during such seasons of public festivity.

"Substantial, spacious, and sometimes highly ornamented houses, were erected in several districts throughout most of the islands, principally for their accommodation, and the exhibition of their performances. The house erected for this purpose, which we saw at Tiataepuaa, was one of the best in Eimeo. Sometimes they performed in their canoes, as they approached the shore; especially if they had the king of the island, or any principal chief, on board their fleet. When one of these companies thus advanced towards the land, with their streamers floating in the wind, their drums and flutes sounding, and the Areois, attended by their chief, who acted as their prompter, appeared on a stage erected for the purpose, with their wild distortions of person, antic gestures, painted bodies, and vociferated songs, mingling with the sound of the drum and the flute, the dashing of the sea, and the rolling and breaking of the surf on the adjacent reef; the whole must have presented a ludicrous imposing spectacle, accompanied with a confusion of sight and sound, of which it is not very easy to form an adequate idea.

"The above were the principal occupations of the Areois; and in the constant repetition of these, often obscene exhibitions, they passed their lives, strolling from the habitation of one chief to that of another, or sailing among the different islands of the group. The farmers did not in general much respect them; but the chiefs, and those addicted to pleasure, held them in high estimation, furnishing them with liberal entertainment, and sparing no property to gratify them. This often proved the cause of most unjust and cruel oppression to the poor cultivators. When a party of Areois arrived in a district, in order to provide daily a sumptuous entertainment for them, the chief would send his servants to the best plantations in the neighbourhood; and these grounds, without any ceremony, they plundered of whatever was fit for use. Such lawless acts of robbery were repeated every day, so long as the

Areois continued in the district; and when they departed, the gardens often exhibited a scene of desolation and ruin, that, but for the influence of the chiefs, would have brought fearful vengeance upon those who had occasioned it.

"A number of distinct classes prevailed among the Areois, each of which was distinguished by the kind or situation of the tatauing on their bodies. The first or highest class was called *Avae parai*,—painted leg; the leg being completely blackened from the foot to the knee. The second class was called *Otiore*, both arms being marked, from the fingers to the shoulders. The third class was denominated *Harotea*, both sides of the body, from the arm-pits downwards, being marked with tatau. The fourth class, called *Hua*, had only two or three small figures, impressed with the same material, on each shoulder. The fifth class, called *Atoro*, had one small stripe, tataued on the left side. Every individual in the sixth class, designated *Ohemara*, had a small circle marked round each ankle. The seventh class, or *Poo*, which included all who were in their noviciate, was usually denominated the *Poo faarearea*, or pleasure-making class, and by them the most laborious part of the pantomimes, dances, &c. was performed; the principal or higher orders of Areois, though plastered over with charcoal, and stained with scarlet dye, were generally careful not to exhaust themselves by physical effort, for the amusement of others.

"In addition to the seven regular classes of Areois, there were a number of individuals, of both sexes, who attached themselves to this dissipated and wandering fraternity, prepared their food and their dresses, performed a variety of servile occupations, and attended them on their journeys, for the purpose of witnessing their dances, or sharing in their banquets. These were called Fanaunau, because they did not destroy their offspring, which was indispensable with the regular members.

"Although addicted to every kind of licentiousness themselves, each Areoi had his own wife, who was also a member of the society; and so jealous were they in this respect, that improper conduct towards the wife of one of their own number was sometimes punished with death. This summary and fatal punishment was not confined to their society, but was sometimes inflicted, for the same crime, among other classes of the community.

"Singular as it may appear, the Areoi institution was held in the greatest repute by the chiefs and higher classes; and monsters of iniquity as they were, the grand masters, or members of the first order, were regarded as a sort of superhuman beings, and treated with a corresponding degree of veneration by many of the vulgar and ignorant. The fraternity was not confined to any particular rank or grade in society, but was composed of individuals from every class. But although thus accessible to all, the admission was attended with a variety of ceremonies; a protracted noviciate followed; and it was only by progressive advancement that any were admitted to the superior distinctions.

"It was imagined that those who became Areois were generally prompted or inspired to adopt this course by the gods. When any individual therefore wished to be admitted to their society, he repaired to some public exhibition, in a state of apparent *neneva*, or derangement. He generally wore a girdle of yellow plantain or *ti* leaves round his loins; his face was stained with *mati*, or scarlet dye; his brow decorated with a shade of curiously-platted yellow cocoa-nut leaves; his hair perfumed with powerfully scented oil, and ornamented with a profusion of fragrant flowers. Thus arrayed, disfigured, and adorned, he rushed through the crowd assembled round the house in which the actors or dancers were performing, and, leaping into the circle, joined with seeming frantic wildness in the dance or pantomime. He continued in the midst of the performers until the exhibition closed. This was considered

an indication of his desire to join their company; and if approved, he was appointed to wait, as a servant, on the principal Areois. After a considerable trial of his natural disposition, docility, and devotedness in this occupation, if he persevered in his determination to join himself with them, he was inaugurated with all the attendant rites and observances.

"This ceremony took place at some taupiti, or other great meeting of the body, when the principal Areoi brought him forth arrayed in the *ahu haio*, a curiously-stained sort of native cloth, the badge of their order, and presented him to the members, who were convened in full assembly. The Areois, as such, had distinct names, and, at his introduction, the candidate received, from the chief of the body, the name by which in future he was to be known among them. He was now directed, in the first instance, to murder his children; a deed of horrid barbarity, which he was in general too ready to perpetrate. He was then instructed to bend his left arm, and strike his right hand upon the bend of the left elbow, which at the same time he struck against his side, whilst he repeated the song or invocation for the occasion; of which the following is a translation.

"'The mountain above, *moua tabu**, sacred mountain. The floor beneath *Tamapua*†, projecting point of the sea. *Manunu*, of majestic or kingly bearing forehead. *Teariitaria*‡, the splendour of the sky. I am such a one, (pronouncing his new Areoi name,) of the mountain huruhuru.' He was then commanded to seize the cloth worn by the chief woman present, and by this act he completed his initiation, and became a member, or one of the seventh class.

"The lowest members of the society were the principal actors in all their exhibitions, and on them chiefly devolved the labour and drudgery of dancing and performing, for the amusement of the spectators. The superior classes led a life of dissipation and luxurious indolence. On this account, those who were novices continued a long time in the lower class; and were only admitted to the higher order, at the discretion of the leaders or grand masters.

"The advancement of an Areoi from the lower classes took place also at some public festival, when all the members of the fraternity in the island were expected to be present. Each individual appointed to receive this high honour attended in the full costume of the order. The ceremonies were commenced by the principal Areoi, who arose, and uttered an invocation to *Te buaa ra*, (which, I presume, must mean the sacred pig,) to the sacred company of *Tabutabuatea*, (the name of a principal national temple in Raiatea,) belonging to Taramanini, the chief Areoi of that island. He then paused, and another exclaimed, Give us such an individual, or individuals, mentioning the names of the party nominated for the intended elevation.

"When the gods had been thus required to sanction their advancement, they were taken to the Temple. Here, in the presence of the gods, they were solemnly anointed, the forehead of each person being sprinkled with fragrant oil. The sacred pig, clothed or wrapped in the *haio* or cloth of the order, was next put into his hand, and offered to the god. Each individual was then declared, by the person officiating on the occasion, to be an Areoi of the order to which he was thus raised. If the pig wrapped in the sacred cloth was killed, which was sometimes done, it was buried in the temple; but if alive, its ears were ornamented with the *orooro*, or sacred braid and tassel, of cocoa-nut fibre. It was then liberated, and being regarded as sacred, or belonging to the god to whom it had been offered, was allowed to range the district uncontrolled till it died.

* "The conical mountain near the lake of Maeva." † "The central district on the borders of the lake, lying at the foot of the mountain." ‡ "The hereditary name of the king or highest chief of Huahine."

"The artist or priest of the tatau was now employed to imprint, with unfading marks, the distinctive badges of the rank or class to which the individuals had been raised. As this operation was attended with considerable suffering to the parties invested with these insignia of rank, it was usually deferred till the termination of the festival which followed the ceremony. This was generally furnished with an extravagant profusion: every kind of food was prepared, and large bales of native cloth were also provided, as presents to the Areois, among whom it was divided. The greatest peculiarity, however, connected with this entertainment was, that the restrictions of tabu, which prohibited females, on pain of death, from eating the flesh of the animals offered in sacrifice to the gods, were removed, and they partook, with the men, of the pigs, and other kinds of food considered sacred, which had been provided for the occasion. Music, dancing, and pantomime exhibitions, followed, and were sometimes continued for several days.

"A number of singular ceremonies were performed at the death of an Areoi. The *otohaa*, or general lamentation, was continued for two or three days. During this time the body remained at the place of its decease, surrounded by the relatives and friends of the departed. It was then taken by the Areois to the grand temple, where the bones of the kings were deposited. Soon after the body had been brought within the precincts of the marae, the priest of Oro came, and, standing over the corpse, offered a long prayer to his god. This prayer, and the ceremonies connected therewith, were designed to divest the body of all the sacred and mysterious influence the individual was supposed to have received from the god, when, in the presence of the idol, the perfumed oil had been sprinkled upon him, and he had been raised to the order or rank in which he died. By this act it was imagined they were all returned to Oro, by whom they had been originally imparted. The body was then buried as the body of a common man, within the precincts of the temple, in which the bodies of chiefs were interred.

"The resources of the Areois were ample. They were, therefore, always enabled to employ the priest of Romatane, who was supposed to have the keys of Rohutu noanoa, the Tahitian's paradise. This priest consequently succeeded the priest of Oro, in the funeral ceremonies: he stood by the dead body, and offered his petitions to Urutaetae, who was not altogether the Charon of their mythology, but the god whose office it was to conduct the spirits of Areois and others, for whom the priest of Romatane was employed, to the place of happiness.

"This Rohutu noanoa (literally, perfumed or fragrant Rohutu,) was altogether a Mahomedan paradise. It was supposed to be near a lofty and stupendous mountain in Raiatea, situated in the vicinity of Hamaniino harbour, and called *Temehani unauna*, splendid or glorious Temehani. It was, however, said to be invisible to mortal eyes, being in the *reva*, or aërial regions. The country was described as most lovely and enchanting in appearance, adorned with flowers of every form and hue, and perfumed with odours of every fragrance. The air was free from every noxious vapour, pure, and salubrious. Every species of enjoyment, to which the Areois and other favoured classes had been accustomed on earth, was to be participated there; while rich viands and delicious fruits were supposed to be furnished in abundance, for the celebration of their sumptuous festivals. Handsome youths and women, *purotu anae*, all perfection, thronged the place. These honours and gratifications were only for the privileged orders, the Areois and the chiefs, who could afford to pay the priests for the passport thither: the charges were so great, that the common people seldom or never thought of attempting to procure it for their relatives; besides, it

is probable that the high distinction kept up between the chiefs and people here, would be expected to exist in a future state, and to exclude every individual of the lower ranks from the society of his superiors.

"Those who had been kings of Areois in this world, were the same there for ever. They were supposed to be employed in a succession of amusements and indulgences similar to those to which they had been addicted on earth, often perpetrating the most unnatural crimes, which their tutelar gods were represented as sanctioning by their own example.

"These are some of the principal traditions and particulars relative to this singular and demoralising institution, which, if not confined to the Georgian and Society Islands, appears to have been patronised and carried to a greater extent there than among any other islands of the Pacific."

TAHITI, OR OTAHEITE.

This island possesses a superior interest as the scene of the first Missionary exertions in that wide field since so assiduously cultivated; whilst its importance as the seat of a government which extends over a group of the most fruitful islands of the South Seas, calls also for a more especial attention than can be afforded to other groups, whose modern history is indeed included in that of Tahiti.

Tahiti is the chief of the Georgian Islands, which include besides Eimeo, Tabuaemanu (or Sir Charles Sanders' Island), Tetuaroa, Matea, and Meetia. The Society Islands, which include Huahine, Raiatea, Tahaa, Borabora, Maurua, Tubai, Moupiha (or Lord Howe's Island), and Fenuaara (or Scilly Islands), with the small islands surrounding them, being under a distinct government, are properly separated, although Malte-Brun has included both groups under the common designation of the Society Islands.

Tahiti, the principal of the Georgian Islands, is the most extensive and lofty of the group. It is formed by two peninsulas, united by a long broad isthmus. The largest is circular in form, and above twenty miles in diameter. The smaller is oval, and is sixteen miles long and eight broad. The circumference of the whole island is 108 miles. The whole of the islands are mountainous in the interior, and have a border, from one to four miles wide, of rich level land, extending from the base of the high land to the sea, and though the outline of each has some peculiarity distinguishing it from the rest, in their general appearance they resemble each other. Tetuaroa, Tubai, Lord Howe's, and Scilly Islands, however, form exceptions, as they are low coral islands, seldom rising many feet above the sea. Eimeo is supposed to be about twenty-five miles in circumference, Huahine probably more than thirty, and Raiatea somewhat larger. The others, though equally elevated, are of smaller extent.

A corresponding resemblance to each other prevails in the geological structure of the principal clusters and surrounding islands; the substances of which the majority are composed being the same, while each island has some distinguishing peculiarity.

Traces of volcanic action are apparent in most of the islands, but there is no reason to suppose that either Tahiti or any adjacent island is altogether volcanic, as Hawaii, and the whole of the Sandwich Islands, are. Mr. Ellis "never met with any cavern, aperture, or other formation resembling a crater; nor could he hear of the existence of any, with the exception of the large lake called by the natives Vaihiria, situated among the mountains of Tahiti."

The general appearance of the country has been so well described in the text, that we

need not here return to it. The terms in which the beauty of the scenery is spoken of are, we are assured, "not exaggerated," and Tahiti has deservedly received the title of the Queen of the Pacific Ocean.

Excepting the border of low alluvial ground by which it is surrounded, Tahiti is altogether mountainous, the highest point, called Orohena, reaching to six or seven thousand feet above the sea.

"In the exterior or border landscapes of Tahiti and the other islands," Mr. Ellis observes, "there is a variety of objects, a happy combination of land and water, of precipices and plains, of trees often hanging their branches, clothed with thick foliage, over the sea, and distant mountains shown in sublime outline and richest hues; and the whole, often blended in the harmony of nature, produces sensations of admiration and delight. The inland scenery is of a different character, but not less impressive. The landscapes are occasionally extensive, but more frequently circumscribed. There is, however, a startling boldness in the towering piles of basalt, often heaped in romantic confusion near the source or margin of some crystal stream, that flows in silence at their base, or dashes over the rocky fragments that arrest its progress: and there is the wildness of romance about the deep and lonely glens, around which the mountains rise like the steep sides of a natural amphitheatre, till the clouds seem supported by them—this arrests the attention of the beholder, and for a time suspends his faculties in mute astonishment. There is also so much that is new in the character and growth of trees and flowers, irregular, spontaneous, and luxuriant in the vegetation, which is sustained by a prolific soil, and matured by the genial heat of a tropic clime, that it is adapted to produce an indescribable effect. Often, when, either alone, or attended by one or two companions, I have journeyed through some of the inland parts of the islands, such has been the effect of the scenery through which I have passed, and the unbroken stillness which has pervaded the whole, that imagination, unrestrained, might easily have induced the delusion, that we were walking on enchanted ground, or passing over fairy lands. It has at such seasons appeared as if we had been carried back to the primitive ages of the world, and beheld the face of the earth, as it was perhaps often exhibited, when the Creator's works were spread over it in all their endless variety, and all the vigour of exhaustless energy, and before population had extended, or the genius and enterprise of man had altered the aspect of its surface. The valleys of Tahiti present some of the richest inland scenery that can be imagined. Those in the southern parts are remarkable for their beauty, but none more so than those of Hautani, Matavai, and Apaiano.

"The South Sea Islands are not more distinguished by the elevation of their mountains, the picturesque outline of their landscapes, and the richness of their verdure, than by the extent, variety, and beauty of those natural breakwaters of coral by which they are surrounded. The large islands, though not of coral formation, all share the advantages of that secure protection which the reefs afford. Among the smaller islands, four, viz. Tetuaroa, Tobua, Moupiha, and Fenuaara, appear to rest on coral foundations. The former, which is about twenty miles north of Tahiti, includes five small islets, the names of which are Rimatu, Onehoa, Moturua, Hoatere, and Reiona. They are enclosed by one reef, in which there is an opening on the north-west, but only such as to admit with difficulty the narrow canoes of the natives. They are all low islands, the highest parts being seldom three or four feet above the water; the only soil they contain is composed of sand and fragments of coral, with which is mingled vegetable mould, produced on the spot, or carried from Tahiti. The

chief article of food produced in these islands is the fruit of the cocoa-nut tree, with extensive and verdant groves of which they are adorned. They seem, at a distance, as if they were growing on the surface of the water, and the roots and stems of many are washed by the spray, or by the tide when it rises a few inches higher than usual. Upon the kernel of the cocoa-nut, and the fish taken among the reefs, the inhabitants principally subsist."

Turning, however, from the detail of the physical peculiarities of these islands, we will now take a review of the great moral revolution which has been wrought in their inhabitants. The same spirit of inquiry which had originated the voyages of Cook was directed to other objects of the highest importance, and its influence was not the least actively felt in the religious world. The published accounts of the several voyages to the South Seas, and the visit of Omai, excited an intense interest as to the spiritual condition of a people so highly favoured in soil and climate as the Otaheitans. The death of Captain Cook, and subsequently the extraordinary adventures of Captain Bligh, who being despatched to Otaheite for the purpose of procuring plants of the bread-fruit tree, to be carried to the West Indies, was turned adrift by mutineers, and accomplished one of the most extraordinary boat voyages ever effected, traversing the whole extent of the Pacific, from near Otaheite to the coast of New Holland, and thence to Timor—the seizure and trial of some of the mutineers, and the mystery long attaching to the fate of the rest, kept the public attention constantly alive to the state of the Islanders. Among those most anxious that the truths of the gospel should be conveyed to them, was the celebrated Selina Countess of Huntingdon, who is said to have recommended the prosecution of it to her chaplain Dr. Haweis as her last earthly desire.

About the same time, the publication of Letters on Missions, by the Rev. Melville Horne, directed the attention of British Christians to this subject; and, in 1795, a society, including among its founders and supporters liberal and enlightened members of the Established Church and Dissenters, was formed, under the designation of the Missionary Society: its object was to send the gospel to heathen and other unenlightened nations. At the earnest recommendation of the late Rev. Dr. Haweis and others, the then newly-discovered islands of the South Sea were selected as the first scene of its exertions; and thirty individuals, who had volunteered their services, engaged to attempt the establishment of Missionary settlements in the Marquesan, Society, and Friendly Islands.

On the 10th of August, 1796, they embarked in the Thames on board the Duff, a vessel which had been purchased to convey them to their destinations. This ship was under the command of Captain James Wilson, who had retired, after a perilous and honourable career in the service of the Hon. East India Company, but who now generously offered to conduct the distant and adventurous voyage. On the 23d of September following, they took their final departure from Portsmouth. Their voyage, though protracted, was safe, and not unpleasant; and on the 4th of March, 1797, they had the satisfaction of beholding the high land of Tahiti in the distant horizon.

The Missionaries were well received by the natives, who not only presented them with a house they had built for Captain Bligh in the expectation of his return, but ceded to them and Captain Wilson the whole district of Matavai, in which their habitation was situated; but this extensive cession, although understood by the Missionaries as being a *bonâ fide* gift in perpetuity, appeared afterwards to have been intended as nothing more than a temporary compliment. On the 26th of March the Duff sailed for the Friendly Islands and landed ten Missionaries at Tongataboo, and thence proceeding to the Marquesas, left

Mr. Crook a solitary missionary:—then returning to Otaheite, where all was found well, one individual only being desirous of abandoning the enterprize (who was taken on board), the Duff set sail for England on the 4th of August, 1797, leaving the Missionaries to prosecute their arduous task.

Their first difficulties were in regard to the language, in which they derived very little assistance from any of the vocabularies collected by former visitors: in time they, however, mastered it, and the Tahitian is the first Polynesian language which was reduced to writing.

They had made little progress in unfolding the real objects of their mission, and although they had impressed the natives with an idea of their superiority by the skill evinced in mechanical arts, especially in building a boat, they had probably excited some suspicion as to their ultimate views by refusing to assist them with their fire-arms in a projected attack on the people of Raiatea, when an event occurred "which altogether altered the aspect of affairs in reference to the mission." An American vessel in want of provision, but having no means of making purchases except arms and ammunition, came into Matavai and was supplied gratis by the Missionaries, who thus deprived the young king Otu of the means of possessing himself of the warlike stores he desired beyond any other treasure. The Missionaries also interfered for the restoration of some deserters from the vessel, and the affair ended in an at[illegible]n some of their members, which, although no great harm was done, and Pomare the [illegible]g's father and other influential chiefs sought to allay their alarm, so intimidated them, that eleven of the Missionaries took their departure in the American vessel. One of these, Mr. Henry, returned in January 1800, accompanied by his wife; but he only arrived in time to take the place of Mr Harris, who availed himself of an opportunity to visit New South Wales. Very little progress was made in 1800; for although the Missionaries built a chapel, they had not become sufficiently masters of the language to preach in it, or to give the natives regular instruction. In the latter end of that year they received the discouraging news that the Duff, which was coming out with fresh supplies, was taken by a French privateer; that three Missionaries had been murdered at the Friendly Islands, and the rest having fled to Port Jackson, the Tonga Mission was at an end. The next year, however, was more favourable. Eight more Missionaries arrived, bringing with them many useful stores, such as supplies of plants and seeds. The language had been sufficiently mastered, and public preaching and teaching were actively proceeded with. But all this gleam of success was soon overclouded. The death of Pomare, the father of the king, Otu, who thenceforth took his father's name, led to a rebellion among the natives, which ended in the seizure of their great idol Oro, the possession of which had before been repeatedly disputed, and the defeat of the legitimate sovereign by his insurgent subjects. The Missionaries being now deprived of the protection they had hitherto experienced from the king, and being not without reason alarmed at the disturbed state of the country, fled, some to Huahine, and the rest, with the discomfited chief, to Eimeo. Their houses and property were destroyed, and the island left to the possession of the rebels. This took place in 1804.

These events, which we have very briefly sketched here, but of which a particular account is given by Mr. Ellis, were very unfortunate for the cause of Christianity; and their effect is still felt, and must be long continued to be felt, in all the islands to which the Missionaries have extended their labours, but especially in Otaheite. They have afforded a handle for an accusation against the Missionaries, which, although unfounded, is difficult to be dealt with, since the Missionaries enjoyed the benefit of a line of conduct which, if they did not approve, they did not scruple to profit by, and perhaps tacitly to sanction. The

accusation against them is that they encouraged the king to establish Christianity by the sword :—this is undoubtedly false; but it is nevertheless true that Christianity was forcibly imposed upon at least a large minority of the people—that the Otaheitans as a nation embraced it coerced by authority—and that the Missionaries became the advisers political as well as spiritual of the monarch who had had recourse to measures so unwarrantable.

The Missionaries being quite disheartened at the discomfiture of their patron the king, and seeing no prospect of his restoration, retreated (with the exception of Mr. Nott) to Port Jackson, where they were very hospitably received. Meantime Pomare, still an exile at Eimeo, was occupied with schemes for the recovery of his kingdom. He wisely thought that the company and countenance of the Missionaries would be of advantage, and accordingly earnestly entreated their return. He had also shown himself very desirous of obtaining instruction in the Christian religion, and the Missionaries, thus urged, and being also encouraged by friends at home, returned to Eimeo in 1811, and carried on their labours there, and at Raiatea, and other neighbouring islands. The king made public profession of his faith, and from the force of his example, aided by the exertions of the Missionaries, a considerable number of the natives, not only in Eimeo and the neighbouring islands, but in Tahiti, where Pomare in the course of 1812 regained peaceable possession of his own family estates in the neighbourhood of Matavai, though not of the sovereignty, became, at least nominally, Christians. His party was, however, gaining strength, and was reinforced by all the new Christians, whilst all the staunch idolaters forsook the king and joined his opponents, and thus a contest which had at first been a mere struggle for political power degenerated into a religious war. The dispute was at length decided in a pitched battle fought on Sunday the 12th November, 1815, which ended in the total defeat of the idolaters and the death of their leader. On the same day the altars were broken down, the temples demolished, and the sacred houses of the gods, together with all their ornaments and appendages of worship, committed to the flames. The temples, altars, and idols all round Tahiti were shortly after destroyed in the same way, and the image of Oro, into which the natives imagined the god at times entered, and through which his influence was exerted, "was fixed up as a post in the king's kitchen, and used in a most contemptuous manner, by having baskets of food suspended from it; and finally it was riven up for fuel." There seems to have been a little lurking idolatry in this childish behaviour; there was an evident gratification in revenging themselves on Oro, who had so long taken part with the king's enemies.

The immediate effects of this battle were certainly very extraordinary; for within a year from that time the idols were destroyed, and the Christian religion outwardly established, not only in the Otaheitan dependencies, but throughout the whole of the Society Islands. In Raiatea and some other places the idolaters took up arms, but were defeated in every instance, and obliged to conform.

Although this sudden and very rapid progress in the propagation of Christianity, after so many years had passed without producing any decided result, has been the cause of great exultation among the Missionaries, we cannot look upon it with the same feelings. We cannot disguise the fact that the new faith was forced upon the people by their chiefs, and supported by force of arms; and although we are willing to believe that Pomare acted from conviction of its truth, yet it is evident that most of the other ruling chiefs did not do so, their conduct being clearly actuated by mere feelings of policy;—dread of the evidently expanding power of the Missionaries, and contempt of the faithless Oro,

who had so vilely betrayed his adherents. It is not thus that the gospel of peace should be preached, and although among converts so gained there may be some sincere disciples, yet hollow professors must be far more abundant. We would, however, desire that it should be distinctly understood that, throughout all the transactions to which we have referred, we have seen no cause for impugning the conduct of the Missionaries. They were placed in an unfortunate position, but it was not of their seeking, and they are not to be censured for not refusing to avail themselves of a conjuncture favourable to their interests because they did not approve of all the measures by which it had been brought about.

The overthrow of idol-worship carried with it the destruction of all the rules by which the social relations had hitherto been regulated, since all had been more or less governed by their religion. The degradation in which their women were held, they being thought unworthy to appear before the images of the gods when filled by the *etua* or divine spirit,—the disregard of any moral obligation as to honesty—clever cheating being with all unwarlike nations, and even with the noblest of barbarians, the Spartans, rather honoured than despised—and the little knowledge of the value of life evinced not only in the licentious association of the Areois, but in domestic life, when child after child was sacrificed to avoid the trouble of tending it, or planting another bread-fruit tree to support it;—all these great sins, sanctioned by the old worship, were opposed to the spirit of the new, although matters partly secular obliged the Missionaries to become lawgivers; and in this character they have acted, first in Tahiti, and subsequently in Raiatea, and wherever else they have obtained sufficient power to act authoritatively. That in acting thus they stepped out of the exact line of their duty, there can be no doubt; and it is to be regretted that in the first code of laws, amounting to eighteen in number, "prepared by the king and a few of the chiefs, with the advice and direction of the Missionaries *," the penalty of death was awarded to "*several*" of the crimes prohibited. It is true that this sanguinary code was agreed to out of policy, and not good will; and it is also certain that in lawgiving in other islands they have withheld their sanction to the punishment of death, going to the very opposite extreme and declining even to *name* the crime of murder † in their code. They have felt their difficulties, and perhaps their errors. The purity of their motives cannot be asserted in a better or a more manly manner than has been done by John Williams: his name we have already mentioned with respect ‡, and are happy in again having an opportunity of acknowledging his merit.

"I cannot here enter into a lengthened discussion, as to the extent to which the Missionary may wisely interfere with the civil institutions of the people, but shall only observe, that it would be criminal were he, while seeking to elevate the moral character of a community, and to promote among it the habits and usages of civilized life, to withhold any advice or assistance which might advance these designs. It has been shown, that their civil and judicial polity, and all their ancient usages, were interwoven with their superstitions; and that all these partook of the sanguinary character of the system to which they were embodied, and by which they were sanctioned: thus maintaining a perpetual warfare with the well-being of the community. The Missionary goes among them, and, by the blessing of God upon his labours, they are delivered from the dominion of the idolatrous system which had governed them for ages, and in its stead embrace Christianity. Subsequently they become acquainted with new principles; are taught to read the portions of the word of

* Ellis, vol. ii. p. 137. † Williams's Missionary Enterprises, p. 132. ‡ Vol. i. p. 509.

God, which are translated and put into their hands; and soon perceive that these ancient usages are incompatible with Christian precepts, and that such a superstructure cannot stand on a Christian foundation. To whom, then, can they apply for advice in this dilemma, but to the persons from whom their knowledge has been derived; and what less can the Missionary do, than give it freely and fully? I would not, however, be supposed to advocate the assumption of political authority by the Missionary, but, on the contrary, that he should interfere as little as possible; and, whether it be in civil, legal, or political affairs, that he should do so solely by his advice and influence. There are circumstances, however, especially in newly-formed Missions, where he must step out of his ordinary course, and appear more prominent than he would wish; for, frequently, a word from the Missionary, rightly timed, will do more towards settling a dispute, healing a breach, burying an animosity, or carrying a useful plan into execution, than a whole year's cavilling of the natives themselves would have effected. And here, in answer to the charge that the Missionaries in the South Seas have assumed even regal authority, I may observe, that no Missionary in the Pacific ever possessed any such authority; that his influence is entirely of a moral character; and I may add, that there are no instances on record where men have used their influence less for their own aggrandizement, or more for the welfare of the people."

Tahiti still continues the head-quarters, as it may be called, of the Missionary force of the London Missionary Society, whose labours extend principally from thence to the Friendly Islands. They have laboured hard, but with little success, to establish manufactures among the people. Printing presses, chiefly devoted to the production of bibles and religious tracts, in the native language, have been established; but, in our opinion, a just cause of complaint is made against the Missionaries, that they make no effort to instruct the people in the English language, preferring in all cases to teach them through the medium of the native tongue; and thus debarring their pupils of every opportunity of obtaining any knowledge that does not come through their hands. The civilization of these islands, therefore, remains at a point beyond which it is not likely to pass. The people have a knowledge of the great truths of Christianity, and they carry them out to the fullest extent, not only in their private but in their public relations. War, for instance, they consider as wholly unjustifiable; but, deprived as they are of the means of obtaining a true knowledge of the actual state of the world, what will be their opinions of their English teachers who thus keep them in a state of tutelage, when they learn—and some of them do so already—that Christian England still wages war? They must turn upon their teachers as the Hownyhyms upon Gulliver, and reproach them with telling them "the thing that was not."

The Missionaries have endeavoured to introduce the culture and manufacture of cotton and sugar among the Tahitians, both occupations requiring much labour and toil. They complain that the people are indolent and will not work; but in so favoured a country, where the air is seldom too hot or too cold, and but little labour is required to secure sufficient food and clothing, what is the inducement to labour and lay up stores of riches, bringing as they must do poverty hand in hand? There is a nobler ambition than that of heaping gold; and in a land where all bodily wants are so easily satisfied, why should not a race of philosophers spring up, whose undisturbed leisure, better applied than that of their forefathers, shall enlighten the world with yet-undiscovered knowledge? It is a land that Plato would have loved.

NEW ZEALAND.

THE general description of this country and of its inhabitants, given by Captain Cook, is, as we have seen in other instances, so accurate, that it will be unnecessary for us to go into further detail in regard to the condition of the inhabitants before their country was resorted to by English emigrants. "The survey of the coast made by Captain Cook," says Mr. Ward, the Secretary of the New Zealand Company, "is so accurate that it has been relied on up to the present day;" and his estimate of the character of the people, for a long time considered far too favourable, now that the dread so powerfully excited by the too true reports of their sanguinary wars, their massacres of ships' crews, and their undoubted cannibalism, is dissipated by a more intimate knowledge of their capabilities and character, has been recognised as faithful to the letter.

Whilst possessed of every requisite fitting them for the reception of the highest degree of civilization; robust frames—forms which might have served as models to Phidias for the sculpture of an Apollo—powerful intellect capable of any degree of cultivation—unflinching courage, joined to warm affections, beautifully manifested in their attention to their offspring—a strictness of chastity and decent modesty in their women, very opposite to the manners of the Otaheitans and other more tropical nations—and a natural refinement of taste, exhibited in the beautiful patterns carved on their houses and canoes, and in the intricate and truly elegant tracings of their "amokos," or tattooings, an art so valued by them as to raise its more skilful professors from the rank of a slave to somewhat of an equality with the higher ranks solely on account of their art—of which a remarkable instance is narrated by Mr. Earle*,—are all qualities which form the foundation of a noble character. All these were, it is true, sadly darkened by customs and manners induced by a state of society most opposite to the growth of improvement. The institution of slavery always must debase all, both masters and slaves, who live under its influence. Disregard to human life, the unchecked indulgence of the passions, pride, self-sufficiency, and cruelty, will more or less deteriorate the character of the master, even when assisted against temptation by a civilized education. The slave himself, deprived of all those rights which render humanity valuable, is subjected body and soul, and has almost lost the dignity of a man. Grovelling vice must necessarily be his characteristic. All the evils of this state of society were felt in their full degree in New Zealand. The life of a slave was held as of no importance, and was sacrificed to the slightest ebullition of temper. Chastity, so highly prized among the free women, was held of no account among the slaves; it was a distinction to which they had no right to aspire; and pilfering, lying, and cheating, which were rare vices among the chiefs, who when exposed to strong temptation, as in case of the visit of a European vessel, usually carried on their depredations by the hands of their slaves, were the reproach of that degraded class. The peculiar condition of society, not, as at the Sandwich and Society Islands, and in most of the Polynesian groups, united under one head or king, but divided into numerous independent tribes, necessarily engendered quarrels and involved them in perpetual wars; and this constant state of hostilities kept up with them the revolting practice of cannibalism, of which traces remain throughout all the nations which, like them, may be traced to a Malay origin. Their country has now become a part of the British dominions. Law is established, and no people have ever been found more ready to appreciate the advantages

* Earle's "New Zealand."

of good order and civilization; but while adapting themselves with great pliability to the new position of their social relations, they have not become mere servile imitators, or in the least degree sacrificed their national dignity. Such is their present condition. The designs of England in regard to her new possession are not yet matured; the schemes of the colonists cannot yet be looked upon otherwise than in the light of a grand experiment; but as respects the aborigines, the New Zealanders have shown themselves superior to any other nation in their capacity of appreciating the value of civilization, and of improving themselves. Whether the colonists ultimately succeed or fail, we feel sure that the New Zealand people must speedily emerge from the ranks of barbarism, and take a well-deserved place among the nations within the pale of civilization.

The New Zealand group consists of two large islands, called the Northern or New Ulster, and Southern or Middle, now New Munster; a smaller island called Stewart's, or New Leinster, to the extreme south, and several adjacent islets. The group extends in length, from north to south, from the 34th to the 48th degree of south latitude, and in breadth, from east to west, from the 166th to the 179th degree of east longitude. The extreme length exceeds eight hundred miles, and the average breadth, which is very variable, is about one hundred miles. The surface of the islands is estimated to contain 95,000 square miles, or about sixty millions of acres, being a territory nearly as large as Great Britain, of which, after allowing for mountainous districts and water, it is believed that at least two-thirds are susceptible of beneficial cultivation. Even without assuming any extraordinary degree of fertility, New Zealand is thus capable of maintaining as large a population as the British Isles.

The distance of Queen Charlotte's Sound, on the southern shore of Cook's Straits, from Sydney and Hobart Town, is, in round numbers, about 1200 miles,—from the New Hebrides and Friendly Islands about the same,—from the Marquesas about 3000,—from the Sandwich Islands 3600,—from South Australia 1800,—and from China or Valparaiso, about 5000 miles. The length of the voyage from England is about the same as that to New South Wales, or South Australia. The westerly winds blowing steadily in those latitudes for about nine months in the year, the distance northward from Bass's Straits to Port Jackson is practically greater than from the same point of separation to Queen Charlotte's Sound. In return-voyages to Europe, by way of Cape Horn, the whole distance between the places mentioned is gained by ships coming direct from New Zealand, over those from any part of Australia, which pass usually through Cook's Straits. In the not improbable event of the establishment of regular steam-communication across the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans, with land-passage by railway over the Isthmus of Darien, it is easy to foresee that the voyage from England to New Zealand may be reduced at no distant day to the compass of a few weeks.

Very soon after the capabilities of New Zealand had been made known to Europe by Captain Cook, projects for its colonization were entertained. The earliest scheme was suggested by the celebrated Benjamin Franklin, who in 1771 published proposals for forming an association to fit out a vessel by subscription, which should proceed to New Zealand, with a cargo of such commodities as the natives were most in want of, and bring back, in return, so much of the produce of the country as should defray the expenses of the adventure. The main object of the expedition, however, was stated to be the promotion of the civilization of the New Zealanders.

The expedition was to have been commanded by Mr. Dalrymple, the admiralty hydrographer, a man of a very enterprising disposition, and who had distinguished himself in the

conduct of an exploratory voyage in the Eastern seas. He estimated the total expense of the voyage at not more than 15,000*l.*; but the requisite funds were not raised, and the plan consequently never took effect. As soon as the South Sea whale-fishery was established, New Zealand became the resort of ships of all the nations engaged in it, and scattered settlements began to be formed on the most favourable parts of the coast, particularly by shore-parties of whalers, to which we shall presently refer; but the Missionaries of the Church Missionary Society *, and the Wesleyan Board of Missions †, who have been engaged in the labour for more than twenty years, have the merit of being the first who have directed their efforts to the improvement of the aborigines. In 1841 the Church Missionary Society had ten stations in the Northern Island, and thirty-five persons were employed by them as missionaries, catechists, &c.; there were fifty-four schools of the same society, containing 1431 scholars; and the total number of persons forming the ten congregations is stated to be 2476, of whom 178 were communicants. The Wesleyan Missionaries are five in number, besides teachers, catechists, &c., and their exertions are stated to have been very successful.

The chief station of the Missionaries is at the Bay of Islands, a part of the country that has been most frequented by whalers and other European vessels, where the climate and soil have generally been supposed to be better than in a more southerly direction. They have, however, made settlements on the opposite shores, for the interior is little frequented by the natives, all of whose villages are in the neighbourhood of the coast and rivers; but we have never heard that they have attempted any settlement in the Southern, or rather Middle Island, now New Munster. They paid a good deal of attention to agriculture, and many purchased large tracts of land from the natives, but on such terms and to such an extravagant extent as to render it certain that their nominal possessions will be very much reduced by the interference of Government in the resumption of grants which have not been obtained upon the conditions which have been laid down as a rule in the consideration of all land-claims existing when the island was annexed to Her Majesty's dominions ‡.

In 1825 a commercial company was formed in London under the auspices of the late Earl of Durham, which despatched two vessels to New Zealand, and acquired land at Heed's Point in the Hokianga River, and also at the mouth of the River Thames. The company was prevented by circumstances from pursuing its intention of forming a settlement, but its land was set apart and ultimately became vested in the present New Zealand Company.

That body, which has lately played so conspicuous a part in forwarding the progress of emigration to New Zealand, and whose proceedings, as far as we can form a judgment, appear to have been conducted with much skill and prudence, owes its rise to an Association formed in 1837, whose object was to induce the Government and the Legislature to apply to New

* Established in 1814. † Established in 1819.

‡ At a later period the Roman Catholics have arrived in New Zealand as candidates for the religious suffrages of the natives, and at this present time there are a bishop and twenty priests actively engaged on the Northern Island. Bishop Pompalier is a man peculiarly adapted for the purposes of his church. By education a scholar, in manners engaging, in countenance prepossessing and expressive, added to sincere and earnest zeal in the cause he has undertaken, although possessed of private personal wealth, it may be easily imagined, with the aid of pontifical robes, that he creates no ordinary sensation among the aborigines. He has a large beautiful schooner, in which he is continually visiting the coast, and is very kind and liberal to the Natives.—Terry's New Zealand, p. 190. ‡ An English bishop, Dr. Selwyn, has been recently appointed to New Zealand, and is now on his way to take possession of his see, accompanied, as we understand, by eight clergymen, in addition to four already engaged in their duties at Auckland, Russell, and Wellington. At the latter place there is also a minister of the Scottish Kirk.

Zealand the peculiar system of colonization which has been pursued in the case of South Australia, where no land has been granted gratuitously, but a large portion of the purchase-money paid by capitalists has been appropriated to an emigration fund for conveying labourers to the colony—a plan practised with considerable success. Government offered to grant the Association a charter similar to those granted in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries to North American colonies, but clogged with the condition that the Association should become a trading company: but this not suiting their views, the offer was declined. Having failed in their first attempt, Mr. F. Baring, their chairman, introduced (in 1839) a bill into Parliament by which it was proposed to place all those portions of New Zealand to be settled by the Association under the auspices of commissioners to be appointed by the Crown, under the *immediate* care of the home government, and to establish a colonial government, which should have jurisdiction not only over those parts of the country which by the bill were proposed to be annexed to the British dominions, but over all British subjects on the Islands. As respects the last-named parties, independent settlers, they had, as early as 1817, been declared, by Act of Parliament, to be under the control of the Australian government, and all criminal offences and civil suits were referred, at great inconvenience, to the courts at Sydney. The bill we have just referred to did not receive the support of Government, who no doubt entertained ulterior views; their conduct at the time appeared somewhat unaccountable, as although it could not be desired that they should adopt a bill framed confessedly for the purposes of a private association, yet the wants of the numerous settlers already established called for more attention than could be afforded by a resident consul who had been recently appointed, but whose power was merely nominal, being unsupported by any native government, there being none, and who was in fact merely a channel of communication from the authorities at Sydney. The bill being lost in the House of Commons, the New Zealand Association was dissolved; but many of its more influential members, and other friends of colonization, formed the plan of continuing the prosecution of its leading objects by means of a Joint-Stock Company, with a subscribed capital. This scheme was carried into effect with almost unprecedented despatch, since the New Zealand Company sent out their first vessel on the 12th of May, 1839.

We cannot follow the course of colonization in New Zealand step by step; and as indeed it would be the history of a movement still in progress, it must in any case terminate abruptly. The establishment of the New Zealand Company was quickly followed by that of another company, called the New Plymouth Company, but both are now blended into one. They have, especially since their conjunction, carried out their objects with great success. Three large towns have been founded;—one, Wellington, the first settlement of the New Zealand Company, in Port Nicholson, in Cook's Straits; the others, New Plymouth and Nelson, in the bay of Taraniki, near Mount Edgcombe. Both positions, although not the actual sites of the towns, are marked on the map which accompanies this work. Besides these main stations, around each of which the conjoined companies have procured, by authorized purchases, very considerable possessions, they have obtained valuable lands on both the main islands—the Northern, Eahcinomauwe, or New Ulster, and the Middle, sometimes called the Southern, Tavai Poenammoo, or New Munster. By the last report of the New Zealand Company, (into which the New Plymouth board has merged,) made public in October 1842, it appears that 8473 emigrants have arrived in their settlements, exclusive of those who have gone to the government stations or private settlements; and the tide of emigration appears still to run strong in the direction of New Zealand.

We must now give a brief sketch of the course pursued by Government in relation to colonies so rapidly growing up to importance, and then conclude this notice of a subject which requires much more space than we can afford to do justice to it, with some of the most interesting details respecting its present condition and future prospects, which can be derived from the latest authorities.

A British Resident was first appointed in 1832, but, from the causes we have already mentioned, his presence was of little effect; but shortly after the sailing of the first vessel of the New Zealand Company, that is to say, in August 1839, Captain William Hobson, R.N. was despatched from England as Lieutenant-Governor of New Zealand. He arrived there in January 1840, and succeeded in effecting a satisfactory arrangement with the chiefs in all the three islands, notwithstanding the efforts of the Roman Catholic priests, who had got a footing among them, being first drawn thither by the expectations held out several years ago by an adventurer, who called himself, with what justice we do not know, the Baron de Thierry, and who intended to make himself sovereign of New Zealand by the exercise of "moral power," but from want of physical means sank into obscurity, and is, we believe, now dead. These Roman Catholics were of course conscientiously opposed to the establishment of a Protestant supreme power; and there were many who, although not Roman Catholics, were adverse to the imposition of any legitimate rule; men who had obtained lands from the natives at a most inadequate price, and others landless, who felt themselves most at ease in a land without law. All these, though from very different motives, concurred in using their influence to prevent the New Zealanders from acquiescing in the general imposition of English rule; but the good sense of the people refused to listen to them, and the great majority of the chiefs throughout the three islands accepted the Queen England as their ruler, their property in all the lands unsold being acknowledged.

Some nice points of international law were raised in the course of these negotiations, and the fact that a national flag had been presented to certain associated chiefs of the Bay of Islands by the Sydney authorities, was construed into an acknowledgment of their independence: it is sufficient for the historian, if not for the jurist, to know that the chiefs and the people have throughout the whole country acknowledged the authority and placed themselves under the protection of the British Crown, and that New Zealand now forms a part of the British dominions.

A very curious and novel question has arisen out of the occupation of New Zealand as a British territory: a rigid investigation is made into the titles by which all individuals, not natives, hold or claim lands. A certain rate has been fixed by which the consideration either in money or goods (the latter being rated at three times the selling rate in Sydney at the time of the purchase) is to be estimated, and all the surplus land is declared to be forfeited: but the question whether the forfeited land, which amounts to an immense extent, is to revert to the Crown or the original possessors, is not yet decided. The claims of Europeans who possess lands by marriage with the daughters of chiefs—claims in many cases of very great magnitude, especially where fresh settlements have been made upon children—remain yet to be adjudicated upon.

The seat of government has been fixed at Auckland, a new town built on the eastern shore of the Northern Island, or what is marked in our map as Shouraka Bay, on the narrowest part of the isthmus into which the island at that part contracts. This position, although very convenient as respects the Northern Island, is much censured by the friends of the New Zealand Company, who were anxious that it should have been fixed at Wellington, or at all

events at some point either in the Northern or Middle Island, in Cook's Straits, as the more central position in regard to the whole country: but a position from which both coasts can so easily be communicated with, and a consideration of the baffling winds so often met with in these straits, are points which have doubtless had their weight in fixing the site of a future capital.

We have not attempted to point out every spot on which English settlements have been formed: small parties, chiefly what are called "shore-parties," engaged in whale-fishing, are to be found in almost every creek and harbour, especially in the Southern Island; but these are migratory. The fixed agricultural and commercial settlers are chiefly confined to the Northern Islands, to the Bay of Islands, the Frith of the Thames, (where there are many old settlers scattered,) and Auckland, on the western coast—Hokianga, nearly opposite to the Bay of Islands, and New Plymouth and Nelson at Taraniki Bay on the western, and Wellington on the southern coast. A few years will, there is little doubt, greatly increase the catalogue.

For the few additional details which we can find space for respecting this most interesting country we are indebted to Mr. Petrie * and Mr. Terry †, our latest informants on this subject.

"The climate of New Zealand," says Mr. Petrie, "is as salubrious as it is favourable to productions; the temperature throughout the season is singularly equable, and although it has been commonly supposed in England that the winter must be severe in the more southern parts of New Zealand, this is not the opinion of persons who have resided there. According to reports from captains of whaling-ships, who had visited Port Otago, and who were questioned on the subject by Colonel Wakefield, the winter there is scarcely less mild than at Port Nicholson; and native inhabitants of the place have concurred in declaring that snow remains only on the hills. The growth of vines at Akaroa, in Banks's Peninsula, which were planted by the French colonists in the depth of winter, almost proves the mildness of the winter climate in that place. And Major Bunbury, in his report to Governor Hobson of a voyage to the southward in Her Majesty's ship Herald, dated 28th June, 1840, in speaking of Stewart's Island, the southern extremity of New Zealand, says, 'In some excursions I made, I was much pleased with the fertile appearance of this beautiful island; and although the winter was so far advanced, it was not so cold as I had anticipated from its being so far to the south. And I am told by Captain Stuart, that he has seldom found snow to lie here for any number of days, even in the depth of winter.'

"The wheat grown upon the banks of the Hutt from seed obtained from the Cape of Good Hope yielded well, and was of excellent quality; and barley grown from some seed which I brought from New South Wales, where it had been raised from Cape seed, also turned out remarkably well. Oats yield abundantly, and Indian corn or maize is universally cultivated by the natives. Potatoes are produced in great abundance, as the climate admits of two crops in the course of a year. The native potatoes are very good, but those which have been raised by the settlers are as fine as those of any part of the world. The native mode of cultivation is very rude, and yet, in spite of such rudeness, their crops are large. They have no idea of sowing only the eye of the potatoe; but when they dig their potatoes, they simply leave some in for the next crop. In many cases the crop is left on

* "Account of the Settlements of the New Zealand Land Company, by the Hon. H. W. Petrie, 1841."

† "New Zealand, its Advantages and Prospects as a British Colony, with a full Account of the Land Claims, Sales of Crown Lands, Aborigines, &c. &c. By Charles Terry, F.R.S., F.S.A. 1842."

the ground, the natives merely opening the earth about the roots, taking up enough to supply their immediate wants, and covering the root again with earth. But as *the New Zealanders imitate closely, and improve rapidly*, they will soon adopt more economical modes of cultivation."

Potatoes are exported in considerable quantities to New South Wales; and as the demand in the Australian colonies is always large, and there is no other convenient source of supply, with the exception of Van Diemen's Land, they are expected to become a regular article of exportation. The same may be said of wheat, the average price of wheat in New South Wales being sufficiently high to give a profit to the New Zealand grower. All English vegetables flourish exceedingly well at Port Nicholson. Mulberries prosper well; peaches, nectarines, and most other English-grown fruits, give good promise, and the vine and the olive have been introduced. Mr. Petrie remarks justly, that "one drawback upon the cultivation of the vine, the olive, and the mulberry, is, that the English really know nothing about it. To cultivate them to any extent, we shall require French and German cultivators, to whom the most liberal encouragement should be given. The few French at Akaroa, on Banks's Peninsula, have begun to make a business of cultivating the vine, and, I am told, with every prospect of success.

"The cattle landed lean from on board ship became fat in a short time, without the least care on the part of the owners, as they are invariably turned loose to shift for themselves. Even the horses of the settlement are left to get their own living; they, too, manage, somehow or other, to feed themselves into high condition. It should be observed, moreover, that the oxen which worked all day, and were only turned loose at night, were in equally good condition. * * I have not the least doubt that the feeding of stock will become a profitable occupation in New Zealand. A great number of sheep have also been imported from New South Wales and Van Diemen's Land, and they have thriven well. I learn that some New Zealand wool has already been sold in London, at prices about equal to those of Australian wool, and I have no doubt that considerable exports of wool will take place."

The *Phormium tenax*, or New Zealand Flax, has been already referred to in notes on the text, vol. i. p. 186; ii. 59. Strong hopes have been entertained of making it eventually a staple article of production, and Mr. Petrie is especially sanguine on this subject, considering it probable that its cultivation will become more profitable than that of wheat. The difficulty of dressing it properly, except by hand, in the manner practised by the natives, has not hitherto been overcome, and the demand for it as an article of export has almost wholly ceased. The expense of freight is a disadvantage which must always operate against the establishment of unmanufactured native produce as staple exports. If the flax could be properly fitted for market, the very abundant supply would enable the cultivator to sell it sufficiently cheap to command an extensive sale; but for the timber, notwithstanding its acknowledged excellence, no extensive demand can, at least for a great length of time, be anticipated; for in this case, the great expense of conveying it to the coast is superadded to the freight. The timber is abundant, but the best is found at a distance from the coast and the shores of navigable streams; the country is hilly and difficult, and the price of labour is at present excessively high, and is likely to continue so. Even the natives, who are, however, good workmen, are no longer satisfied with cheap presents, but demand, and readily obtain, a dollar a day in cash for their labour. The cost of procuring timber, notwithstanding its plenty, is therefore so great, Mr. Terry states, that "instead of exporting timber, the importation of it from Quebec, during the last two years, would have

been a most profitable speculation, either to Port Nicholson or to Auckland." In illustration of this fact, so contradictory to all preconceived ideas on this subject, he gives us the following particulars, which we have thought it useful to transcribe here.

"The Kauri, which is the principal wood shipped, grows on high mountains, in the depths of forests, except in very rare instances, and requires immense manual labour; for no other can be applied in such spots to bring the spars and logs from the woods. The natives, from their numbers, sometimes as many as two hundred, have hitherto been employed in this arduous labour; too frequently trees are felled two or three miles back in the woods, and then have to be dragged up and down ravines and across swamps to the saw-pit, to be cut into plank, or to a creek or river, whence it is floated to the vessel for shipment. For this service, formerly a very small remuneration to the chief, only, of a tribe was considered ample, with a little tobacco among the whole of the labourers; but now the natives will not work unless individually paid, and that at a high rate; and the European sawyers, who formerly were glad to work at the rate of six shillings per hundred feet, now ask the exorbitant wages of sixteen shillings, and stipulate that the log shall be placed on the pit for them.

"In Norway, Russia, and Canada, the foresters have the advantage of the season of icy snows, during which time only they attempt to transport the fruits of their summer labour, from the wooded mountains to the banks of the rivers, which the thaws of returning spring swell and increase, and the timber is floated without labour from the banks, and rafted quickly down, for hundreds of miles, to ports for exportation. Not so in New Zealand. The perpetual vegetation of the forests, and the certain frequent rains throughout the year, keeping the low grounds always swampy, renders the transit of timber from the forest a task most difficult and expensive.

"To convey some idea of such undertaking—In the forest on the high ridge of land separating Coromandel Harbour from Mercury Bay, there was felled a Kauri tree, which measured when cut down, in length, 150 feet; and the circumference of which, at the base, was 25 feet. From the spot of its growth it had to be dragged up and down two ravines, at nearly an angle of forty-five degrees, through the woods, and then for nearly a mile across a mangrove swamp, to the borders of a creek, emptying itself at some distance into Coromandel Harbour. These creeks, which everywhere abound in the gorges of the mountains and hills in New Zealand, are generally shallow, except immediately after the heavy rains, when they rapidly rise from the freshes down the ridges of the mountains, and sometimes to an increased depth of ten to twelve feet, according to the dry or wet weather of the winter season. It is for these opportunities, that the settler is obliged to wait, to bring down the large timber intended for spars for shipment; and this operation requires great skill and dexterity, and is generally performed by the natives, who run along the banks, and are continually in the stream, to prevent the timber from being driven ashore, or direct across the creek, which is very likely to occur from the rapidity of the current, and from the numerous and abrupt sinuosities in the course of the creek.

"This immense tree was brought to Coromandel Harbour in the spring of 1842 (September 1841), and when squared and sided for a spar, measured twenty-eight inches in diameter, but its length was obliged to be diminished to ninety-eight feet, in order to render it available for shipment on board the barque Planter, Captain Manning, of nearly 500 tons, in which vessel it was conveyed to England.

"It is in the forests on this ridge of mountains, on the eastern coast, near Mercury Bay,

that the largest Kauri tree in New Zealand is growing. It is called by the natives the Father of the Kauri. Although almost incredible, it measures seventy-five feet in circumference at its base. The height is unknown; for the surrounding forest is so thick, it is impossible to ascertain it accurately. There is an arm, some distance up the tree, which measures six feet in diameter at its junction with the parent trunk.

"Besides the Kauri, there are other trees equally, if not more valuable, but not available, for the same reasons, for export; but if ship-building was carried on in the colony, they would become one of the most profitable resources of it."

The advantages afforded by the position of New Zealand for the prosecution of the whale-fishery first led to its shores being frequented by our vessels, and on the future prospects of this trade Mr. Petrie gives us the following information.

"Among the resources of New Zealand whale-fishing must not be omitted. The seas around New Zealand are the resort of the black whale; and almost the first Europeans who established themselves on the shores of either island were drawn thither by the abundant supply of fish in the neighbouring waters. There is scarcely a harbour in Cook's Straits, and on the eastern coast of the Southern Island, in which there are not whaling establishments. These are what are called 'shore-parties,' who keep a look-out for whales, and when one makes his appearance they man their boats, and generally succeed in capturing him. The cutting up and boiling proceeds on shore, and when a sufficient quantity is collected a ship is sent—sometimes from station to station—to collect it. Before the islands became a British colony, the ships which were sent to collect the oil from Cloudy Bay and other stations were cleared from the Sydney custom-house; so that the oil ranked as a colonial, and escaped the heavy duty of a foreign production. Henceforth, New Zealand being now a British colony, the collecting ships will proceed to England direct from the places where the oil is made, and the nominal amount of the exports from New South Wales will be proportionably diminished. The system of 'shore-parties,' for which New Zealand affords such facilities, is much more economical, when it can be adopted, than the pursuit of the whale by ships equipped for the purpose. A ship requires a considerable daily expenditure for wages, provisions, and wear and tear, and it must be better to confine that expense to the time the ship is absolutely wanted. Where the whales are at a distance from any coast, ships are of course necessary; but where, as on the coasts of New Zealand, whales come within reach of boats from the shore, the great cost of pursuing them with ships is saved. This advantage is well understood by the settlers at Port Nicholson, who bid fair to be the purchasers of the greater part of the oil made at stations already established, and have begun to form new stations. The supply of fish has hitherto been abundant, but it can hardly be doubted that in time they will be driven away by the active pursuit of the shore-parties. Whenever this shall happen, the colonists of New Zealand will still possess the advantage of being able to carry on the fishery in vessels of moderate size, which will be constantly employed in fishing, the oil taken being brought to New Zealand for trans-shipment into emigrant vessels about to return home; a process far less expensive than that of the South Sea fishery carried on in European ships fitted for a three years' voyage."

Such is the statement of Mr. Petrie: but Mr. Terry, whose observations were made at about the same period, tells us that "it is a well-known fact, that so soon as the British Government was established, the whaling-vessels *entirely* deserted the colony, and they now resort to Tahiti, the Feejees, the Navigators', and the other numerous islands of the Polynesian group, near to the equator, where they obtain fresh provisions and wood at a much

cheaper rate than they can at present in New Zealand. Besides," he continues, "these whaling-vessels prefer what they term free ports, and places unfrequented by any shipping but of their own description, for various reasons." The chief of these reasons is the difficulty of adjusting the customs duties where oil or whalebone is trans-shipped from Foreign to English bottoms or *vice versâ*, a practice very frequent among the whalers for mutual accommodation; another is the fear of desertion among the seamen; and also the irksomeness of the restrictions of a settled government over personal behaviour tend altogether to keep the whalers away. But all these causes are not, in our opinion, sufficient to counterbalance the advantages which will be afforded by ports where, if not at the present moment, yet very speedily, vessels may be supplied with every seagoing requisite, new rigged, docked, and repaired, as thoroughly as in any English port;—advantages which may not improbably lead to a different course in the management of the whaling trade, and may render New Zealand the emporium to which all the produce of the South Sea fishery, at least that of the English and New-Zealand-English adventurers, will be carried in the first instance, and thence obtained by a separate set of traders, rendering New Zealand merchants the general factors of the South Sea fishery. Such is the conclusion we have drawn from the two very opposite statements which give us the latest accounts of the future prospects of New Zealand. Time can alone determine the justness of the conclusions come to by any party, and we have here registered opinions of the day which may be turned to with interest and instruction when their truth has been verified or negatived by the event of the future.

We have hitherto said nothing of the mineral riches of New Zealand, nor are we able to say much respecting them. It is now certain that coal of very excellent quality is to be procured in several places, and in great abundance; copper ore is likewise plentiful; sulphur is also procurable at several sites, particularly in the Southern Islands, indicative of extinct volcanoes; and there is little doubt that iron will be found. We have here all the materials for advancing a manufacturing people; while the insular position, and the aptitude of the aborigines for the sea equalling that of the nation from which their colonists are derived, fit them for mercantile enterprize. Everything seems to point out New Zealand as the destined Britain of the South. Mr. Terry wisely recommends the colonists first to make themselves independent of other countries by judicious agriculture and home manufacture of necessaries, and recommends a system of small farming by families all occupied together, in the old homely fashion, as most likely to obtain the desired end; then, a sound foundation being laid, speculation in mining, and manufacturing raw material, may be entered on, and a trade commanded, which, if attempted too early, could only end in the destruction of capital, and consequent ruin.

We shall conclude this notice of New Zealand, which has run to too great a length, yet not so great as the subject demanded, by Mr. Petrie's concluding remarks in his Notes on New Zealand:—

"The country certainly possesses every natural capability for a series of rich and flourishing settlements. Of the singular excellence of the climate—of the richness of the soil—of the great fecundity of animal life—of the abundance and variety of the resources of the islands, not a doubt is entertained by those whose opinions rest on experience. The mode of colonization adopted by the Government at home insures, if fairly carried out, a regular increase of labour in due proportion to the increase of capital and private property in land. For carrying out this system, the Government has adopted as its principal instrument a private company, for whose prudence and energy the past furnishes a guarantee, and whose

interests are identical with those of the colony itself. The revived spirit of English colonization seems to direct its chief force on the 'Britain of the South;' and it may be safely presumed that what has been already done in this work, remarkable as it is, considering the short time employed, will appear insignificant on being compared with the proceedings of the next few years. For my own part, I will conclude as I began, by saying that the best proof I can give of the sincerity of my opinion as to the bright prospects of New Zealand as a colony, is the fact of my being but a sojourner here, preparing to return to the place of my former residence in New Zealand."

NEW HOLLAND AND VAN DIEMEN'S LAND OR TASMANIA.

To give anything like a connected account of the progress of discovery and colonization in these important countries would require a volume, and cannot be attempted in this place. Much of the country, especially the northern part, the coast of which was explored by Cook, still remains unexplored. Captain King, to whose journal we have referred in the notes to the First Voyage, has surveyed a considerable part of the line visited by Cook, and the interesting account given by Major Mitchell * is probably familiar to our readers. In common with all writers upon countries visited by Cook, they both bear testimony to the wonderful accuracy which ever marked the observations he recorded. A few particulars, extracted from Major Mitchell's work, relative to the character and habits of the natives, will be found interesting, and we therefore give them a place here.

"My experience enables me to speak in the most favourable terms of the aborigines, whose degraded position in the midst of the white population affords no just criterion of their merits. The quickness of apprehension of those in the interior was very extraordinary, for nothing in all the complicated adaptations we carried with us either surprised or puzzled them. They are never awkward; on the contrary, in manners and general intelligence they appear superior to any class of white rustics that I have seen. Their powers of mimicry seem extraordinary, and their shrewdness shines even through the medium of imperfect language, and renders them, in general, very agreeable companions.

"On comparing a vocabulary of the language spoken by the natives on the Darling with other vocabularies obtained by various persons on different parts of the coast, I found a similarity in eight words, and it appears singular that all these words should apply to different parts of the human body. I could discover no term in equally general use for any other object as common as the parts of the body; such, for instance, as the sun, moon, water, earth, &c. By the accompanying list of words used at different places to express the same thing, it is obvious that those to which I have alluded are common to the natives both in the south-eastern and south-western portions of Australia, while no such resemblance can be traced between these words and any in the language spoken by natives on the northern coast. Now from this greater uniformity of language prevailing throughout the length of this great island, and entire difference at much less distance latitudinally, it may perhaps be inferred that the causes of change in the dialect of the aborigines have been more active on the northern portion of Australia, than throughout the whole extent from east to west. The uniformity of dialect prevailing along the whole southern shore, seems a fact worthy of notice, as connected with any question respecting the origin of the language, and whether

* Three Expeditions into the Interior of Eastern Australia.

other dialects have been subsequently introduced from the northern or terrestrial portion of the globe.

"I am not aware that any affinity has been discovered in single words between the Australian language and those of the Polynesian people*—but the resemblance of Murròa, the name of the only volcanic crater as yet found in Australia, to Mouna-roa, the volcano of the Sandwich Islands, perhaps deserves attention.

"The natives of Van Diemen's Land, the only inhabited region south of Australia, are said to have been as dark as the negro race, with woolly hair like them. Little is known of the language and character of the unfortunate Tasmanian aborigines; and this is the more to be regretted, considering how useful a better knowledge of either might have been in tracing the origin and history of the Australasian people. The prevailing opinion at present is, that the natives of Van Diemen's Land were also much more ferocious than the natives of Australia. But, brief as the existence of these islanders has been on the page of history, these characteristics are very much at variance with the descriptions we have of the savages seen by the earliest European visitors, and especially by Captain Cook. The hair of the natives we saw in the interior, and especially of the females, had a very frizzled appearance, and never grew long; and I should rather consider the hair of the natives of Tasmania as differing in degree only from the frizzled hair of those of Australia.

"Instead of the ferocious character lately attributed to the natives of Van Diemen's Land, we find, on the contrary, that Captain Cook describes them as having 'little of that fierce or wild appearance common to people in their situation;' and a historian † draws a comparison, also in their favour, between them and the natives of Botany Bay, of whom three stood forward to oppose Captain Cook at his first landing. The ferocity subsequently displayed by natives of Van Diemen's Land cannot fairly be attributed to them, therefore, as characteristic of their race, at least until extirpation stared them in the face, and excited them to acts of desperate vengeance against all white intruders.

The habits and customs of the aboriginal inhabitants are remarkably similar throughout the wide extent of Australia, and seem to have been equally characteristic of those of Van Diemen's Land; and geological evidence also leads us to suppose that this island has not always been separated from the main land by Bass's Straits. The resemblance of the natives to those of Northern Australia seemed indeed so perfect, that the first discoverers considered them, as well as the kangaroo, only stragglers from the more northern parts of the country; and, as they had no canoes fit to cross the sea, that New Holland, as it was then termed, was nowhere divided into islands, as some had supposed. Their mode of life as exhibited in the temporary huts made of boughs, bark, or grass ‡, and of climbing trees to procure the opossum by cutting notches in the bark alternately with each hand, as they ascend, prevails not only from shore to shore in Australia, but is so exactly similar in Van Diemen's Land, and at the same time so uncommon elsewhere, that Tasman, the first

* "Mr. Threlkeld has detected in it a similarity of idiom to the languages of the South Sea Islanders—and the peculiarity of a dual number, common to all. See his Australian Grammar, Sydney, 1834."

† "The History of New Holland, by the Right Hon. William Eden, 1787, p. 99."

‡ "Many usages of these rude people much resemble those of the wandering Arabs. Dr. Pococke mentions some open huts made of boughs, raised about three feet above the ground, which he found near St. John d'Acre. He observes,—'These materials are of so perishing a nature, and trees and reeds and bushes are so very scarce in some places, that one would wonder they should not all accommodate themselves with tents, but we find they do not in fact.'—Vol. ii. p. 158. 'And that they should publish and proclaim in all their cities, and in Jerusalem, saying, Go forth unto the mount and fetch olive branches, and pine branches, and myrtle branches, and palm branches, and branches of thick trees, to make booths as it is written.'—Nehemiah viii. 15."

discoverer of that island, concluded, 'that the natives either were of an extraordinary size, from the steps having been five feet asunder, or, *that they had some method* which he could not conceive, of climbing trees by the help of such steps.' It is strong presumptive evidence, therefore, of the connexion of the inhabitants of Van Diemen's Land with the race in Australia, that a method of climbing trees now so well known as peculiar to the natives of Australia, should have been equally characteristic of those of Tasmania. The natives of Australia climb trees by cutting notches in the bark—by means of a small stone hatchet—and with each hand alternately. By long-acquired habit, a native can support himself with his toes on very small notches, not only in climbing, but while he cuts other notches necessary for his further ascent with one hand, the other arm embracing the tree.

"The men wear girdles, usually made of the wool of the opossum, and a sort of tail of the same material is appended to this girdle both before and behind, and seems to be the only part of their costume suggested by any ideas of decency. The girdle answers, besides, the important purpose of supporting the lower viscera, and seems to have been found necessary for the human frame by almost all savages. In these girdles the men, and especially their *coradjes* or priests, frequently carry crystals of quartz or other shining stones, which they hold in high estimation, and very unwillingly show to any one, invariably taking care when they do unfold them that no woman shall see them*.

"The natives wear a neatly-wrought bandage or fillet round the head, and whiten it with pipe-clay as a soldier cleans his belts †. They also wear one of a red colour under it. The custom is so general, without obvious utility, at least when the hair is short, that we may suppose this also connected with some superstition. But still more remarkable is the practice of striking out one of the front teeth at the age of puberty, a custom observed both on the coast and as far as I penetrated into the interior, and Dampier observed that the two fore-teeth were wanting in all the men and women he saw on the western coast. According to Piper, certain rites belong to this strange custom. The young men retire from the tribe to solitary places, there to mourn and abstain from animal food for many days previous to their being subjected to this mutilation. The tooth is not drawn, but knocked out by an old man or a *coradje*, with a wooden chisel, struck forcibly and so as to break it. It would be very difficult to account for a custom so general and also so absurd otherwise than by supposing it a typical sacrifice, probably derived from early sacrificial rites. The cutting off of the last joint of the little finger of females seems a custom of the same kind; also boring the cartilage between the nostrils in both sexes, and wearing therein, when danger is apprehended, a small bone or piece of reed ‡.

"To paint the body red seems also a custom of the natives in all parts that I have visited: but the most constant use of colours both white and red appears on the narrow shield, or hieleman, which is seldom to be found without some vestiges of both colours about the carving with which they are also ornamented §.

* Genesis xxviii. 18. "From this conduct of Jacob and this Hebrew appellative, the learned Bochart with great ingenuity and reason insists that the name and veneration of the sacred stones called *Baetyli*, so celebrated in all Pagan antiquity, were derived. These *Baetyli* were stones of a round form; they were supposed to be animated, by means of magical incantations, with a portion of the Deity; they were consulted on occasions of great and pressing emergency as a kind of divine oracles, and were suspended either round the neck or some other part of the body."—*Burder's Oriental Customs*, vol. i. p. 40.

† See Cambo, pl. 4, vol. i., &c.

‡ "We ought also to understand, Isa. iii. 21, and Ezek. xv. 12, of these nose-jewels, and to look upon this custom of boring the nostrils of the women as one of the most ancient in the world."—*Harmer*, vol. iv. p. 312.

§ "A German pays no attention to the ornament of his person; his shield is the object of his care, and he decorates it with the liveliest colours."—*Tac. de Mor. Germ.* c. 6.

"The 'large punctures or ridges raised on different parts of their bodies, some in straight and others in curved lines,' distinguish the Australian natives wherever they have been yet seen, and in describing these raised scars I have quoted the words of Captain Cook as the most descriptive, although having reference to the natives of Adventure Bay, in one of the most southern isles of Van Diemen's Land, when seen in 1777.

"It is also customary for both men and women to cut themselves in mourning for relations. I have seen old women, in particular, bleeding about the temples from such self-inflicted wounds *.

"Respect for old age is universal among the aborigines. Old men, and even old women, exercise great authority among assembled tribes, and 'rule the big war' with their voices, when both spears and bommerengs are at hand †. Young men are admitted into the order of the seniors according to certain rites, which their coradjes or priests have the sagacity to keep secret and render mysterious. No young men are allowed to eat the flesh or eggs of the emu, a kind of luxury which is thus reserved exclusively for the old men and the women. I understood from Piper, who abstained from eating emu, when food was very scarce, that the ceremony necessary in this case consisted chiefly in being rubbed all over with emu fat by an 'old man.' Richardson of our party was an old man, and Piper reluctantly allowed himself to be rubbed with emu fat by Richardson, but from that time he had no objection to eat emu. The threatened penalty was, that young men on eating the flesh of an emu would be afflicted with sores all over the body."

"Were it expedient here to enter into further details or upon a longer description of the natives of Australia, I might quote largely from Captain Cook's account of those he saw at Adventure Bay, Van Diemen's Land, as being more detailed and descriptive both of the natives in the interior, and of those also around the whole circumference of Australia, than any I could give."

NOOTKA SOUND.

Nootka Sound is a large bay commonly described as being on the western shores of the Island of Quadra and Vancouver, which is on the north-west coast of North America. But Humboldt, in his work on Mexico, states that, according to the survey made by the Spaniards Espinosa and Cevallos, this bay is not in the large island, but in a smaller one separated from Quadra and Vancouver by a very narrow strait. This Nootka Sound or Bay extends in a north-eastern direction about ten miles inland, between 49° 30′ and 49° 40′ north latitude, and between 127° and 128° west longitude. It has a pretty wooded island in the middle. It branches off into several smaller bays or coves, one of which is the Friendly Cove of Captain Cook, and forms a very safe and commodious harbour. The information respecting the country and the inhabitants given in the text, and in the notes we have appended from the curious narrative of the English sailor Jewitt, is so full and exact as to render it unnecessary to enter into further particulars upon those heads; but a full

* "We often read of people cutting themselves, in Holy Writ, when in great anguish; but we are not commonly told what part they wounded. The modern Arabs, it seems, gash their arms, which with them are often bare: it appears from a passage of Jeremiah, that the ancients wounded themselves in the same part: *Every head shall be bald, and every beard clipt: upon* all hands *shall be cuttings, and upon the loins sackcloth.*—Chap. xlviii. 37."—*Harmer*, vol. iv. p. 436.

† "Leviticus xix. 32. *Thou shalt rise up before the hoary head, and honour the face of the old man.*—The Lacedemonians had a law, that aged persons should be reverenced like fathers. See also Homer, Il. xv. 204; xxiii. 786. Odyss. xiii. 141."

account of the dispute relative to the possession of Nootka Sound, with the Court of Spain, which in its results was of great importance as establishing our right to carry on the whale-fishery in the South Seas, which, as well as the fur-trade, was questioned, may be interesting to our readers, as it has in most histories been passed over as a subject of little moment. We shall accordingly transcribe an account of all the circumstances attending it from the "Pictorial History of the Reign of George the Third." After mentioning Captain King's statements relative to the great advantages to be derived from a fur-trade between the north-west coast of America and China, the author thus proceeds :—

"About the beginning of the year 1786, some English merchants, under the immediate protection of the East India Company, fitted out two vessels in order to try to make a beginning. The command of one of these vessels, named the 'Nootka,' was given to Mr. Mears, who had been a lieutenant in the royal navy; that of the other, to a Mr. Tippin. In the month of March of the same year, Tippin was despatched to Prince William's Sound, and was soon followed by Mears. Tippin lost his vessel on the coast of Kamtschatka; but Mears got safely to Prince William's Sound, wintered there, and opened what he called 'an extensive trade with the natives.' Having collected a cargo of furs, he repaired to China in the autumn of 1787. In January 1788, having disposed of the 'Nootka,' he, in conjunction with other British merchants, purchased two other vessels, named the 'Felice' and 'Iphigenia,' with which he repaired to Nootka Sound. He arrived there in June, and immediately concluded a bargain with a native chief for a spot of ground. Here he presently built a house, and on it hoisted a British flag, surrounding it with a breastwork, and fortifying it with one three-pounder. This being completed, he proceeded to trade for more furs to China. One vessel he sent along the American coast to the southward, and the other he sent northward, both vessels, he says, confining themselves within the latitudes of 60° and 45° 30′ north. But he did not employ all his people in fur-gathering: he left some behind in the house he had built at Nootka Sound; and, during his absence, these industrious, enterprising fellows built a vessel measuring about forty tons. On his return this vessel was launched, named the 'North-west American,' rigged and equipped with all expedition, to assist him in his commercial enterprizes. These were certainly bold and extensive. He had bargained with the native chiefs for grants of land at various points of the American coast, where, he says, no European vessel had ever been before; he had procured a great quantity of furs, and had entered into arrangements for procuring much larger supplies for the future. On the 23d of September, 1788, Mears sailed in the 'Felice' for China. He reached Canton in safety, sold both ship and cargo, entered into partnership with a respectable English firm, who, to carry out his plans, and extend this promising trade, put two ships at his disposal, the 'Princess Royal,' a London River-built vessel, and the 'Argonaut,' built at Calcutta. Mears did not return to Nootka Sound himself, but gave the command of the two ships to Mr. Colnette. The two ships were loaded with articles estimated to be sufficient for the trade of three years; and they carried, over and above the crews, several artificers of different professions, and about seventy Chinese, who intended to become settlers in the fur country, under the protection of the English. The two ships set sail from China in the spring of 1789. The 'Iphigenia' and the 'North-west American,' which Mears had left behind him, had wintered at the Sandwich Islands but returned to Nootka Sound in the month of April, where they found two American vessels, the 'Columbus' and the 'Washington,' which had both wintered in Cook's Harbour or Friendly Cove. After a

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short stay, the Nootka-Sound-built vessel, the 'North-west American,' was sent to trade to the northward, and also to explore the Archipelago of St. Lazarus—for geographical survey and discovery were nicely linked with this new trade in unknown or very little known quarters of the earth and seas. But the 'Iphigenia' remained behind in Nootka Sound, and was pleasantly sleeping there on her anchor, when, on the 6th of May (1789), a Spanish ship of war of twenty-six guns, from San Blaz in Mexico, came and anchored in the same quiet harbour, and was soon joined by a Spanish snow from the same place, mounting sixteen guns, and carrying in her hold a good many more cannons and other warlike stores. For some time mutual civilities passed between the Spanish officers and Captain Douglas, whom Mears had left in the 'Iphigenia' as a sort of commmodore and deputy-governor. But, on the 14th of May, Douglas was ordered on board the Spanish ship of war, and informed by Don Estevan, the captain, that he had the King of Spain's orders to seize all ships that he might find upon that coast, and that he (Douglas) must consider himself a prisoner. The Spaniards then took possession of the 'Iphigenia,' and conveyed the officers and men on board their own ships, where, according to Mears, these Englishmen were put in irons, and otherwise ill-treated. The Don in command then took possession of Mears's house, with its breastwork, three-pounder and all, pulled down the British flag, and hoisted the standard of Spain thereon; declaring, at the same time, that all the lands comprised between Cape Horn and the sixtieth parallel of north latitude belonged to his Catholic Majesty; and the Spaniards then proceeded to build batteries, storehouses, &c., forcibly employing some of the crew of Douglas's vessel, the 'Iphigenia,' and severely punishing several who refused to perform this very vexatious task-work. The two United States vessels remained unmolested in the cove all this time. After the 'Iphigenia' had been stripped of all her merchandize, stores, provisions, &c., even down to the master's watch and clothing, Douglas and his people were restored to her, and told that they might go to the Sandwich Islands. But Douglas could go nowhere without provisions; and it was not until he consented to sign bills upon his owners, at an exorbitant rate, that the Spaniards would supply him with necessaries. He was tripping his anchor to be gone; but now he was told he must not go until the 'North-west American' should return to Nootka. After some days, however, as that craft did not return, he was told he might depart, on leaving orders for the master of the 'North-west American' to deliver her up, on his arrival, for the use of his Catholic Majesty. Douglas wrote a letter for the master accordingly; but, availing himself of the Don's ignorance of the English language, he omitted giving any directions for delivering up the vessel. Douglas then sailed from Nootka Sound, leaving behind him the Spaniards and the two United States vessels. He got safely to the Sandwich Islands, and thence to Canton, where he anchored in October 1789. Shortly after his departure from Nootka, on the 9th of June, the 'North-west American' reached that harbour, and was instantly seized as a lawful prize, and by the employment of force, for the Don had learned the real purport of the letter which Douglas had left for the master—had learned it, no doubt, from one of the United States skippers, who appears to have known a little Spanish, and who, before Douglas's departure, had fixed, for Don Martinez, the value of the little Nootka Sound craft at four hundred dollars *. Her cargo, consisting of 215 skins 'of the best quality,' her stores and furniture, were confiscated, and her crew were made prisoners. But the Don, who appears to have been of a commercial turn himself, soon after this seizure employed the 'North-west American' on a trading

* "Don Estevan José Martinez—for such appears to have been the name of the Spanish Commodore—said to Douglas that he would dispose of the 'North-west American' for four hundred dollars, the value set upon her by one of the American captains."

voyage, from which she returned in twenty-five days, with more skins, obtained in exchar for British goods which had been seized in her own hold or taken out of the 'Iphigen The value of the skins obtained for these goods was estimated at seven thousand five hundr dollars, all which Don Estevan applied to his own use. Soon after, the 'Argonaut,' one the ships that Mears had sent from China so well stocked, came into Nootka Sound, and w taken forcible possession of by the Spaniards, who, it is said, threatened to hang Mr. Colnet at his own yard-arm if he offered any resistance to orders. This was on the 3d of Jul On the 13th, the 'Princess Royal,' the other English vessel despatched from Canton, arrive and was seized in the same manner. This vessel, which had been previously along the coas had on board 473 very valuable skins. Poor Colnette became frantic, and attempted destroy himself. The crew of the 'North-west American' were put on board one of th United States vessels, which carried them to China; but the 'Argonaut' and 'Princes Royal' were sent, with their crews, as fair prize and prisoners, to San Blaz in Mexico. Do Estevan and the Spaniards that remained at Nootka Sound, in the intention of forming regular settlement, had taken the seventy Chinese out of the two English ships, and set then to work like slaves. Such is the English account of these curious transactions *.

"Our Government must have had some specific information on the subject by the end o April, for, as early as the 16th of May, Mr. Merry, our minister at Madrid, laid before that court a strong remonstrance. The King of Spain seemed disposed neither to yield nor yet to risk a war. He transmitted a declaration, dated the 4th of June, to all European courts, on the subject of the 'unexpected dispute between his court and Great Britain, as to vessels captured in Port St. Lawrence or Nootka Sound, on the coast of California, in the South Sea.' In this state-paper it was declared that his Catholic Majesty at no time pretended to any rights in any ports, seas, or places, other than what properly belonged to his crown, and had been recognised by all nations: that his Majesty was ready to enter upon any examination and discussion most likely to terminate the dispute in an amicable way, and was willing to enter into immediate conference, and, if justice required it, to punish his subjects if they had exceeded their lawful powers, hoping that this offer of satisfaction would serve as an example to the court of London to do as much on its part. The paper further stated, that, when the Spanish ambassador, for the first time, made a notification of this matter to the British cabinet, *on the 10th of February last*, many of the circumstances that were now certain were then doubtful: that the rights and immemorial possession of Spain in that coast and those ports were *still not quite certain:* that, if the court of London had then made an amicable return to the complaints made by his Majesty relative to those English traders whom Spain regarded as intruders and violators of treaties, and had showed any desire to terminate the affair by an amicable accommodation, a great deal of unnecessary expense might have been spared: that the high and menacing tone and manner in which the answer of the British minister was couched, at a time when no certain information of the particulars had arrived, made the Spanish cabinet entertain some suspicion that such language was adopted not so much with a view to the dispute in question as to create a pretext to break entirely with Spain; and that thereupon his Catholic Majesty had thought it necessary to take some precautions†. The declaration endeavoured to explain the notion which the Spanish court

* "Memorial presented by Lieutenant Mears to the Right Honourable W. Wyndham Grenville, one of his Majesty's Principal Secretaries of State.—This memorial is accompanied with the depositions of the officers and crew of the 'North-west American,' extracts from the journal or log-book of the 'Iphigenia,' and other documents."

† "It must be borne in mind that the armament in the ports of Spain had been begun *before* this dispute; and that the great provocation in the eyes of the British cabinet was the assertion of right by Spain to an immense line of coast, and to numerous groups of islands, where she had not and never had had possession."

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entertained as to its proper rights and claims. It said, enemies to peace had industriously circulated the charge that Spain extended pretensions and rights of sovereignty over the whole of the Pacific or South Sea as far as China; but when the words were made use of, 'in the name of the king, his sovereignty, navigation, and exclusive commerce to the continent and islands of the South Sea,' it was in the sense in which Spain, in speaking of the Indies, had always used these words; that is to say, in reference to the continent, islands, and seas which belonged to his Catholic Majesty, so far as discoveries had been made and secured to him by treaties and immemorial possession, uniformly acquiesced in notwithstanding some infringements by individuals, who had been punished upon knowledge of their offences. 'Although Spain,' said his Catholic Majesty, 'might not have had establishments or colonies planted upon the coasts or in the ports in dispute, it does not follow that such coast or port does not belong to her. If this rule were to be followed, one nation might establish colonies on the coasts of another nation, in America, Asia, Africa, and Europe; by which means there would be no fixed boundaries—a circumstance evidently absurd.' In conclusion, the paper declared that the capture of the English *vessel* was repaired by the restitution that had been made, and by the conduct of the Viceroy of Mexico; that, as to the qualification of such restitution, and whether the prize was lawful or not, that regarded the question of right which remained to be investigated; and that his Catholic Majesty would readily enter into any plan by which future disputes on this subject might be obviated, and a solid and permanent peace established not only between Spain and Great Britain, but also between Spain and all nations. At the beginning of June, Mr. Fitzherbert arrived at Madrid, with full powers from the British government to enter upon, and, if possible, settle the points of dispute between the two countries. On the 13th of June, Count Florida Blanca, first secretary of state, delivered a memorial to Mr. Fitzherbert, in which the indubitable rights—the exclusive rights of property, navigation, and commerce—of his Catholic Majesty to the continent, islands, harbours, and coasts of that part of the world vaguely designated as the Spanish West Indies, were re-asserted, and were further supported by a reference to treaties, and more especially to the eighth article of the treaty of Utrecht. This article, like the major part of that ill-arranged treaty, was altogether vague and indefinite, for it merely stipulated that the navigation and commerce of the West Indies *under the dominion* of Spain should remain in the precise situation in which they stood in the reign of his Catholic Majesty Charles. The article conveyed no right to the whole western American coast, and to all the islands in the Pacific, lying off it at less or greater distances, and of which islands many had then never been touched at or visited by any European nation: it did not, and could not confer a possession which had never existed: it never contemplated closing thousands of leagues of coast, and ports and islands innumerable, to all the flags of the world, except the flag of Spain: it could not assert the monstrous doctrine, that what Spain was incapable of possessing and using should never be possessed and used by other more enterprising, more industrious, and *now* far more powerful nations. Florida Blanca, however, in his memorial, said that the vast extent of the Spanish territories, navigation, and dominion on the continent of America, isles, and seas contiguous to the Great South Sea, was clearly laid down; that it was also clearly ascertained, that notwithstanding the repeated attempts made by *adventurers and pirates* on the Spanish coasts of the South Sea and adjacent islands, Spain had still preserved her possessions entire, and opposed with success those usurpations, by constantly sending her ships to take possession of such settlements *; and that by these

* "This is far from being true: the buccaneers of an earlier date, and the more lawful navigators and discoverers of a recent date, had visited and laid claim, by right of discovery, to innumerable places to which no Spanish ships or forces of any kind had been sent since."

measures and reiterated acts of possession Spain had preserved her dominion, and extended it to the Russian establishments in that part of the world—or, in other words, had established a right to all the American coast that lies on the Pacific, from Cape Horn to Alashka or Onalaska. The memorial continued:—'The Viceroys of Peru and New Spain having been informed that these seas had been for some years past more frequented than formerly; that smuggling had increased; that several usurpations prejudicial to Spain and the general tranquillity had been suffered to be made; they gave orders that the western coasts of Spanish America, and islands and seas adjacent, should be more frequently navigated and explored.' It mentioned, as the King of Spain's declaration had done before, that complaints had been made to the court of St. Petersburgh relative to similar points about the navigation of the South Sea; and it stated that several Russian vessels, advancing from the northward, had been upon the point of making commercial establishments upon that coast; that the court of Spain, in consequence, had demonstrated to Russia the inconveniences attendant upon such encroachments; that hereupon the court of Russia replied that it had already given orders that its subjects should make no settlements in places belonging to other powers, and that, if those orders had been violated in Spanish America, the Empress desired the King of Spain would put a stop to them in a friendly manner; and that to this pacific language on the part of Russia, Spain had observed that she could not be answerable for what her officers might do at that distance, their general orders and instructions being not to permit any settlements whatever to be made by other nations in the dominions of Spanish America. The memorial went on to complain that several trespasses had been made by the English on some of the islands of those coasts, which had given rise to complaints similar to those which had been made to Russia before the seizure of any English vessel, and before it was known to Spain that the English were endeavouring to make any settlement in those parts. It asserted that what was intended at Nootka Sound became first known when a Spanish ship of war, making the usual tour of the coast of California, found two United States vessels in Nootka harbour. These vessels, it said, the commanding officer had permitted to proceed on their voyage, it appearing from their papers that they were driven there by distress, and only came in to refit. [These United States vessels had been in Nootka Sound for months, and one of them, the 'Washington,' had been allowed to continue her trade in furs upon the coast, after the arrival of the Spanish force, and under the eye and with the direct countenance of the Spanish commanding officer Don Estevan. It might very well be, for the practice was common with the ill-paid officers of Spain on this remote service, that Don Estevan was merely seeking his own profit and advantage in his curious dealings with the two United States captains; but it looked nevertheless in England like an invidious distinction, or like a design on the part of Spain to provoke a serious quarrel.] The memorial gave a very different account of the seizure of the 'Iphigenia' from that given by Douglas, and included in Mears's memorial to Mr. Grenville. It said that the 'Iphigenia' hoisted, not English, but Portuguese colours, and showed a passport from the Portuguese governor of Macao; that, though it was manifest that the vessel had come with a view to trade there, yet the Spanish officer had given the captain leave to depart upon his signing an engagement to pay the value of the vessel, should the governor of Mexico declare it a lawful prize. Not a word was said of the seizure and appropriation of all the merchandize, stores, provisions, &c., in the 'Iphigenia.' 'Besides this vessel,' said Florida Blanca's memorial, 'there came a second, which the admiral detained; and a few days after a third, named the 'Argonaut,' from the above-mentioned place. The captain of this latter was an English-

man. He came not only to trade, but brought everything with him proper to form a settlement there, and to fortify it. This, notwithstanding the remonstrances of the Spanish admiral, he persevered in, and was detained, together with his vessel. After him came a fourth English vessel, named the 'Princess Royal,' and evidently for the same purposes. She likewise was detained and sent to Port St. Blaz, where the pilot of the 'Argonaut made away with himself.' The memorial further stated that the Viceroy of Mexico, being informed of all the circumstances, and counting on the ignorance of the English merchants and the friendship which subsisted between the courts of London and Madrid, gave orders that the vessels should be released, without being declared lawful prize, and that they should have leave to refit and return with their cargo to China, after capitulating with them as with the 'Iphigenia.' It complained of the haughty language used by the British Government, of the harsh and laconic style in which they had replied to the Spanish ambassador *; and it said that this tone had made the court of Madrid suspect that the King of Great Britain's ministers were forming other plans; and they were the more induced to think so as there were reports that they were going to fit out two fleets, one for the Mediterranean, the other for the Baltic. It stated that, besides demanding restitution and indemnification for the losses sustained by English subjects trading under the English flag, the British Government had asserted an indisputable right to the enjoyment of a free and uninterrupted navigation, commerce, and fishery, in those parts of the world, as also to the possession of such establishments as its subjects should form, with the consent of the natives of a country not previously occupied by Spain or any of the European nations: that an explicit and immediate answer was demanded by the British chargé d'affaires, who had also called for the suspension of the Spanish armaments; and that to the latter demand the court of Spain had replied that they were actuated by the most pacific intentions, that his Catholic Majesty was sincerely inclined to disarm upon the principle of reciprocity, and would give every satisfaction and indemnification if justice was not on his side, provided England would do as much if she was found to be in the wrong. Mr. Fitzherbert replied to this long memorial in a short note. He asserted that the court of London was sincerely desirous of terminating the difference by a friendly negotiation, but could not treat until matters were put in their original state. 'As certain acts,' said Mr. Fitzherbert, 'have been committed by vessels belonging to the royal marine of Spain against several British vessels, without any reprisals having been made on the part of Great Britain, that power is perfectly in the right to insist, as a preliminary condition, upon a prompt and suitable reparation for these acts of violence.' He explained that, according to the practice of nations, such reparation would be limited to three articles. 1. The restitution of all the vessels. 2. A full indemnification for all losses sustained. 3. Satisfaction to the sovereign for the insult offered to his flag. To this note Florida Blanca replied on the 18th of June. The count said that he could not assent to the principles laid down by Mr. Fitzherbert; that the vessels in question were taken in a port, upon a coast, or in a bay of Spanish America, the commerce and navigation of which belonged exclusively to Spain; that the vessels so detained were attempting to make an establishment at a port where they found the Spanish nation actually settled; that it was not at all certain that the said vessels navigated under the British flag, although they were certainly English vessels, there having

* "The passage complained of in the memorial was that in which the British Government called the seizure of the 'Iphigenia' an act of violence, and refused to enter into any discussion until an adequate atonement had been made for a proceeding so injurious to Great Britain, &c."

been some reason to believe that they navigated under the protection of Portuguese passports furnished them by the Governor of Macao; that, as the vessels, their furniture and cargo, or the value of them, had been restored for the sake of peace, everything was placed in its original state, and nothing remained unsettled except the indemnification for losses and satisfaction for the insult, which should also be arranged when evidence should be given that there had been an insult committed. 'However,' added Florida Blanca, 'in order that a quarrel may not arise about words, and that two nations, friendly to each other, may not be exposed to the calamities of war, I have to inform you, Sir, by order of the king, that his majesty consents to make the declaration which your excellency proposes, and will offer to his Britannic Majesty a just and suitable satisfaction for the insult offered to the honour of his flag, provided that to these is added any one of the following explanations:—1. That in offering such satisfaction, the insult and the satisfaction shall be fully settled both in form and substance by a judgment to be pronounced by one of the Kings of Europe, whom the king, my master, leaves wholly to the choice of his Britannic Majesty; for it is sufficient to the Spanish monarch that a crowned head, from full information of the facts, shall decide as he thinks just. 2. That in offering a just and suitable satisfaction, care shall be taken that in the progress of the negotiation to be opened, no facts be admitted as true but such as can be fully established by Great Britain with regard to the insult offered to her flag. 3. That the said satisfaction shall be given on condition that no inference be drawn therefrom to affect the rights of Spain, nor the right of exacting from Great Britain an equivalent satisfaction, if it shall be found, in the course of negotiation, that the King of Spain has a right to demand satisfaction for the aggression and usurpation made on the Spanish territory, contrary to subsisting treaties. Your excellency will be pleased to make choice of any one of these three explanations to the declaration your excellency proposes, or all the three together, and to point out any difficulty that occurs to you, that it may be obviated, or any other mode that may tend to promote the peace which we desire to establish.—After the interchange of these notes there was a suspension of correspondence between Mr. Fitzherbert and Count Florida Blanca for more than six weeks. In the mean time warlike preparations went on, or seemed to go on, in the Spanish ports; and England prepared her shipping with admirable rapidity.

"On the 22d of June, Lord Howe, who had been living in close retirement ever since his resignation of the Admiralty, received a commission appointing him to the command of a fine fleet, which was already equipped and fit to proceed on any service. Howe hoisted his flag on board the 'Queen Charlotte,' of 100 guns; and, being soon afterwards joined by another squadron placed under the command of Admiral Barrington, he found himself at the head of thirty-five sail of the line, nine of which were three-deckers. Parliament had passed unanimously a vote of credit for one million to enable his majesty to proceed in the armament. The Spanish king, no longer our old enemy Charles III., but his very inferior son and successor, Charles IV., had thrown himself entirely under the management of Florida Blanca, a minister inimical to and prejudiced against England, a bold and adventurous statesman, who conceived it to be quite certain that France, as bound by treaty, would support and join Spain in any war that might be provoked. When he sent out his instructions to the New World, Florida Blanca had no foresight of what was about to happen in the Old World: when he was so ready to risk a war with England about Nootka Sound, in the comfortable belief that Louis XVI. would co-operate, he had not calculated the strange march of the French revolution, which would make any such alliance

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impracticable, or very dangerous. He must have known now the real condition of that branch of the house of Bourbon; yet, rather than make what he considered a humiliating concession to England, he instructed the Spanish ambassador at Paris to demand whether France, abiding by the treaty signed at Paris on the 15th of August, 1761, under the title of the Family Compact, would assist Spain in this quarrel. And, on the 16th of June, Count de Fernan Nunez addressed a note to M. de Montmorin, French secretary for foreign affairs, wherein, after giving the Spanish version of all that had taken place at and about Nootka Sound, he said:—'It is in consequence of the absolute necessity in which Spain finds herself of having recourse to the assistance of France, that the king, my master, orders me to demand expressly what France can do in the present circumstances to assist Spain according to the mutual engagements stipulated by treaties. His Catholic Majesty desires that the armaments, if there are to be any, should be immediately prepared. He charges me to add, that the present state of this unforeseen business requires a very speedy determination, and that whatever measures the court of France shall take for his assistance shall be so active, so clear, and so positive, as to prevent even the smallest ground for doubt or suspicion.' The French king, who continued to be nothing more than a state prisoner in the Tuileries, ordered Montmorin to lay the Spanish ambassador's note before the National Assembly, together with a memoir explanatory of the obligations of the Family Compact, and of the advantages resulting to France from a close alliance with Spain. This message led to vehement discussions as to whether the right of war and peace belonged to the king or to the National Assembly; but, after settling that point, the Assembly decreed—That the French nation, in taking all proper measures to maintain peace, would observe the defensive and commercial engagements which the French Government had previously contracted with Spain:—That the French ambassador at Madrid should be immediately charged to open negotiations with the Spanish cabinet for the purpose of perpetuating and renewing, by a new *national* treaty, the ties so useful to the two nations, and so as to fix with precision and clearness every stipulation which should be conformable to the views of general peace, and to the principles of justice, which would be for ever the policy of the French. And the National Assembly further decreed that the French marine force in commission should be increased to forty-five sail of the line, with a proportionate number of frigates and other vessels. But when preparations began to be made for equipping this formidable fleet, activity was repressed by a want of money, and it was found that the French sailors had been so successfully democratised that they would not serve under their old officers, who were all aristocrats, or considered by them as such. Fearful excesses were committed in the towns and harbours of Brest and Toulon. Some of the best officers of the French navy were massacred by their own men—a horrible crime, which, Lafayette insinuated, in the Assembly, was brought about by England! The sailors formed committees on shore, or in their ships, to examine and report upon the professional qualifications and political principles of their commanders; and they drove away every officer that did not profess a rabid revolutionism like their own. Upon receiving this news from France, the court of Madrid, who, after all their exertions, had only equipped 30 ships of the line, became very eager to bring the dispute with Great Britain to an amicable and speedy conclusion. It was better to lose ten Nootka Sounds, and make a hundred apologies, than to expose the moral health of their own sailors to the French infection. Their greatest dread now was that the French fleet should come and join theirs. Lord Howe himself, who was soon cruising off the Spanish coast, could scarcely have been a more unwelcome visitor. To think of engaging in a war singly would have been madness,

for England possessed at this time 158 ships of the line, whereas the whole Spanish navy counted only 70 sail of the line, and the finances of the country could ill provide for an augmentation of force, or even for the equipment of the ships they had. On the 24th of July, Florida Blanca, suddenly lowering his tone, assured Mr. Fitzherbert, in a written declaration, that the king, his master, was ready and willing to give full satisfaction to his Britannic Majesty for the insult of which he had complained; and that his majesty further engaged to make full restitution of all the British vessels and property which had been seized at Nootka Sound, and to indemnify the parties interested for the losses which they had sustained, as soon as the amount thereof should be ascertained—it being, however, to be understood that this declaration was not to preclude or prejudice the ulterior discussion of any right which his Spanish Majesty might claim to form an establishment at the port of Nootka. Mr. Fitzherbert, in a counter declaration, written on the same day, accepted the said declaration, with the performance of the engagements contained therein, as a full and entire satisfaction—stating also, on his side, that the present agreement was not to preclude or prejudice the right his British Majesty might claim to any establishment which his subjects had formed, or might hereafter form, in the said bay of Nootka. A negotiation was then commenced at Madrid; and, on the 28th of October, a convention was signed by Fitzherbert and Florida Blanca, in the view of setting the matter at rest for ever, and preventing similar disputes in future. Spain agreed that all the land and buildings of which British subjects had been dispossessed, on the north-west coast of America, or on islands adjacent to that continent, about the month of April 1789, should be restored to them; that a just compensation should be made, according to the nature of the case, for all acts of violence or hostility which might have been committed there subsequently to the month of April 1789; and that henceforward the subjects of Great Britain should not be disturbed or molested in carrying on their fisheries in the South Seas, or in making settlements on the coasts of those seas, in places not already occupied, for the purposes of commerce with the natives. It was agreed that, as well in the places which were to be restored to the British subjects, as in all other parts of the north-western coasts of North America, situated to the north of the parts of that coast, already occupied by Spain, wherever the subjects of either of the two powers might have made settlement since the month of April 1789, or might hereafter make any, the subjects of the other power should have free access, and be allowed to carry on their trade without any molestation: it was further agreed, with respect to the eastern and western coasts of *South* America, and the islands adjacent, that no settlement should be formed hereafter, either by English or Spaniards, in such parts of those coasts as were situated to the southward of the territory already and actually occupied by Spain; the subjects of both powers being, however, equally left the liberty of landing on those unoccupied parts of the coasts, for the purposes of their fishery, and of erecting thereon huts and other temporary buildings. His Britannic Majesty engaged to take effectual measures to prevent the navigation and fishery of his subjects in the South Seas from being made a pretext for illicit trade with the Spanish settlements; and it was expressly stipulated, on his part, that British subjects should not navigate, or carry on their fishery in the said seas, within the space of ten sea-leagues from any part of the coasts permanently occupied. In conclusion, it was agreed that, in all cases of complaint, the officers both of Spain and of England, without committing any violence or act of force, should be bound to make an exact report of the affair to their respective courts, who would terminate such differences in an amicable manner. Thus ended a dispute which, under other circumstances, might have produced a long war. Pitt was highly applauded by his

friends for his firmness, energy, and activity; and it appears to us that his conduct was well entitled to this praise, and that the subject in dispute was far more important and national than the generality of our annalists have chosen to represent it. Mears's original scheme is a beautiful thing in commerce. Nootka Sound, it is true, was no very valuable settlement, and, after a few years of quiet occupation, it was voluntarily abandoned by the English; but it was essentially important to our trade and navigation that we should have free access to some ports along that coast, and not be exposed, every day and hour, to the capricious violence and occasional activity of the Mexicans or Peruvians, or other Spanish Americans; it was vitally important that British subjects should have the right of fishery in the South Seas—a right which had hitherto been always controverted—and that those hundreds of leagues of coast should not be barred against them. The rapidly-increasing naval force of England, and the terrible misfortunes which awaited Spain, would soon, without any diplomacy, have upset or made useless all the extravagant pretensions and injudicious prohibitions of the court of Madrid; but still there could not but be a political advantage to England in having the rights of her flag previously acknowledged by treaty in such clear, broad terms; and, though everything was not obtained, though Spain still clung to her unwise system of monopoly, and exclusion of foreign trade in the ports she occupied, it was something to annul the right she had claimed of excluding our shipping from every port, bay, or island, that lay between Cape Horn and Alaska. Besides, by the high-handed proceedings of Don Estevan an insult had really been offered to the national honour, which was deeply resented by every right-minded Englishman."

THE SANDWICH ISLANDS.

The Sandwich Islands are ten in number, viz. Hawaii (Owhyhee), Oahu, Maui, Tauai, Morokai, Ranai, Moroniki, Nihau, Taura, and Tuhurawe. They are distant about 2800 miles from Mexico, 5000 miles from China, and 2700 from the Society Islands. Very soon after their discovery by Captain Cook, they became the constant resort of merchant vessels, especially those engaged in the whale-fishery, and the natives evinced great aptitude, adapting themselves to the habits of civilized life, and as they are naturally fond of a sea-life, many of them at a very early period visited other countries, some shipping themselves as common sailors, but several of their chiefs going as passengers with the sole purpose of obtaining instruction and gratifying a laudable curiosity.

This spirit of improvement, which was very generally spread among them, was stimulated by the example of Tamehama, a remarkable man, who, although only a chief of inferior rank, by dint of the influence of his talents, successful intrigue, and some fighting, contrived to possess himself of the sovereign power over all the islands on the death of the king Woahoo, whose daughter he had married. This occurred about 1792. He exerted himself strenuously in the improvement of his countrymen, and to prevent the aggressions on his territories which were threatened by the Americans and Russians, he placed his territories under the immediate protection of the British Crown, formally ceding them to Captain Vancouver on his visit about the same time as he himself had first secured his own authority. This relation between the two countries is still acknowledged, and was renewed at the visit made to this country by the young king Rihoriho, or Tamehama II., and his consort, in 1824, when, as many of our readers may remember, they both fell victims to the measles.

Tamehama soon became possessed of ships of his own, one being presented to him by

George III.; and two he purchased of the Americans, paying for them with provisions and sandal-wood. With them he commenced merchant, trading chiefly with China, his great staple being sandal-wood, which is plentifully produced in the Sandwich Islands; and thus a spirit of enterprize, which for a time at least operated greatly to the advantage of the natives, was generated. Those recent accounts to which we shall presently allude do not present so flattering a picture.

Tamehama, although he did not disguise the contempt he felt for the barbarous system of religion then existing, did not think fit to exert his authority to abrogate it, but, on the contrary, thought it his interest to strengthen his power by himself assuming the chief sacerdotal dignity. But in the year 1819, the American Board of Missions sent forth a company of Missionaries from Boston, carrying with them four natives, one of whom was son to the tributary king of Towee, and had been sent to America for his education. Before their arrival an event had occurred most favourable for the objects they had at heart. Tamehama, and his son Rihoriho, had, with the consent of his mother and many of the most influential chiefs, formally abolished idolatry, and destroyed the altars and maraes. The Missionaries met with a warm welcome, and immediately found themselves invested with considerable power; for here, as at the Society Islands, they became the advisers of the king in matters temporal as well as spiritual. The line of conduct they have pursued in interfering too far in secular affairs has been censured by several voyagers, but it is beside our purpose to enter into a discussion of it here.

Christianity was, however, destined to be established at Owhyhee, as at Otaheite, on a bloody foundation: the adherents of the old faith, rebelling against the sovereign and the restrictions of the new laws founded on religious observances to which they could not conform, took up arms; a decisive battle, which lasted from morning till sunset, terminated in favour of Rihoriho.

On the death of Rihoriho, his brother Kiaukiauli, or Tamehama III., was raised to the sovereignty, in which he still continues.

The authority of the Missionaries appears to have been much weakened, principally from two causes, the over and somewhat puritanical strictness with which they endeavoured to enforce their rule, interfering with the innocent amusements of the natives—and, as at Otaheite, interfering with even the sports of the children,—and the evil example set by the crews of foreign vessels. Very recently, an attempt made by some French Roman Catholic priests to establish themselves has led to some extraordinary proceedings. These priests went out a few years ago, upon, as they assert, the invitation of Boki, the confidential minister of Rihoriho, and his son, who visited Paris in 1824. They were very successful among the people; but, as it is asserted, they encouraged the people to break the laws against the use of spirituous liquors, and countenanced the re-establishment of grog-shops; they were upon this pretence seized by orders of the king, and transported to California, where they were turned adrift, and found refuge with the Jesuit Missionaries established there. The French Government have claimed and enforced pecuniary satisfaction for this outrage, and a violent controversy has been raised upon the subject between the Missionaries and the Roman Catholic Church, the former justifying the act, although they at the same time disclaim having advised it.

Their latest accounts of the condition of the natives are very unfavourable. "The whole nation," says one of them, Mr. Armstrong, "not even excepting the chiefs, are poor. The common people are distressingly so. There is not one man, woman, or child in ten,

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They complain also of the falling away of many of the chiefs, and consequently of the people, remarking that it is difficult to conceive how strongly the external conduct of this people is influenced by the known or inferred will of their rulers and principal men. Still they number above 18,000 church members of good standing.

The whole of the Sandwich Islands are, as has been elsewhere remarked, volcanic. The following account of a remarkable eruption of the volcano in Hawaii, extracted from the report of the American Board of Missions, will be found interesting.

"On the 30th of May, 1840, the people of Puna observed the appearance of smoke and fire in a mountainous and desolate region in the interior of that district. Thinking that the fire might be the burning of some jungle, they took little notice of it until the next day, Sabbath, when the meetings in the different villages were thrown into confusion by sudden and grand exhibitions of fire on a scale so large and fearful as to leave them no room to doubt the cause of the phenomenon. The fire augmented during the day and night; but it did not seem to flow off rapidly in any direction. All were in consternation, as it was expected that the molten flood would pour itself down from its height of four thousand feet to the coast, and no one knew to what point it would flow, or what devastation would attend its fiery course. On Monday, June 1st, the stream began to flow off in a north-easterly direction, and on the following Wednesday, June 3d, at evening, the burning river reached the sea, having averaged about half a mile an hour in its progress. The rapidity of the flow was very unequal, being modified by the inequalities of the surface over which the stream passed. Sometimes it is supposed to have moved five miles an hour, and at other times, owing to obstructions, making no apparent progress, except in filling up deep valleys, and in swelling over or breaking away hills and precipices.

"But I will return to the source of the irruption. This is in a forest, and in the bottom of an ancient wooded crater, about four hundred feet deep, and probably eight miles east from Kilauea. The region being uninhabited and covered with a thicket, it was some time before the place was discovered, and up to this time, though several foreigners have attempted it, no one except myself has reached the spot. From Kilauea to this place the lava flows in a subterranean gallery, probably at the depth of a thousand feet, but its course can be distinctly traced all the way, by the rending of the crust of the earth into innumerable fissures, and by the emission of smoke, steam, and gases. The eruption in this old crater is small, and from this place the stream disappears again for the distance of a mile or two, when the lava again gushes up and spreads over an area of about fifty acres. Again it passes under-ground for two or three miles, when it reappears in another old wooded crater, consuming the forest, and partly filling up the basin. Once more it disappears, and flowing in a subterranean channel, cracks and breaks the earth, opening fissures from six inches to ten or twelve feet in width, and sometimes splitting the trunk of a tree so exactly that its legs stand astride at the fissure. At some places it is impossible to trace the subterranean stream, on account of the impenetrable thicket under which it passes. After flowing under-ground several miles, perhaps six or eight, it again broke out like an overwhelming flood, and sweeping forest, hamlet, plantation, and everything before it, rolled down with resistless energy to the sea, where leaping a precipice of forty or fifty feet, it poured itself in one vast cataract of fire into the deep below, with loud detonations, fearful hissings, and a thousand unearthly and indescribable sounds. Imagine to yourself a river of fused

minerals, of the breadth and depth of Niagara, and of a deep gory red, falling in one emblazoned sheet, one raging torrent, into the ocean! The scene, as described by eye-witnesses, was terribly sublime. Two mighty agencies in collision! Two antagonist and gigantic forces in contact, and producing effects on a scale inconceivably grand! The atmosphere in all directions was filled with ashes, spray, gases, &c.; while the burning lava, as it fell into the water, was shivered into millions of minute particles, and, being thrown back into the air, fell in showers of sand on all the surrounding country. The coast was extended into the sea for a quarter of a mile, and a pretty sand-beach and a new cape were formed. Three hills of scoria and sand were also formed in the sea, the lowest about two hundred and the highest about three hundred feet.

"For three weeks this terrific river disgorged itself into the sea with little abatement. Multitudes of fishes were killed, and the waters of the ocean were heated for twenty miles along the coast. The breadth of the stream, where it fell into the sea, is about half a mile, but inland it varies from one to four or five miles in width, conforming itself, like a river, to the face of the country over which it flowed. Indeed, if you can imagine the Mississippi, converted into liquid fire, of the consistency of fused iron, and moving onward, sometimes rapidly, sometimes sluggishly—now widening into a sea, and anon rushing through a narrow defile, winding its way through mighty forests and ancient solitudes, you will get some idea of the spectacle here exhibited. The depth of the stream will probably vary from ten to two hundred feet, according to the inequalities of the surface over which it passed. During the flow, night was converted into day on all eastern Hawaii. The light rose and spread like the morning upon the mountains, and its glare was seen on the opposite side of the island. It was also distinctly visible for more than one hundred miles at sea; and at the distance of forty miles fine print could be read at midnight. The brilliancy of the light was like a blazing firmament, and the scene is said to have been one of unrivalled sublimity.

"The whole course of the stream from Kilauea to the sea is about forty miles. Its mouth is about twenty-five miles from Hilo station. The ground over which it flowed descends at the rate of one hundred feet to the mile. The crust is now cooled, and may be traversed with care, though scalding steam, pungent gases, and smoke are still emitted in many places.

"In pursuing my way for nearly two days over this mighty smouldering mass, I was more and more impressed at every step with the wonderful scene. Hills had been melted down like wax; ravines and deep valleys had been filled; and majestic forests had disappeared like a feather in the flames. In some places the molten stream parted and flowed in separate channels for a considerable distance, and then re-uniting, formed islands of various sizes, from one to fifty acres, with trees still standing, but seared and blighted by the intense heat. On the outer edges of the lava, where the stream was more shallow and the heat less vehement, and where of course the liquid mass cooled soonest, the trees were mowed down like grass before the scythe, and left charred, crisped, smouldering, and only half consumed. As the lava flowed around the trunks of large trees on the outskirts of the stream, the melted mass stiffened and consolidated before the trunk was consumed; and when this was effected, the top of the tree fell, and lay unconsumed on the crust, while the hole which marked the place of the trunk remains almost as smooth and perfect as the caliber of a cannon. These holes are innumerable, and I found them to measure from ten to forty feet deep; but, as I remarked before, they are in the more shallow parts of the lava, the trees being entirely consumed where it was deeper. During the flow of this eruption, the great crater of Kilauea sank about three hundred feet, and her fires became nearly

extinct, one lake only out of many being left active in this mighty caldron. This, with other facts which have been named, demonstrates that the eruption was the disgorgement of the fires of Kilauea. The open lake in the old crater is at present intensely active, and the fires are increasing, as is evident from the glare visible at our station and from the testimony of visitors.

"During the early part of the eruption, slight and repeated shocks of earthquake were felt, for several successive days, near the scene of action. These shocks were not noticed at Hilo.

"Through the directing hand of a kind Providence, no lives were lost, and but little property was consumed during this amazing flood of fiery ruin. The stream passed over an almost uninhabited desert. A few little hamlets were consumed, and a few plantations were destroyed; but the inhabitants, forewarned, fled and escaped. During the progress of the eruption some of the people in Puna spent most of their time in prayer and religious meetings; some flew in consternation from the face of the all-devouring element; others wandered along its margin, marking with idle curiosity its daily progress; while another class still coolly pursued their usual avocations, unawed by the burning fury as it rolled along within a mile of their doors. It was literally true that they ate, drank, bought, sold, planted, builded, apparently indifferent to the roar of consuming forests, the sight of devouring fire, the startling detonations, the hissing of escaping steam, the rending of the earth, the shivering and melting of gigantic rocks, the raging and dashing of the fiery waves, the bellowings—the murmurings, the unearthly mutterings coming up from a burning deep. They went carelessly on amid the rain of ashes, sand, and fiery scintillations, gazing vacantly on the fearful and ever-varying appearance of the atmosphere, murky, black, livid, blazing, the sudden rising of lofty pillars of flame, the upward curling of ten thousand columns of smoke, and their majestic roll in dense, dingy, lurid or party-coloured clouds. All these moving phenomena were regarded by them as the fall of a shower, or the running of a brook; while to others they were as the tokens of a burning world, the departing heavens, and a coming Judge.

"I will just remark here, that while the stream was flowing, it might be approached within a few yards on the windward side, while at the leeward no one could live within the distance of many miles, on account of the smoke, the impregnation of the atmosphere with pungent and deadly gases, and the fiery showers which were constantly descending, and destroying all vegetable life. During the progress of the descending stream, it would often fall into some fissure, and forcing itself into apertures and under massy rocks, and even hillocks and extended plats of ground, and lifting them from their ancient beds, bear them, with all their superincumbent mass of soil, trees, &c., on its viscous and livid bosom, like a raft on the water. When the fused mass was sluggish, it had a gory appearance like clotted blood; and when it was active, it resembled fresh and clotted blood mingled and thrown into violent agitation. Sometimes the flowing lava would find a subterranean gallery, diverging at right angles from the main channel, and, pressing into it, would flow off unobserved, till meeting with some obstruction in its dark passage, when, by its expansive force, it would raise the crust of the earth into a dome-like hill of fifteen or twenty feet in height, and then bursting this shell, pour itself out in a fiery torrent around. A man who was standing at a considerable distance from the main stream, and intensely gazing on the absorbing scene before him, found himself suddenly raised to the height of ten or fifteen feet above the common level around him; and he had but just time to escape from his dangerous position, when the earth opened where he had stood, and a stream of fire gushed out."

THE MARQUESAS.

Of these islands we have little to add beyond what has already been stated either in the text or in the notes. Repeated attempts have been made to Christianize these both by European and Otaheitan teachers; but their reception has been so unfavourable, that one after another has given up the attempt in despair. In 1836 two English Missionaries were left there by the 'Tuscan' whaler, and took up their abode at Resolution Bay; but of their subsequent success we have no information.

THE FRIENDLY ISLANDS, AND FEEJEE AND NAVIGATORS' ISLANDS.

These numerous groups form the principal scene of the exertions of the Wesleyan Mission, an understanding existing between the various bodies that they shall not interfere with each other—a well-founded apprehension being entertained that the variations existing between the practices of the different sects would tend to unsettle the opinions of the natives, and lessen the respect in which their teachers are held. The attempts of the London Missionary Society to establish a Mission in the Friendly Islands have been noticed in the article Otaheite; and when, on a subsequent occasion, they found the Wesleyans already in possession, they left the field open to them.

Lieut. Wilkes, in the course of his late voyage of discovery, undertaken under the auspices of the American Government, visited the Feejees, when, an unfortnnate collision took place with the natives, which was attended with considerable loss of life.

The chief interest attached to the other numerous islands included in Polynesia is connected with the progress of Christianity; of which the following tabular view was constructed by the late Mr. Williams, who so unfortunately lost his life at Raratonga.

NAME.	Number of Islands.	Supposed Population.	STATE.	Number of Missionaries.
Tahiti, and Society Islands	8	18 or 20,000	Christian	9 English London Missionary Society, and Native Assistants.
Sandwich	8	150,000	Christian	23 American.
Marquesas	8	15,000	Heathen	2 English London Missionary Society.
Dangerous Archipelago	Very many small Islands	3 or 4,000	Mostly Christian	Native London Missionary Society.
Austral Islands	5	3 or 4,000	Christian	Native London Missionary Society.
Hervey Islands	7	16 or 18,000	Christian	2 English, 14 Native London Miss. Soc.
Navigators' Islands	8	160,000	Partially Christian	6 English, 10 Native London Miss. Soc.
Vavau	A Group	3 or 4,000	Christian	13 English, with Native Assistants, Wesleyan.
Hapai	A Group	3 or 4,000	Christian	
Tongatabu		10,000	Partially Christian	
Feejee	From 1 to 200	Very great	Heathen	2 Native, 1 Wesleyan.

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ANTARCTIC RESEARCHES.

In a note to page 573, vol. i. we noticed the discovery of the islands now known as New South Shetland, by Captain Smith, the master of an English merchantman. This occurred in 1819; and they have since been a favourite resort of sealers, who have there reaped a plentiful harvest. Bellinghausen, a Russian navigator, in 1820 reached 65½° south, a few degrees to the east of Cook's track, but without discovering land; in 1832, Capt. Biscoe, master of the 'Tula,' a whaler belonging to Messrs. Enderby, discovered land in two places about 130° apart on the parallel of the Antarctic circle, to which he gave the names of Graham and Enderby's Land. In 1839, Balleny, another of Messrs. Enderby's captains, discovered the five islands which now bear his name, the centre one of which he placed in latitude 66° 44° south, and longitude 163° 11′ east, the land bearing from west to east-by-south. In 1840, Capt. D'Urville, commanding a French expedition in the 'Astrolabe' and 'Zélie,' traced the coast of a continent, to which he gave the name of Terre Adélie, for a distance of 150 miles, comprised between 66° and 67° of south latitude, and 136° and 142° of east longitude. More recently, Captain Ross has traced the coast of a southern continent, which, it seems probable, is a continuation of that observed by D'Urville, for upwards of 200 miles; but as only scattered reports of his proceedings have reached this country, the full extent of his researches is yet unknown to us. Very recently, a strange claim has been set up by Lieut. Wilkes, the commander of an American expedition. He denies Balleny's discovery, and claims to have preceded the French in the discovery of a southern continent; but as he asserts that he saw land (but did not prove the fact by going on shore) in a track over which Capt. Ross affirms that he sailed in an open sea, and as, moreover, some of his own officers have disputed the accuracy of his statements, but little reliance can be placed upon what he has advanced.

The subject of the formation of ice is one that we have heretofore referred to (vol. i. p. 577) as intending to treat at large in this place: we then thought it probable that some new lights would be thrown upon it by the publication of the two Antarctic expeditions, then at sea, under Captain Ross and Lieut. Wilkes; but as this has not yet occurred, the voyage of the former being still unfinished, and only a meagre "Synopsis" of that of the latter having yet reached this country, we can add nothing to what we have stated in our note at the above-mentioned page, which contains the substance of the received opinions on the subject.

THE END.

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